HISTORY

OF THE

MAUMEE RIVER BASIN

From the Earliest Account to Its Organization into Counties

BY

CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D.

Member of The American Historical Association, The New-England Historic Genealogical Society, The 'Old Northwest' Genealogical Society, The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, The Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association, Etc.

Illustrated.

BOWEN & SLOCUM
Indianapolis
Toledo

March-8-1955

Presented to
Mr. W Carlisle Duell By.
Mrs C. W. Helmick (Schnitker)
New Haven, Ind.

To His Friends
Of Many Years Continuance
This Book is Dedicated
By the Author

Copyright, 1905,
By CHARES ELIHU SLOCUM.
All Rights Reserved.

CONTENTS

For reference to Illustrations see the page figures followed with asterisk (*) in the Index at the close of this volume. For Preface see page vii.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY WITH TABLE OF COUNTIES AND STATISTICS 1

The Maumee River Basin distinguished from the Maumee River Valley — Situation, Latitude and Longitude, Extent in square miles — The former Forest — Topography — Climate — Products — Healthfulness — Counties, Principal Towns, Population.

CHAPTER II.

GEOLOGY OF THE MAUMEE RIVER BASIN 6

Source of the Rocks — The Geologic Column in comparison with that of other parts of Ohio, and elsewhere — Chart — Lacking in several strata — Trenton Limestone — Natural Gas and Petroleum and theories of their Origin — Wells and their Products — Process of Drilling — Rock Water supply — Elevations and Depressions of Rock Strata — Early Surface Conditions — Prehistoric Drainage Channels — Age of Ice and Theories of Cause — Glacier Markings and Extent of — Foreign Rocks brought by Glaciers — Glacier Phenomena and Effects — Glacial Lakes, and their Drainage Channels — Time and Duration of the Ice Age — Benefits of the Glaciation.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLIEST EVIDENCES FOUND OF PREHISTORIC MAN 47

Before, during and subsequent to the Age of Ice — Co-existent with the Mastodon and other long-extinct Animals. Prehistoric Stone Implements — Prehistoric Mounds and Circles of Earth — The Aborigines as first described — the Fiercest Savages known to History.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST EXPLORERS AND CARTOGRAPHERS, THE FRENCH AND BRITISH . . . 75

Champlain — French *Coureurs de Bois* — Earliest French Maps — LaSalle -- Later French Maps — The British-French wars, Wars with the Aborigines, and the Fur Trade as an ever-present Incitement — Conspiracy of Chief Nicholas against the French — British and French purchase each other's Scalps — The British Succession — Conspiracy of Pontiac against the British, and his Capture of the western Forts — Armies of Wilkins, Bradstreet and Bouquet against the Aborigines — Captives returned to Bouquet — Croghan's successful Peace Mission — Fort Miami and Detroit described. 1614-1766.

CHAPTER V.

HOSTILITIES OF ABORIGINES AND BRITISH AGAINST THE COLONISTS 124

The Colonies Impoverished — Rebel against British Impositions — The Revolutionary War — British form Savage War-parties against Pioneer American Settlements, Furnish them Leaders and Supplies, and pay for American Scalps brought by them — American Deserters and British Officers often with the Savages in their Maraudings—British remove the Less Savage Officers — American successes in the Southwest, and Organizations for Civil Government — Futile

plans of Americans against Detroit the headquarters for this Basin — Americans Massacre reputed Peaceful Aborigines — Close of Revolutionary War — Aborigines not satisfied without continual supply of Intoxicants and Excitement — Continued Aggression of the British. 1766-1783.

CHAPTER VI.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO RIVER 152

Cessions of Claims by States to the United States — Jefferson's plan for Division of the West Rejected — Desire for Land in the Territory — Hostilities of the Aborigines and Expeditions against them — British Refuse to surrender the western Forts according to Treaty at Paris — Treaties with Aborigines disregarded by them — Unfriendly action of the Spanish in restricting Navigation of the Mississippi leads to Disaffection in Ohio and Kentucky — Further British Aggressions — Civil and Military Activity — American Efforts for Peace with the Aborigines prove futile — Gen. Harmar's Expedition against the Hostiles by the Maumee and his Defeat by them — Further unsuccessful efforts for Peace — Gen. St. Clair's Expedition against the Savages and his overwhelming Defeat. 1784-1791.

CHAPTER VII.

PREPARATIONS OF THE ABORIGINES, AIDED BY THE BRITISH, TO DRIVE THE AMERICANS BACK EAST OF THE ALLEGHENIES, AND FOR ARMY TO RESIST THEM . . . 176

Aborigines would not accept Peace — Gen. Wayne chosen to command Northwestern Army — Hamilton County extended to embrace this Basin — More unsuccessful Efforts for Peace, and more Savagery by the Aborigines — The largest Councils ever held by the Aborigines, at the mouth of the Auglaise River and by the lower Maumee, for Federating them under Direction of the British — Advance of Gen. Wayne's army — Further Intrigues of the Spanish and French — Wayne builds Forts Greenville and Recovery — British build Fort Miami by lower Maumee — Battle of Fort Recovery — Wayne's successful Expedition to and along the Maumee — Builds Forts Adams and Defiance — Great daring of American Scouts — Yet further Efforts for Peace prove Unavailing — Battle of Fallen Timber, a wholesome Defeat of the Aborigines and British — Return of army and the Strengthening of Fort Defiance — Fort Wayne built. 1792-1794.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL WAYNE'S REPORTS OF HIS MAUMEE CAMPAIGN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR 207

Report of his March, Forts and Efforts for Peace — of Battle of Fallen Timber — of Correspondence with British Commandant of Fort Miami — Testimony of Prisoners Criminating the British — Needs of the Northwestern Army — of his and Colonel Hamtramck's Diplomacy in turning the Aborigines from the British and Favorable to the Americans — Letters of Colonel Hamtramck from Fort Wayne — The Aborigines' first Object-lesson in Fourth of July Celebrating — The most Important Treaty at Greenville. 1794-1795.

CHAPTER IX.

TREATIES, CIVIL ORGANIZATIONS, CONSPIRACY OF TECUMSEH AND THE BRITISH . 236

Treaty with Spain counteracting Tendency to Secession from the Union of Inhabitants west of the Alleghenies — Immigration — Colonel Hamtramck's Letters from Fort Wayne concluded — Wampum and its Uses — The Military Stations — The British Surrender their Forts in American territory — Scarcity of Food — Wayne County Organized — Death of Gen. Wayne — Gen. Wilkinson succeeds to Command of Northwestern Army — Court at Detroit for Wayne

County including this Basin—Further Intrigues of France and Spain cause unrest—First Territorial Legislature—Ohio and Indiana Territories Organized—Desire for Land, and Land Offices—Ohio Organized as a State—The Louisiana Purchase quiets Secession tendencies—Fort Industry—Further Treaties with Aborigines—Conspiracy of Tecumseh and the 'Prophet' aided by British against the Americans—United States Trading Agencies among Aborigines—Battle of Tippecanoe. 1795-1812.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR OF 1812 268

Gen. William Hull chosen to command Northwestern Army composed of Ohio Soldiers—Builds Forts M'Arthur, Necessity, Findlay and Miami (No. 6)—Despoiled by British through his Thoughtlessness—Surrenders Army to British without battle—Siege of Fort Wayne by Aborigines—Relieved by Gen. Harrison—Gen. Winchester appointed commander Northwestern Army—British force Retreat before him—Forts Barbee, Jennings, Amanda, Winchester, Feree, Ball and Stephenson built—Gen. Harrison succeeds Gen. Winchester in Command and appoints him Commander of Left Wing—Winchester's five Camps at Defiance and great Scarcity of Food and Clothing at, with much Sickness and Death—Gen. Harrison's Report—Winchester's Advance, and Defeat, with Massacre, at the River Raisin—Fort Portage built.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND AND THIRD (FINAL) YEARS OF THE WAR OF 1812 313

The Center and Right Wing of Northwestern Army drawn from to Protect the Maumee region—Fort Meigs built—Military Supplies increase—Difficulties in keeping Army Recruited—Large gathering of Savages by British—Fort Meigs Besieged by British and their Savage Allies—Imprudence, Defeat, and Massacre of many of Col. Dudley's troops—Siege of Fort Meigs abandoned by British—Incidents of Army Life at Fort Meigs—Supplies—Much Sickness and Many Deaths at Fort Meigs—Fourth of July Observance—Fort Seneca built—Second (bloodless) Siege of Fort Meigs—Brilliant repulse of British at Fort Stephenson—The Naval Squadrons on Lake Erie—Battle and Capture of Entire British Squadron—Advance of Northwestern Army into Canada—Defeat of British Army at the River Thames—Gen. Harrison goes to Niagara to aid the Army of the Center, Returns to Ohio and Resigns Command—Proctor's Selfishness—Report of Gen. Gano—More Sickness at Fort Miegs with short Supplies—Report of Gen. M'Arthur—Treaty closing War of 1812—All Forts in this Basin Abandoned excepting Fort Wayne. 1813-1814.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ABORIGINES, TREATIES WITH, MISSIONARIES AMONG, AND REMOVAL OF . . 364

Again turn to Americans to be Fed—Important Treaties with—Expenditures for—Number of—Difficulties in Civilizing them—Their Religion—Efforts to keep Intoxicants from—Reservations for them and their Captives—Agents for—Missionaries among the Aborigines, the Friends, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists—Great Extent of Land Claimed by Aborigines—Wisdom in Contracting their Range—Further Removal Treaties—United States pays Debts for—Vaccination of against Smallpox—Descendants of the Aborigines in General and in Particular—Cannibalism of—Later Characteristics compared with Former—Evil influences of the French and British—Many Fictions promulgated and perpetuated regarding—Their Misnaming and Mistraining—Linguistic

Stocks here Represented — Tribes — Had no right to claim Lands for their Continuance in Savagery. 1812-1846.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Present Drainage System of the Maumee River Basin 443

Peculiar Courses of the Nine Rivers, and the Causes — Character of the Water — The Rivers as Early Thorofares — River Craft — Service of the Rivers to the Aborigines and Early Settlers as Food Supply of Fish and Fowl — Changes wrought by Clearing the Forest and by Mills — Present Service of for Water-supply and as Resorts for Recreation and Pleasure — Description of the Maumee, Auglaise, Little Auglaise, St. Mary, St. Joseph, Blanchard, Ottawa of the Auglaise, Ottawa of the Maumee, and of the Tiffin River — Origin of their Names — Their Rapids, and former Mills by — Floods — Former Portages to and from — Boat building by, and later Commerce along — Toledo Harbor the Best by the Great Lakes — Its Shipping, and Shipbuilding.

CHAPTER XIV.

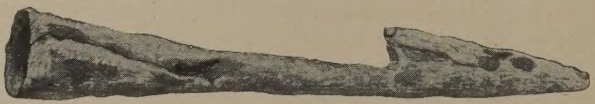
The First American Settlers, and the Organization of Counties . . . 512

First Settlers by the lower Maumee were Driven away by War of 1812 — Reminiscences of — Claim Damages of United States for Destruction or Use of Crops in the War — Survey of the United States Reservations and the Beginning of Towns — First Masonic Lodges and Churches—First Newspapers—Wood the first County Organized — Waynesfield the Mother Township — Description of Site of Defiance in 1792 — First American Settlers at Occupy buildings of Fort Winchester — Organization of Williams County with Defiance as seat of Government — Taxes paid by Bounty on Wolf-scalps — Center of Timber Industry in Clearing the Forest — First Settlers and Organizations at Fort Wayne and northeastern Indiana, and elsewhere throughout the Basin — The Ohio-Michigan Boundary Dispute. 1792-1850.

CHAPTER XV.

Development of Communication, Public Lands, Schools, Libraries . . . 579

First United States Mailroutes and Postoffices — Public Roads, Ferries, Bridges — Survey and Platting of United States Lands — Land Offices — The Private and Public Schools — Colleges — The Miami and Erie and the Wabash and Erie Canals — The Struggles for their Completion — Their Water-supply from the River St. Joseph, the headwaters of the Wabash River, of Loramie and Six-mile Creeks and from the Maumee River — Their Junction — Altitudes — Importance of in Clearing the Forest and Developing the New Country — Great amount of Freight and Passenger Traffic — As a National Military Highway — Enemies of — Cost and Earnings of — Two United States Surveys for their Enlargement — Speculative and soon-abandoned Towns by — Abandonment of the Wabash Canal — The First Railroads — Libraries, Public at Toledo, Perrysburg, Defiance, Fort Wayne, Bryan, Van Wert, Findlay, Lima, Paulding, and Private Libraries at Fort Wayne, Defiance, and Toledo.



Iron, five inches long. Found in Maumee River Basin many years ago. Was used by Aborigines in spearing fish, and in battle. In Author's Collection.

PREFACE

Every river basin possesses characteristics that endow it with special interest, and such is particularly the case with The Maumee River Basin which is peculiar in its geology, remarkable in its past history, beautiful in its landscapes rivers and lakes, and interesting in its possibilities. This book has been written to interest and inform those dwellers herein who are not already well informed regarding its characteristics and history, and that all consulting it may be better enabled to appreciate the interests and merits appertaining to this favored region.

From the dawn of its history in the seventeenth century, and probably throughout the existence of man in northeastern America, the principal rivers of this Basin have been great thoroughfares, within the Basin itself and as the most direct route between the northeastern Basin of the Great Lakes and the Basin of the Mississippi River. They have also often been the scenes of much strife between different tribes of Aborigines, even between those of the Iroquois Confederacy of New York and the Miamis of the Maumee and further west, the giants of the Aborigines; and twice in the history of the United States this Basin has been the headquarters of armies which turned the current of events favorably to the Union, saving to it from the tightening grasp of Great Britain the invaluable territory west of the Allegheny Mountains, to the Mississippi River at least.

The Aborigines and their descendants give prominent coloring to the most part of the chronicles, through the efforts of the Europeans to involve them in all their quarrels, from the first coming of the French in the first half of the seventeenth century, through the long-continued British-French warrings, during the British succession, the American-British wars, and until the removal of the tribes beyond the Mississippi River in the first half of the nineteenth century. The later record of these people here as elsewhere is far from being a pleasant one. It continued to be full of savagery, of bloodshed, and of rendings of the civilization that would have immeasurably improved their condition had they accepted it; and the saddest part of the record is the aiding, abetting and prolonging of this savagery by the French and the British particularly, and the entailing upon the United States of an evil heritage of gigantic proportions in their confirmed evil habits. It has been the desire of the writer to treat of all these people in the light of authentic history rather than in the fictitious way of the sentimentalist. The story of the Aborigines, for the one hundred and fifty years as told on these pages, touches every phase of their life, including every phase of individual and governmental dealings with them; and the thoughtful reader will readily recognize the source of the impulses actuating and continuing their antagonism to civilization and the source and transmission of the habit of inebriety which has been the prime factor in the continuance of many of their descendants in squalor and wretchedness. No other nation has done so much for the amelioration and radical betterment of the condition of barbaric or savage people as the United States has done in general and special efforts from the first for the civilization of these Aborigines, the worst of all savages. The most important treaties and dealings with them are here given in full as studies in the history of the evolution of the ever magnanimous dealings with them by the United States. These records, now long out of publication, will become of more interest and of greater value to the student of Nations and Peoples as the time lengthens into the past.

The previous writings regarding some of the more common events in this Basin have been abundant and often conflicting, involving difficulty in discrimination. There has not been any desire with the present writer to follow anyone among the vanities of fiction or undue supposition; or in the 'graphic' style for the rounding out of a 'good' or oft repeated story to the distraction of the reader's mind from the main point, or to the impairment of accuracy. So far as practicable original documents and reports, not readily accessible to the general reader, are literally presented as possessing a value that no recasting can equal.* When necessary, notes or inserts are used to elucidate obscure places in the documents and to give them local application. Full references to authorities are given for the enquiring reader who desires to confirm the statements or to pursue the subject further. Events distantly relative are briefly treated.

The purpose of the work has been practical, and its method has been largely in consonance with the sentiment of Francis Bacon as expressed in his writing on the *Advancement of Learning*, that "It is the true office of history to represent the events themselves together with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment."

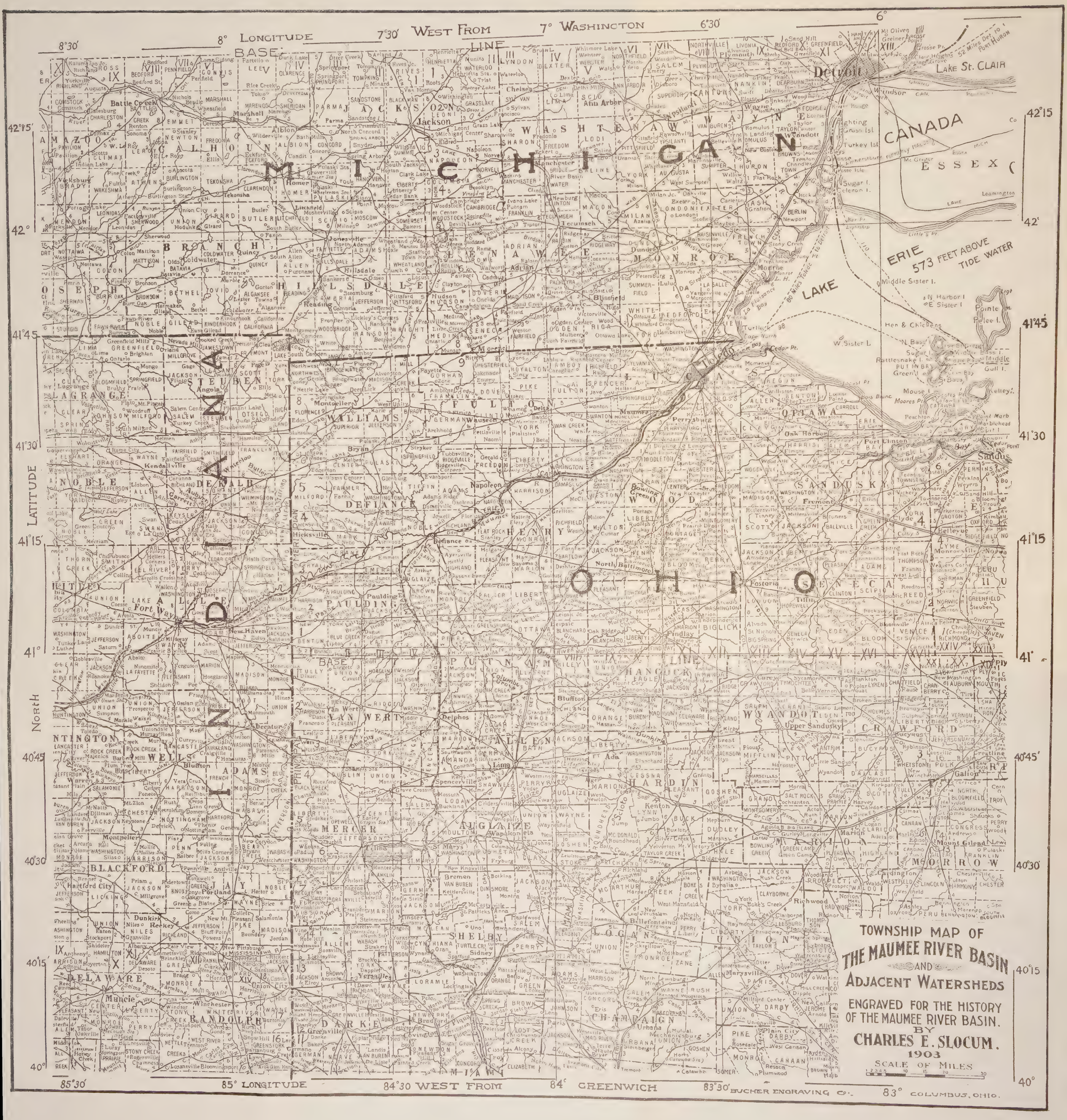
The writer gratefully acknowledges the courtesy shown him by the elderly people and those in charge of the different libraries East and West from whom he has sought data for this work. He also disclaims responsibility for its long rest in the press and for errors that have thereby been committed.

The photographs reproduced in the engravings were generally taken by the writer excepting when otherwise mentioned.

DEFIANCE, OHIO. CHARLES E. SLOCUM.

---

*It is probable that many other records of interest in the history of this first 'Northwestern Territory' will yet be brought to light from the British, French and Spanish archives, and possibly from the bundles of MSS, saved from the British fire of 1814 and now held by different departments at Washington.



TOWNSHIP MAP OF
THE MAUMEE RIVER BASIN
AND
ADJACENT WATERSHEDS

ENGRAVED FOR THE HISTORY
OF THE MAUMEE RIVER BASIN.
BY
CHARLES E. SLOCUM.
1903

SCALE OF MILES
1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 30

BUCHER ENGRAVING CO. COLUMBUS, OHIO.

THE MAUMEE RIVER BASIN.

CHAPTER I.

SITUATION—EXTENT—CLIMATE—SURFACE FEATURES.

The Maumee River Basin—the territory within the watersheds draining through the Maumee River—includes all the regions that are drained into the Maumee River through distant streams as well as the lands drained directly by the Maumee; in other words, it includes the Maumee River Valley and the valleys of all streams the waters of which immediately, and remotely through other streams, debouch into the Maumee River.

It embraces Northwestern Ohio, Northeastern Indiana, and contiguous parts of Michigan, being situated between parallels 40° 23′ and 42° 5′ North Latitude, and between Longitude 6° 20′ and 8° 15′ west from Washington, and 83° 20′ and 85° 15′ west from Greenwich, England.

Its greatest length and breadth are, from north to south about one hundred and ten miles, and from east to west about one hundred miles, with less extent and irregular outline between these points. The area embraced within these limits is near 6500 square miles.

Previous to its clearing in the nineteenth century, this Basin was quite generally covered with dense forest growths which, from the size, solidity and variety of the timber, with its nearness to navigable water, made it the most valuable of forest regions.

The conditions were then favorable for all kinds of wild animals, large and small, then abounding in this latitude in America.*

---

* The following is a list of the animals that have become extinct, and the dates of their extinction: Badger, *Taxidea americana*, 1870; Bear, brown, black or cinnamon, *Ursus americanus*, 1872; Beaver, *Castor fiber*, 1837; Bison, ‘buffalo,’ *Bison americanus*, 1812; Cat, Wild, *Lynx rufus*, 1866; Deer, red, *Cariacus virginianus*, 1889; Deer, large, Wapiti, *Cervus canadensis* Erxleben, 1824; Elk, *Alce alces*, 1822; Fox, black and silver, and cross, *Vulpes vulpes*, varieties *argentatus* and *decussatus*, 1886; Fox, gray, *Urocyon cinereo-argentatus*, 1896; Lynx, *Lynx canadensis*, 1840; Otter, *Lutra hudsonica*, now very nearly or quite extinct; Panther, cougar or puma, *Felis concolor*, 1850; Rat, Wood, *Neotoma floridana*, 1880; Sable, pine martin, *Mustela americana*, 1865; Turkey, Wild, *Meleagris gallopavo*, 1885; Wolf, *Canis lupus*, 1865; Wolverine, *Gulo gulo*, about 1825. Probably the Moose also ranged through this region. The prehistoric animals will be mentioned on later page. See the writer's check-lists of mammals, birds, and fishes of The Maumee River Basin.

There are no hills within or surrounding this Basin, nor do its horizons present any abrupt lines. The general surface is called flat by persons coming from hilly regions. Its glacial plains are, however, interspersed and abutted by moraines or low ridges which rise gradually on the northwest rim of the Basin to an altitude of six hundred and forty-seven feet above Lake Erie which borders it on the northeast, and into which it drains, while on the east the highest altitude is two hundred and forty-five feet; on the south three hundred and eighty-six feet; and on the west three hundred feet above Lake Erie, which is five hundred and seventy-three feet above tide water. The varying altitudes throughout the Basin, shown on the morainic map on a later page, indicate sufficient slopes for thorough drainage, and to afford variety of beautiful landscapes even in its most level parts.

The climate is here less severe in winter than that experienced a few miles to the north, and less variable than that beyond the divide to the south. Cold waves and severe storms occasionally announced by the United States Weather Bureau as advancing from the West and Northwest, do not regularly extend to this region; and when they are felt it is in moderated degree. The prevailing winds come from the Southwest. The snowfall is always moderate in quantity, a foot in depth being of rare occurrence in the central part of the Basin, and fifteen inches being the greatest depth experienced within the last third of a century at least. Occasionally the fall has been greater near Lake Erie. Within this period of time there have been several weeks of fair sleighing from frequent light snowfalls in some winters, with ice on the deeper waters in extreme to the thickness of thirty inches, succeeded by other winters when sleighs could be used but little if at all, and some of these winters so mild that ice did not form in sufficient thickness for storing for summer use. The temperature observed some years ago for a period of ten years showed a mean of 49.55 degrees Fahrenheit, average. The mean average fall of rain and snow (melted) during ten years observation has been 38.9087 inches. The last few years the precipitation has not been so great. Careful observations during a great number of years may vary these records, as long cycles of time may be necessary to show all the extremes in any region.

The earlier tillers of the soil found it very wet. The clay and solid subsoil, which abound in many parts, retained the water without ditches and in forest shadows a long time, often throughout the year. On this account much of this Basin was termed the Black Swamp, a name which was in common application to all of the more level surfaces until the last few years. The clearing of the land and the digging of large ditches with tributary tile drains, have dried and aerated the soil and brought it into good condition for profitable cultivation. The constituents of the soil are such as to make this a region of great and durable fertility, with quite uniform production of the varied crops usually cultivated in this latitude, winter wheat, maize (corn), hay, potatoes, oats, rye, and barley being the principal crops. Flax, tobacco, broom-corn, sorghum, sugar beets, etc., have also been proved profitable for cultivation.

Good apples, peaches, pears, plums, and grapes are produced in large quantities, and increasing attention is being given to the cultivation of various kinds of smaller fruits; also to market gardening.

A goodly number of cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, and latterly goats, have been bred, and the numbers are increasing from year to year, showing that the soil and other conditions are well adapted to stock raising. Defiance, the central part of the Basin, has also become one of the shipping points of the largest amount of poultry to the New York market.

Swamp miasms were rife from the first records of this Maumee region and during the period of clearing away the forest, the opening of the ground to the direct rays of the sun, during the earlier turnings of the soil in its cultivation, and in public works. Ague—intermittent fever—in its different forms, and the severer remittent fevers, were quite general and severe until the year 1875 in most parts of the Basin; and in the less developed parts these diseases continued for several years later. The writer, in the practice of his profession, has treated virulent types of these affections in many families where there was not a member in good health to nurse those dangerously sick. These diseases were most prevalent and severe in dry summers; and the following winters inflammatory diseases were numerous and virulent on account of the weakened condition of the people from the malaria. The death rate, although no higher than in other places throughout the country, was greater those years than it has since been. In fact, since the passing of the swamps and their miasms the healthfulness of this Basin ranks very favorably with that of any region in America. Most parts have been comparatively free from the severer forms of contagious diseases, including tuberculosis. In later years longevity has attained a high standard. The death rate averages comparatively low, it being by the thousand inhabitants in the year 1901 or 1902 as follows:

In Ohio for 1901: Ada, 12.03; Bryan, 14.37; Ottawa, 6.80; Maumee, 9.16; Lima, 13.30; Delphos, 14.17; Grand Rapids, 9.11; Napoleon, 7.97; Wauseon, 7.91; Fayette, 15.80; St. Marys, 13.25.

In Ohio for 1902: Defiance, 8.50; Van Wert, 9.87½; Findlay, 11.38$\frac{8}{9}$; Toledo, 11.54⅔; Wapakoneta, 15.33⅓.

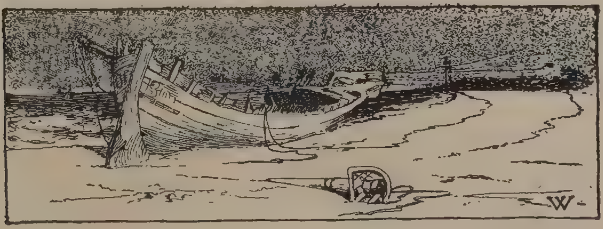
In Indiana for 1902: Angola, 8.84$\frac{8}{13}$; Fort Wayne, 11.50.

	Name	From Whom or What Named	Formed	From What Taken	Attached to for Government
1	Adams, Ind.	Pres. John Adams	1836	Randolph and Allen Counties	Allen County
2	Allen, Ind.	Col. John Allen	Dec. 17, 1823	Randolph and Delaware	....
3	Allen, Ohio	Col. John Allen	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Mercer County
4	Auglaize, Ohio	Auglaize River	1848	Allen, Logan, Darke, Shelby, Mercer and Van Wert	....
5	Defiance, Ohio	Fort Defiance	March 4, 1845	Williams, Henry and Paulding	....
6	De Kalb, Ind.	Baron De Kalb	1837	Allen and Lagrange	....
7	Fulton, Ohio	Robert Fulton	Feby. 28, 1850	Lucas, Henry and Williams	....
8	Hancock, Ohio	John Hancock	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Wood County
9	Hardin, Ohio	Col. John Hardin	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Logan, Champaign
10	Henry, Ohio	Patrick Henry	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Wood, Williams
11	Hillsdale, Mich.	Topography	....	....	....
12	Lenawee, Mich.	Aborigine	....	....	....
13	Lucas, Ohio	Gov. Robert Lucas	June , 1835	Wood County	....
14	Mercer, Ohio	Gen. Hugh Mercer	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Darke County
15	Noble, Ind.	....	....	....	....
16	Paulding, Ohio	John Paulding	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Wood, Williams
17	Putnam, Ohio	Gen. Israel Putnam	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Wood, Williams
18	Seneca, Ohio	Aborigine Tribe	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	....
19	Shelby, Ohio	Gen. Isaac Shelby	1819	Miami County	....
20	Steuben, Ind.	Baron Steuben	1837	Allen County	....
21	Van Wert, Ohio	Isaac Van Wert	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Darke and Mercer
22	Wells, Ind.	William Wells	....	....	....
23	Williams, Ohio	Daniel Williams	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	Wood County
24	Wood, Ohio	Col. Eleazer D. Wood	April 1, 1820	Aborigine Territory	....
25	Wyandot, Ohio	Aborigine Tribe	Feby. 3, 1845	Crawford, Hancock, Hardin and Marion Cos.	....

AMERICAN BISON (*Bison americanus*).
Became extinct in this Basin about the year 1812.

WITH SOMETHING OF THEIR DATA, ARE AS FOLLOWS:

ORGANIZED	POPULATION									PART IN THE BASIN	WHERE GOVERNED	POPULAT'N 1900	
	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900				
..........1836	....	....	2,264	5,797	9,252	11,382	15,385	20,181	22,232	3-4ths	Decatur	4,142	1
Dec. 17, 1823	....	996	5,942	16,919	29,328	43,494	54,763	66,689	77,270	4-5ths	Fort Wayne	45,115	2
June , 1831	....	578	9,079	12,109	19,185	23,623	31,314	40,644	47,976	Entire	Lima	21,723	3
..........1848	....	....	......	11,338	17,187	20,041	25,444	28,100	31,192	9-10ths	Wapakoneta	3,915	4
March 4, 1845	....	....	......	6,966	11,886	15,719	22,515	25,769	26,387	Entire	Defiance	7,657	5
..........1837	....	....	1,968	8,251	13,880	17,167	20,225	24,307	25,711	Entire	Auburn	3,396	6
Feby. 28, 1850	....	....	......	7,781	14,043	17,789	21,053	22,023	22,801	Entire	Wauseon	2,148	7
April 7, 1828	....	813	9,986	16,751	22,886	23,847	27,784	42,563	41,993	3-4ths	Findlay	17,613	8
Jany. 3, 1833	....	210	4,598	8,251	13,570	18,714	27,023	28,939	31,187	1-4th	Kenton	6,852	9
..........1824	....	262	2,503	3,434	8,901	14,028	20,585	25,080	27,282	19-20ths	Napoleon	3,639	10
....	....	....	7,240	16,159	25,675	31,684	31,695	30,660	29,865	1-2	Hillsdale	4,151	11
....	....	1,491	17,889	26,372	38,112	45,595	49,324	48,448	48,406	1-5th	Adrian	9,654	12
June , 1835	....	....	9,382	12,363	25,831	46,722	67,377	102,296	153,559	Entire	Toledo	131,822	13
April 17, 1824	....	1,110	8,277	7,712	14,104	17,254	21,808	27,220	28,021	3-4ths	Celina	2,815	14
....	....	....	2,702	7,946	14,915	20,389	22,956	23,359	23,533	1-5th	Albion	1,324	15
..........1839	....	161	1,034	1,766	4,945	8,544	13,485	25,932	27,528	Entire	Paulding	2,080	16
..........1834	....	230	5,189	7,221	12,808	17,081	23,713	30,188	32,525	9-10ths	Ottawa	2,322	17
April 1, 1824	....	5,159	18,128	27,104	30,868	30,827	36,947	40,869	41,163	1-20th	Tiffin	10,989	18
..........1819	2,106	3,671	12,154	13,958	17,493	20,748	24,137	24,707	24,625	1-10th	Sidney	5,688	19
..........1837	....	....	2,578	6,104	10,374	12,854	14,645	14,478	15,219	1-4th	Angola	2,141	20
..........1836	....	49	1,577	4,793	10,238	15,823	23,028	29,671	30,394	Entire	Van Wert	6,422	21
....	....	....	1,822	6,152	10,848	13,585	18,442	21,514	23,449	1-20th	Bluffton	4,479	22
April , 1824	....	387	4,465	8,018	16,633	20,991	23,821	24,897	24,953	Entire	Bryan	3,131	23
April 1, 1820	733	1,102	5,357	9,157	17,886	24,596	34,022	44,392	51,555	1-3rd	Bowling Green	5,067	24
Feby. 3, 1845	....	....	......	11,194	15,596	18,553	22,395	21,722	21,125	1-15th	Up'r Sandusky	3,355	25



CHAPTER II.

ITS GEOLOGY—PECULIARITIES—VALUABLE FEATURES.

It is not within the limits of this book to treat of the geology of the Maumee River Basin in detail as discussed technically by geologists. The object of the writer is to briefly outline the subject so that the local reader, for whom this work is undertaken, even though he be as yet uninterested and uninformed, may get somewhat of a desire, an impetus, and a bibliography for further reading.

The historic period of this region occupies but a brief time in chronology in comparison with the great length of time which must have elapsed during the formation of the topography as seen by the first European explorers in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The ocean is the mother of continents. The inland State of Ohio bears unmistakable evidence of having been covered by the sea during the long geologic periods that the rocks of her underlying strata, so far as explored, were formed. The character of these rocks, including the fossils found embedded by them, in common with similar formations in other parts of the earth, plainly bespeak their epoch in the earth's geologic history. Animal life in the sea varied in different epochs as well as life on the land. The remains were subjected to the continued action of the waves, in the more shallow parts, which washed some shells and bones into plastic recesses, there to become petrified, while others were ground into powder to be deposited and cemented to the accretion of rock strata. The study and classification of the varying strata and their fossils have shown results sufficient to enable geologists to name the period of formation of even dislocated fragments of strata wherever found. All the rock strata of this Basin were deposited from the waters of a sea which is understood as having been an extension of the Gulf of Mexico, as its most fossiliferous strata, the Upper Helderberg or Corniferous Limestone for example, bear evidences of having been deposited from clear waters of tropic warmth.*

Study of the accompanying Chart will show the geologic relations of the Maumee River Basin to the more complete parts of Ohio, to those of other parts of North America, and of Europe. This Chart shows that the geological column of this Basin is the shortest of the

---

* See the *Geological Survey of Ohio*, 1890, page 45.

THE GEOLOGICAL RECORD

OR

ORDER OF SUCCESSION OF THE STRATIFIED FORMATIONS OF THE EARTH'S CRUST

Allowance should be made for varying nomenclature coming from different observers and want of full comparative study

ERAS	AGES		PERIODS	EPOCHS	STRATA			
					NORTH AMERICA	OHIO	MAUMEE RIVER BASIN	EUROPE
QUARTERNARY OR PSYCHOZOIC.	AGE OF ANGIOSPERMS AND PALMS.	THE AGE OF MAN.	QUARTERNARY OR POST-TERTIARY.	Recent, and Prehistoric	Alluvia of Rivers and Lakes. Peat, Shell-beds. &c. Younger Raised Beaches. Shell heaps, &c. Neolithic Implements.	Alluvia of Rivers and Lakes. Peat, Younger Raised Beaches. Neolithic Implements.	Alluvia of Rivers and Lakes. Peat, Younger Raised Beaches. Neolithic Implements.	Alluvia of Rivers, Lakes, &c. Peat, Shell-beds, &c. Younger Raised Beaches. Shell heaps, Lake Dwellings. Neolithic Implements.
				Pleistocene. Champlain.	Old Terraces, Loess. Iceberg Deposits. Forest Beds. Champlin Clay, Erie Clay. Raised Beaches.	Old Terraces. Iceberg Deposits. Forest Beds. Erie Clay. Raised Beaches.	Iceberg Deposits. Forest Beds. Erie Clay. Raised Beaches.	Old Cave Deposits, Loess. Older Valley-gravels Raised Beaches.
				Glacial. Later Middle Early	Eskar Drifts. Upper Boulder-clays. Latest Moraines. Palaeolithic Implements. Interglacial Beds. Lower Boulder-clays.	Eskar Drifts. Upper Boulder-clays. Latest Moraines. Palaeolithic Implements. Interglacial Beds. Lower Boulder-clays.	Eskar Drifts. Upper Boulder-clays. Latest Moraine. Palaeolithic Implements. Interglacial Beds. Lower Boulder-clays.	Eskar Drifts. Upper Boulder-clays. Latest Moraines. Palaeolithic Implements. Interglacial Beds. Lower Boulder-clays.
TERTIARY OR CENOZOIC.		AGE OF MAMMALS.	TERTIARY.	Pliocene.	Deep beds in Florida, Calif., and intervening places.	Wanting.	Wanting.	English Forest bed and crag of different lands.
				Miocene.	Sands, Clays and Marls of Mass., Md., Va., S. C., Fla. and the West.			Not known in Britain. Marls, Sands & Limestones of different countries.
				Oligocene.	Vicksburg Beds.			Basalt plateau, N.W.Europe. Gypsum, &c., France, &c. Marine Beds, Isle of Wight. Brown Coal Series, Germany.
				Eocene.	Lignitic Calcareous Beds, Sands and Clays of Md., Va., Ala. &c.			Nummulitic Limestone, Gypsum, &c. of Paris. London Clay and Sands.
SECONDARY OR MESOZOIC.		AGE OF REPTILES.	CRETACEOUS.	Upper Cretaceous.	Upper, Middle and Lower Greensands, Clay Marls, &c in East, South and West.	Wanting.	Wanting.	Chalk of Faxoe, Upper Chalk, Lower Chalk and Chalky Marl, Upper Greensand, Gault Clay.
				Lower Cretaceous.	Greensands, in East, South and West.			Lower Greensand, Wealdon Fresh Water Beds.
	AGE OF CYCADS.		JURASSIC.	Oolitic.	Upper, or Portlandian. Middle, or Oolitic.	Wanting.	Wanting.	Upper Oolite. Purbeck Beds. Portland Stone. Kimeridge Clay. Middle Oolite. Coral Rag. Oxford Clay, &c. Lower Oolite. Great Oolite. Forest Marble.
				Liassic.	Lower, or Liassic. In South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, Sonora, and other places.			Upper Lias. Middle Lias. Black Jura or Lias. Lower Lias. Infra Lias.
			TRIASSIC.	Rhaetic. Upper Trias, or Keuper. Middle Trias. Lower Trias.	Triassic Sandstones, Marl, Coal, &c., Atlantic Coast, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Sonora, &c.	Wanting.	Wanting.	Rhaetic. Keuper. Muschelkalk. Bunter or Lower Lias.
PRIMARY OR PALAEOZOIC.	AGE OF ACROGENS.	CARBONIFEROUS OR AGE OF COAL PLANTS AND AMPHIBIANS.	PERMIAN.	Permian.	Magnesian Limestone. Kansas, Nebraska, &c.	Wanting.	Wanting.	Magnesian Limestone, Marl-slate, &c. Red Sandstones, Conglomerates, and Breccias.
			CARBONIFEROUS.	Upper Coal Measures.	Upper Coal Measures.	Upper Barren Coal Measures. Upper Productive Coal Measures.	Wanting.	Coal Measures.
				Lower Coal Measures.	Lower Coal Measures.	Lower Barren Coal Measures. Lower Productive Coal Measures.		
				Carboniferous Conglomerate.	Conglomerate.	Conglomerate Group.		Millstone Grit.
			SUB-CARBONIFEROUS.	Upper Sub-Carboniferous.	Limestone.	Limestone.	Wanting.	Carboniferous.
				Lower Sub-Carboniferous.	Shales and Sandstones.	Waverly Group. Logan Group. Cuyahoga Shale. Berea Shale. Berea Grit. Bedford Shale.	Wanting.	Limestone Series.
		DEVONIAN OR AGE OF FISHES.	CHEMUNG.	Chemung. Portage.	Catskill Group. Chemung Group. Portage Group.	Ohio Shale: Cleveland. Erie. Huron.	Ohio Shale.	Upper Yellow and Red Sandstones.
	AGE OF ALGAE.		HAMILTON.	Hamilton. Marcellus.	Tully Limestone. Moscow Shale. Encrinal Limestone. Ludlowville Shale. Marcellus Shale.	Hamilton Shale. (Olentangy Shale?)	Hamilton Shale.	Lower Sandstones, and Flagstones.
			CORNIFEROUS.	Corniferous. Schoharie.	Corniferous Limestone. Devonian or Upper Helderberg. Onondaga Limestone. Schoharie Grit. Canda-Galla Grit.	Corniferous Limestone, Devonian or Upper Helderberg, including West Jefferson Sandstone.	Corniferous Limestone, Devonian or Upper Helderberg.	Upper—Cypridina and Goniatites beds. Middle—Stringocephalus Limestone. Lower—Spirifer Sandstone, &c.
			ORISKANY.	Oriskany.	Oriskany Sandstone.			
		SILURIAN OR AGE OF MOLLUSKS.	UPPER SILURIAN. LOWER HELDERBERG.	Upper Pentamerus. Shaly Limestone. Lower Pentamerus.	Upper Pentamerus Limestone. Encrinal Limestone. Delthyris Shaly Limestone. Lower Pentamerus Limestone. Lower Helderberg or Waterlime, including Sylvania Sandstone.	Lower Helderberg Limestone, or Waterlime, including Sylvania Sandstone.	Lower Helderberg Limestone, or Waterlime, including Sylvania Sandstone.	Ludlow Group = Onondaga and Lower Helderberg.
			ONONDAGA.	Saliferous.	Onondaga Salt Group.			
			NIAGARA.	Niagara. Clinton. Medina.	Le Claire, Guelph and Niagara Limestone. Niagara Shale. Clinton Group. Medina Sandstone. Oneida Conglomerate.	Guelph Group. Niagara Limestone. Niagara Shale. Clinton Limestone. Medina Shale.	Niagara Limestone Niagara Shale. Clinton Limestone. Medina Shale.	Wenlock Limestone Group = Niagara Llandovery Group = Medina and Clinton.
			LOWER SILURIAN. TRENTON.	Hudson. Utica.	Hudson Shales. Utica Shales.	Hudson River Group. Utica Shales.	Hudson River Shales. Utica Shales.	Caradoc Sandstone and Bala Group.
				Trenton.	Trenton Limestone. Black River Limestone. Birdseye Limestone	Trenton Limestone Not Exposed.	Trenton Limestone Not Exposed.	Llandeilo Flag Group.
			CANADIAN.	Chazy. Calciferous.	Chazy Limestone. Quebec Group. Calciferous Sandstones			Arenig, or Lingula Flag, Group
			UPPER CAMBRIAN. MIDDLE CAMBRIAN. LOWER CAMBRIAN.	Potsdam. Acadian. Georgian	Olenidian Series. Paradoxidian Series. Olenellus Series.	Not Exposed.	Not Exposed.	Olenidian Series. Paradoxidian Series. Olenellus Series.
ARCHAEAN.		ARCHAEOZOIC OR AZOIC.	PRE-CAMBRIAN.	Huronian Laurentian	Huronian System Laurentian System	Not Exposed.	Not Exposed.	Stratified Rocks. Volcanic Rocks. Oldest Gneises.

To face page seven of Dr. Charles E. Slocum's History of the Maumee River Basin.

comparatively short structure of Ohio. The principal rock strata missing in this Basin are the Sub-Carboniferous, the Carboniferous, Permian, Triassic, Jurassic, Cretaceous, and the Tertiary. The cause for the absence here of the rocks of those periods in geologic history is, that at, or soon following, the close of the rock period now represented here, this region was elevated above the sea by some internal agency and could not receive any more deposits therefrom, while other parts of the continent with later rock strata, remained relatively longer submerged. Exposures of the rock floor by water erosions and by excavations, and of the various underlying strata by quarrying, and by deep drillings for water, oil and gas, have demonstrated the absence here of the strata elsewhere formed during the later geologic periods, and determined the strata here existing.

These rock explorations have also brought to light, and to the consideration of geologists and chemists, features and characteristics of the rock strata here existing that have opened new pages in their marvelous history. It is thus demonstrated that they have been subjected to varying changes, not alone by pressure and chemic action, but by elevation and depression, during the epochs since their deposition, as is shown by varying densities, crystallizations, by the fossillization of the shells and bones that escaped comminution in whole or in part, and by the irregularity observed in the strata.

The lowest rock formation in Ohio exposed in quarry is supposed to be at Point Pleasant, Clermont County. Latterly the rock of this quarry has been classed as of the Trenton Period.*

The discovery of unquestioned Trenton Limestone in Ohio, however, was made by drillings in this Basin where it lies from 1000 feet on the east to 2000 feet on the northwest below the surface. The Trenton is the lowest stratum that has been entered in Ohio. Wells have been drilled into it in nearly every county in the Basin with varying results as to depth and product. The results of these drillings to the depth of and into the Trenton stratum have also been the source of surprises to geologists from their yield of Petroleum and Natural Gas, as in other particulars. The comparatively level surface of most parts of this Basin had led to the belief that the underlying rock strata were also level; but these drillings have revealed the surprising fact that they are characterized by a far greater irregularity of structure, and by greater suddenness and steepness of dip than the strata of any other portion of Ohio. The most marked irregularities have thus far been found toward the east side of the Basin where the well records show that the strata dip at some points at the rate of three hundred feet to the mile. The entire rock floor of this region bears evidence of changed conditions from the elevations and depressions to which this Basin has been subjected. It is not uncommon to find the strata descending at an angle of from two to ten degrees, but the descent is not generally long continued, and all irregularities are included in the main dip to which they are subordinate.*

---

* See the *Geological Survey of Ohio*, vol. i, page 437, and vol. vi, page 5.

THE LEVEL LANDSCAPE.

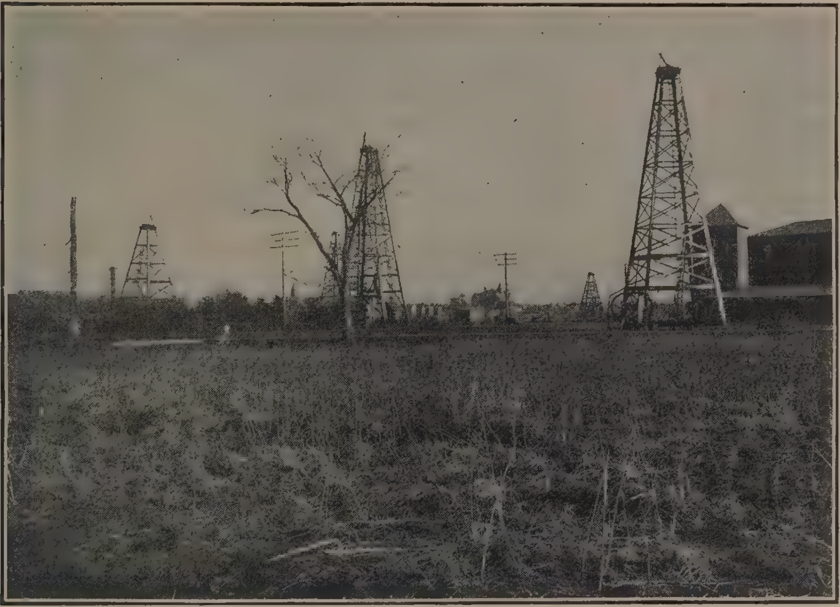
Looking east of north from the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, and between Sections 25 and 26, Delaware Township, Defiance County, Ohio, October 30th, 1901. The white building to the left of the tall tree is a United Brethren Church, and the building near the central distance is a School House, both about 1¼ miles distant. The Maumee River flows from left to right on the proximal side of the large building on the left in a channel about forty feet in depth. The road in the foreground is a private, farm wagonway.

The data of drillings given on another page afford some measurements for study of the irregularities of the rock strata in dip and, also, in surface abrasion. The lower strata decline toward the westward and the upper strata are exposed, mostly in water courses and quarries, in the eastern half of the Basin. On the rim of the Basin to the east, south and south-east, the Niagara or Lower Helderberg formation is uppermost. Along the course of the Maumee River to the western line of Lucas County, Ohio, and thence north-easterly into Michigan the Hamilton Group, or Upper Devonian, is uppermost. To the south of the Maumee for a varying width of from twenty-five to thirty miles on the west to two or three miles on the north, the Corniferous Limestone, or Upper Helderberg, is the first exposed. To the north and west of the Hamilton Group, overlying all others is the Ohio Shale, the Huron Shale of the early geologic surveys, and this is covered directly by the Glacial Drift of the Quarternary Period.

---

* See the *Geological Survey of Ohio*, 1890, page 46.

High pressure Natural Gas was discovered in the Trenton Limestone at Findlay while drilling for water in November, 1884.*



Edge of the Petroleum District, Findlay, Ohio, one mile north of the Blanchard River. Looking southeast 1st May, 1902. The Lake Erie & Western Railway in foreground. Manufactory of Fire-clay Pots on right. Petroleum wells being pumped under the Derricks which serve as supports for the Drills. Ward School Building to right of center, and tower of Findlay College between cluster of Derricks and telegraph pole to left of center.

In May, 1885, Petroleum was first obtained in quantity at Lima, also in the Trenton Rock, and soon thereafter both gas and oil were found in great quantity. These products had been found before in various strata, but not with sufficient pressure and quantity in this Basin for profit. This large quantity of gas and oil from a Lower Silurian Limestone was unexpected. Geologists in common with the well-drillers were surprised at the discovery.†

It was supposed that the deep lying rocks were too dense to contain any quantity of fluid. The drills, however, demonstrated high degrees of porosity in places, which were estimated as equal to one-tenth to one-eighth of the volume of the rock.‡

---

* Natural Gas pressure has been registered as high as 800 pounds to the square inch; and other wells estimated as high as 1000 pounds.

† See the *Geological Survey of Ohio*, 1890, page 106.

‡ The Rock Waters of Ohio, *Nineteenth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey*, 1897-98, Part IV, Hydrography, page 640.

This porosity is due to chemic reaction and crystallization in the rock, the later conditions requiring less space. Thus porosities, caverns or pockets are formed, and their size or extent governs the quantity of gas, oil or water obtainable. The drillers 'gas sand' and 'oil sand' is composed largely of fragments of this changed rock. The elevations and depressions to which the rocks have been subjected have, also, contributed fissures and cavities in which these products may be stored; but generally, in this Basin at least, these products are found in the natural (crystalline) porosities of the rock.

The great quantity and value of Petroleum and Natural Gas found in this Basin have endowed them and the Trenton Limestone with such great interest and importance that further points in their story will be briefly given. This limestone was given the name of the place of its most picturesquely eroded outcrop at Trenton, New York. It generally lies deeply buried, but it has outcrops in different States. When disintegrated by natural causes, such as rain, frost, heat, wind, etc., it produces very fertile soil—the Blue Grass region in Kentucky being a well known illustration. The numerous deep drillings in this Basin have demonstrated that Petroleum and Natural Inflammable Gas are very widely distributed in the porosities of the different strata of its rocks, as is the case in other countries. Gas is exhaled from shallow water wells, and from the surface of the ground in numerous places, even where the uppermost stratum of rock is deeply buried. These products have, however, as yet been found in this Basin in sufficient quantity for profit, only in the Trenton Limestone, and at the northeastern, eastern, and southern parts of the Basin — in Lucas, Wood, Hancock, Allen, Auglaize, Mercer, and Van Wert Counties. It is different in other parts of Ohio, and in other States. In Fairfield County gas is obtained with high pressure from the Clinton Limestone; in Pennsylvania oil and gas are obtained from the Devonian formations; and the Tertiary formations yield these products in large quantity in California, Italy, the Island of Trinidad, and about the Caspian Sea.

These products of the rocks are not of recent origin, nor of rapid accumulation. Their formation has been going on during long geologic periods, in different parts of the earth. The ruins of Babylon, Nineveh, and many other places, evidence by the asphaltic mortar there found, that Petroleum was known to the ancient builders thousands of years ago. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler, was probably the first to mention, in his writings of the early part of the fourteenth century, Natural Inflammable Gas; and others soon thereafter described 'fire-wells' in the far east. The early white settlers in our Appalachian Mountain regions and elsewhere were astonished, and appalled, by occasional explosive conflagrations when starting their fires in ravines, and by 'springs of water that would burn' from the exhalation of gas or oil, the origin and nature of which was not then understood. These strange exhibitions were productive of superstitious fear, and served to more deeply fix superstitious legends.

The discovery of high pressure Gas and Petroleum in great quantities in America, and their extensive application to the use of man, however, are of recent years. The increased supply and application of the oil began in Pennsylvania about the year 1860, and in West Virginia, Ohio, and California, from 1870 to 1875.

The Natural Gas of some regions is closely associated with Petroleum and consists largely of marsh gas (CH_4), varying in different localities from varying temperatures and its more or less association with the lighter ingredients of the oil. The Gas from the Trenton Limestone, however, presents more uniformity of constituent parts, and it generally contains hydrogen sulphid (HS) which is indicative of bituminous origin.

Petroleum Refinery and Storage Tanks at Lima, Ohio. Looking south of west 1st May, 1902. The Petroleum is transferred to and from the Refinery and Tanks through under-ground Pipe Lines.

Several theories have been advanced regarding the origin of Petroleum and Natural Gas. A few persons have thought they, or the Petroleums particularly, are the product of chemic action among inorganic substances under great pressure;* others have contended that they originate from chemic reactions of the ingredients of animal remains; and yet others have held that the chemic reactions producing them are among vegetable remains. There are additional theories regarding their origin. It seems most probable that they result from primary or secondary decomposition through Nature's process of destructive distillation of both vegetable and animal matter that was stored with the rocks at the time of their deposition.† The full nature and detail of this process is not understood, nor the influences that inorganic substances exert in the process, if any. They, or the Petroleums, are complex combinations of chemic elements resulting from the decomposition and transformation of organic matter probably in connection with the inorganic, possibly as catalytics.* They belong to the bitumens and the hydrocarbons, with an average proportion of the two elements in the mixture of carbon eighty-five and hydrogen fifteen to the one hundred. Petroleum is thought to be the first produced in Nature's laboratory in the rocks. It is more complex and unstable in composition than gas although the elements carbon, hydrogen and oxygen in varying combinations form both, with occasionally small quantities of nitrogen, sulphurous gas, (HS) and other elements attending.

---

* See the writings of the French and Russian chemists Berthelot and Mendeléjeff.

† See the writings of Hans Hoefer of the Royal School of Mines, Leoben, Austria; of J. S. Newberry, *Geological Survey of Ohio*, vol. i; of S. F. Peckham in the *U. S. Census Reports* 1880; of T. Sterry Hunt; and G. P. Wells *Report of the Trinidad Asphalt.*

The present Petroleum business in northwestern Ohio has been summarized as follows :†

During the first week in June, 1903, the number of wells completed in Wood County was 24; production of Petroleum from these wells for the fragmentary part of the week, 710 barrels; number of non-producing wells, 2; in Hancock County, 21–670–1; Allen, 27–910–1; Auglaize, 1–20–0; Sandusky, 6–180–1; Lucas, 4–20–0; Mercer, 5–120–1; Van Wert, 12–310–1; Seneca, 2–45–0; Wyandot, 2–15–1; Ottawa, 3–300–1. Total, 107 wells, yielding in the part of week of their completion, 3480 barrels, with 9 'Dry Holes.'

Omitting Wyandot County, the activity in this field during the last week in June was: Wells completed, 129; product of these wells, 4197 barrels; non-productive wells, 9. During this week Allen County led with 28 wells with two dry, and 1120 barrels initial production.

During the first week in July the report shows Wood County, 23 wells, 745 barrels, 2 dry holes; Hancock, 26–835–2; Allen, 32–1210–2; Auglaize, 3–60–0; Sandusky, 17–310–2; Lucas, 5–105–0; Mercer, 8–245–0; Seneca, 2–15–1; Van Wert, 12–390–2; Wyandot, 2–40–1; Ottawa, 3–110–1. Total, 133–4065–13.

For the second week of July, 1903: Wood, 40–610–4; Hancock, 35–1180–5; Allen, 31–960–2; Auglaize, 1–15–0; Sandusky, 8–65–1;

---

* Sabatier and Senderens reported to the Academy of Sciences, 26th May, 1902, a theory of subterranean chemical action among inorganic substances alone as the possible origin of Petroleum. In their laboratory experimentations, starting with acetylene (C_2H_2) and hydrogen (H) they, by the aid of finely divided nickel and its related metals, obtained a liquid similar to Petroleum. It is only necessary to admit that in the depths of the earth are found, diversely distributed, alkaline-earthy metals, as well as the carbids of these metals. Water, coming in contact with the former, sets hydrogen free; and with the carbids acetylene is set free. These two gases, in variable proportions, meet nickel, cobalt, and iron — metals widely diffused in nature — and give rise to reactions that produce the various kinds of Petroleum. This explanation is in harmony with the theories of Berthelot and Mendeléjeff referred to above. See *Cosmos*, 23rd May, 1903.

† From *The Toledo Bee*, June 7, 1903, and the *Toledo Blade*, of various dates in June and July.

Lucas, 3–45–0; Mercer, 6–120–1; Seneca, 1–25–0; Van Wert, 8–205–1; Wyandot, 2–15–0; Ottawa, 2–60–0. Total, 137 wells completed, with 3300 barrels initial flow of Petroleum, and 14 wells non-productive.

The process of drilling wells for Natural Gas and Petroleum, is as follows: A derrick is erected (see illustration on page 9), and the 'big hole bit' is used to open the way through the Glacial Till to the rock, when the 'drive pipe' incasing this hole is settled on the rock. The heavy drill is now set at work, it being elevated and dropped by a rope working over a pulley at the top of the derrick and connected with a beam near the ground which is worked by a steam engine somewhat removed from the well to avoid igniting the Gas and Petroleum that may be found. Water is added to the hole from time to time if it be too dry; and the drill is removed and the bailor is used as often as desirable to take the comminuted rock from the hole. If a great flow of water is encountered, or large opening in or between the strata, a casing-pipe about six inches in diameter is intruded to make the well whole and exclude the water, and the drilling is continued. When the crystalline rock, forming the 'oil-bearing sand' and Petroleum are found, and the flow is not satisfactory, the well is 'shot' with nitro-glycerine. This explosive is lowered carefully to the bottom of the well in from three to fifteen tin 'shells' each usually containing twenty quarts. A heavy iron, shaped for the purpose, and styled a 'go-devil' by the operators, is then dropped upon these shells. The explosion which ensues, and which usually causes but little eruption of water, stones, mud, Gas and Petroleum above ground, fissures the rock and enlarges the chamber at the bottom of the well. This is often followed by a good flow of Petroleum. Occasionally the gush is so great as to throw the casing out and demolish the derrick, in which case a great flood of Petroleum accumulates on the ground before the well can be recased and a head put on the casing to control the flow. Generally, however, it is necessary to use a pump to obtain the Petroleum, even from many profitable wells.

The Petroleum and Gas Fields present a weird appearance at night from the many large Gaslights, burning from pipes and casting deep shadows of the derricks and their appurtenances. These lights often burn during the day, also, from neglect, or want of convenient stops.

The magnitude of the Petroleum business of the Buckeye Pipe Line Company from all of their wells in northwestern Ohio during the first five months of 1903, is reported as follows: January, 1,551,215 barrels shipped, 1,353,408 barrels run through pipes; February, 1,498,194–1,250,337; March, 1,526,041–1,393,348; April, 1,507,108–1,303,415; May, 1,597,693–1,386,866. Total, 7,680,252 barrels of shipments, and 6,687,374 of runs.

About 15,000 Petroleum and Gas wells have been drilled in Wood County. Some of these were non-productive, and many were soon apparently exhausted. In March, 1903, about 8000 of these wells remained productive and yielding owners of the land at the rate of $2,000,000 per year in royalties. The capital invested is about $10,000,000.

The numerous drillings for Gas and Oil have developed in places excellent water supply. It is regretted that more careful observation and record were not, and are not, made of the character of the rock waters and of the varying depths and conditions of their flow. Most of these favorable opportunities for observation regarding water supply were unsought, and the flow of water was a hindrance to be overcome by casing as soon as possible. Rock strata to be water producing must be porous, with large caverns or subways connected with porosities or joints; and a large supply of water at a higher level is necessary for flowing fountains, and for continuous supply at the well. The Niagara Limestone often affords a liberal supply of stored water. It has numerous seams and joints open sufficiently for this purpose. The Onondaga Limestone, however, accommodates some of the most noted springs from its larger channels. The Devonian series also affords in places a good quantity of water, but it is often highly mineralized by solution of iron pyrites (iron sulphid, Fe S), calcium, sodium, aluminum, magnesium, and potassium, carbonates and sulphates. The iron in the Corniferous Limestone usually comes from the overlying Ohio Shale. At greater depths, below 100 feet, and generally below 1000 feet for quantity, the water often contains chlorids, sodium chlorid (table salt) predominating in such quantity as to make the water unpotable. Particularly is this the case in the Trenton Limestone. Such water flowing in quantity, formerly stopped the drilling in quest of Petroleum; but pumping, or casing off the water, and deeper drilling sometimes secures a good oil well. In the Gas and Oil regions the upper surface of the Trenton Rock varies from about 1000 to about 1400 feet below the surface of the ground; and many productive wells extend but a comparatively few feet into this rock—from 200 to 450 feet below the surface of tide water (the level of the Atlantic Ocean).

The great increase in the number of Petroleum and Gas wells about the city of Findlay, and particularly above and along the Blanchard River from which the water supply has been largely obtained, has led to intolerable pollution of the water in the ditches, creeks, and river, by the pumpings from these deep wells of great quantities of water highly charged with the mineral salts before mentioned, and by impure Petroleum.

This pollution became so general that a new source of potable and culinary water supply became imperative. Upon consideration of the subject, the 'Limestone Ridge' about ten miles southeast of Findlay was chosen as the most practicable and desirable source for this supply; and in the spring of 1903, work began for the laying of a line of glazed clay pipe, thirty inches in diameter, from the Findlay Water Works southeastward to this Limestone Ridge for the purpose of conducting to the city, by gravity, water from wells at this point.

This Limestone Ridge, which extends northeast-southwest through Amanda and Big Lick Townships, Hancock County, as part of the irregular spurs between the Defiance and St. Mary Moraines, is but a few feet above the country to the eastward, and somewhat more above the land to the westward and northwestward which was formerly swampy. It is based on the Niagara Limestone which is here uppermost and affords good potable water, constantly flowing from springs near the base of the Ridge and from wells on the Ridge of varying depths, from those to the level of the land to the west down to 150 feet. The water supply here is supposed to be sufficient; but the place of its source, or fountain head, is unknown.

In the year 1875 a persistent drilling for artesian water in the Court House Square, Fort Wayne, Indiana, penetrated the following strata, viz: Drift, 88 feet; Niagara Limestones, 802; Hudson Shales, gray, 260; Utica Shales, black, 260; and into the Trenton Limestone, 1590 feet. The surface of the ground here is 772 feet above sea level, and this well of 3000 feet depth extends 2228 feet below sea level. Good drinking water was obtained by means of a strong pump. From a later well of far less depth drilled near the Maumee River, there has been a constant flow of good potable water. Neither Gas nor Oil was obtained from these wells.*

A well drilled in the year 1886, in the Coe Run Glen at Defiance, the center of the Basin, has the following strata record: Drift, 18 feet; Ohio Shale, 60; Devonian and Upper Silurian Limestones, 850; Niagara Shale, 52; Clinton Limestone, 60; Medina, Hudson River and Utica Shales, 630; Trenton Limestone struck at 1670 feet, or about 975 feet below tide water. A small quantity of Gas and Oil was yielded. There has since been constant and full flow of clear, potable water, slightly sulphureted. At Deshler, twenty-five miles east, a well drilled in 1886–87 ran through the strata as follows: Drift, 71 feet; Limestone, 610; Niagara Shale, 5; Clinton Limestone, 95; Shales, 700; Trenton Limestone found at 1485 feet, 765 below tide water. This well was continued 115 feet into the Trenton Rock with but slight yield of Gas.†

---

* See *Sixteenth Annual Report Indiana Geology*, page 127.

† See *Geological Survey of Ohio*, vol. vi, pages 252, 253.

Later wells have shown but little variation in thickness of strata other than of Drift or Glacial Till which averages from forty to fifty feet in thickness in the central part of the Basin.

The varying composition of the rocks may be stated as follows: Calcium (lime) carbonate from 50 to 95 per cent; Magnesium carbonate, from 0 to 50 per cent; Silica (sand) generally physically blended, and in cherty cryptocrystalline (flinty) form, from 0 to 25 per cent; Iron and Alumina from 0 to 7 per cent; Insoluble Residue, from a trace to 10 per cent.

Following its elevation from the sea this Basin evidently attained a considerable altitude, estimated at from three hundred to four hundred feet or more, higher than it is at present; and it remained thus elevated during a great length of time, as evidenced by deep erosions in the rock—probably through the periods before mentioned to the Quarternary period.*

Whether these geologic periods occupied sixty million of years or but fifty million, is material to us in this connection only to impress our minds with the immensity of geologic time, and the consequently great amount of rock disintegration, and erosion, that the elements had time to effect. There were probably several elevations and depressions during these and succeeding periods.†

As yet but little has been determined regarding the character and conditions of the surface of this Basin during the changing periods of its elevations and subsidencies, and of the system of drainage channels. Many careful and intelligent observations, and records, must needs be made of drillings throughout the Basin, through the overlying mantle of earth and into the underlying rocks before sufficient and satisfactory evidence regarding this subject can be accumulated. The discovery of large quantities of Petroleum in the southern part of the Basin, and the impetus thereby given to well-drilling, has opened up the subject of such early or pre-glacial drainage and its deep-channel erosions, in a most interesting way by demonstrating the fact of a deeply eroded channel in the rocks underlying Shelby, Auglaize and Mercer Counties, Ohio, and Adams, Jay and Blackford Counties, Indiana.* This deep channel probably has further extensions to be determined in the future; and other like channels will doubtless be discovered, and it is hoped that most careful observations will be noted at every opportunity. The northern branch of this buried channel is found at Anna south of Wapakoneta, with depth of five hundred and fourteen feet below the surface of the ground, and in places about three hundred and seventy feet deeper than the upper face of the rock within a mile to the north and south of the channel. A southern branch exists a little west of Berlin.

---

* See the Geologic Chart facing page 7.

† The many and marked changes in altitude that have occurred in different parts of the earth have led to the theory that the exterior of the earth is but a comparatively thin crust, variously estimated at from twenty-five to fifty or one hundred miles, surrounding a molten interior; and that the cooling of the inner surface of this crust causes its contraction which, in turn, produces depressions in some parts of the exterior surface, and uplifts in other parts from lateral pressure. Other geologists hold to the theory that the earth is a solid. This process of corrugation is usually slow, but it is much faster in some places and under certain conditions than others. Changes in the relative altitude of different parts of the earth's surface is still being effected as formerly, sinking in some parts and rising in others. It is estimated that the rock strata at the eastern end of Lake Erie are yet rising and that the Lake is thereby increasing in depth. It is evident that the Lake is now higher than formerly from the fact of the submerged caves of its islands containing bones of land animals that undoubtedly once lived therein; and from the deep mouths of drowned river tributaries, the channels of which bear evidence of running water erosions that could only have occurred at a lower stage of the Lake or during elevation of the river valleys. (See articles regarding earth movement in this region by B. F. Taylor in *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, vol. 46, 1897; by G. K. Gilbert in the *18th Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey, etc.*) The land south of Hudson Bay is now higher than when first records were made. The preglacial elevation of the Saguenay region, Canada, appears from the depth of its fiord to have been at one time at least one thousand feet higher than now. The depth of the submarine fiord at the mouth of the Hudson River indicates that the vicinity of New York and Philadelphia at one time stood two thousand and eight hundred feet above the present sea level, and that they afterward sank sixteen hundred feet. See the Appendix to *The Ice Age in North America* by G. Frederick Wright, 1891; *American Journal of Science*, June, 1885. For account of remarkable upliftings of land in Europe, see Prof. James Geikie's *Prehistoric Europe.*

Following their course northwestwardly, they are found to unite under the large Canal Reservoir in Mercer County, and thence to continue as one channel northward to Rockford on the St. Mary River, thence west into Adams County, Indiana, thence southwest, crossing under the Wabash River at about a right angle, and under Geneva, and thence near Pennville, and on to near the center of Blackford County where a tributary is received. The rock floor of this channel varies from about fifty feet below the present water level of Lake Erie to something over one hundred feet below in the channel's western explored part. There may be several causes for the variation of this channel's apparent bed. Rocks carried before the glacier the detritus of which filled this channel, may have been taken as its true bottom; something of a pothole may have been entered by the drill in other parts, or a fissure of the disturbed strata; or the floor of the channel may have been unevenly raised or depressed by the changes of the earth's crust. The walls of this channel are generally sloping; but the drill discovered a nearly vertical wall near the City of St. Marys. The width of the channel could be only approximately determined by the places drilled; but it appears to be about one mile—with no place narrower than three-quarters of a mile—and widening to one mile and a half under the Grand Reservoir and at Rockford. The erosion of this channel at Anna extends entirely through the Niagara and Clinton Limestones, and into the Medina or Hudson Shales.†

---

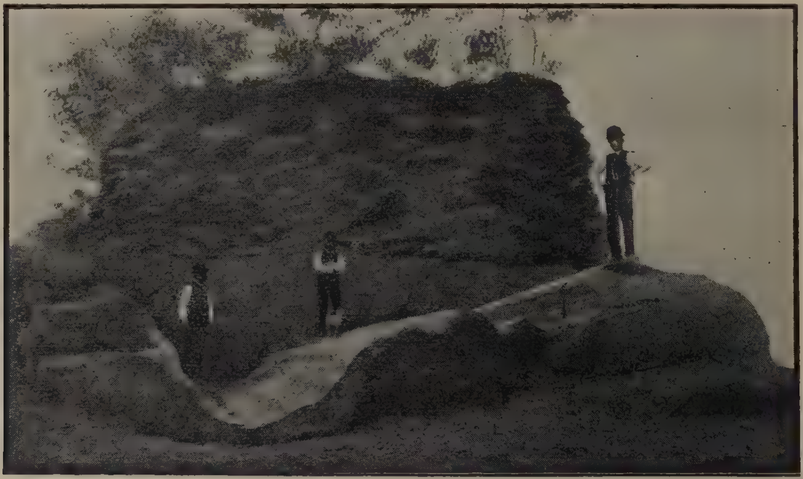
*See the article on "A Deep Pre-Glacial Channel in Western Ohio and Eastern Indiana," by J. A. Bownocker, in *The American Geologist* for March, 1899, vol. xxiii, page 178. Also the pamphlet entitled *The Preglacial Drainage of Ohio*, Special Print No. 3, Ohio State Academy of Science, December, 1900.

† For mention of buried river channels in other parts of Ohio, see the *Geological Survey of Ohio*, volumes i and ii.

This ancient water-way bears evidence of long-time erosion by a considerable stream of rapid flowing water, and some data has been adduced indicating that this was the ancient channel of the Kanawha River. Water well drilling indicates a similar channel in the rock in Delaware Township, Defiance County.*

The depth of soil accumulated within the territory of the present Maumee River Basin in preglacial times, by the decomposition of the rock surface from water, frost, sun, wind and other of Nature's agencies, and the full character and extent of vegetable and animal life that existed here during those long periods of time, will never be known.

In the Quarternary or Post Tertiary Period, a most remarkable and important change occurred which again subjected different, and somewhat variant, parts of the earth's crust to like geologic conditions. This Basin, in common with the northern and southwestern parts of Ohio, many other parts of North America, and of the Eastern Continent, was overrun by heavy masses of ice. There is abundant evidence of this powerful ice invasion in the vast quantities of finely ground and mixed rock material of different kinds, in scratchings and groovings still existing in the rock floor, in the presence of scattered granite, igneous, or archaean boulders which are foreign to all rocks native to Ohio, yet exposed as shown on the Chart facing page 7. These erratic, lost, or

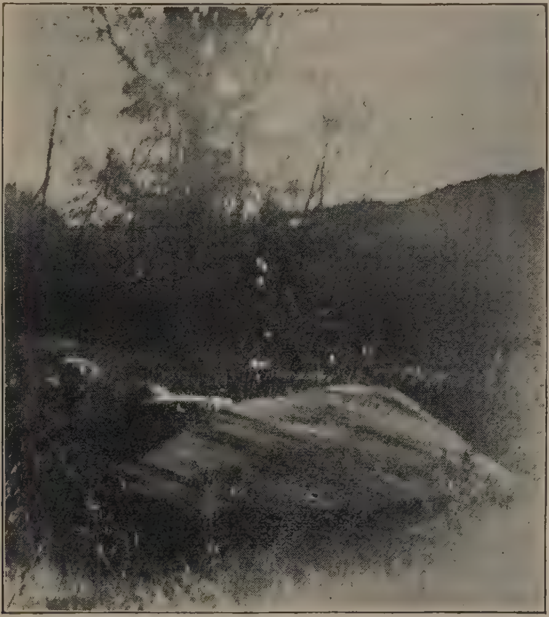


Glacial Groovings in the Bed Rock of Kelley Island, Lake Erie. This small part, with overlying Drift, was saved from Rock Quarriers by the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

---

* Persons desiring to study the effects of long continued action of water, and weather, on rocks should visit the plateau and canyons of the Colorado River, in Arizona. Before making this visit one should read Explorations of the Colorado River of the West, by Messrs. Ives and Newberry, 1861; Exploration of the Colorado River of the West, by J. W. Powell, 1875; and Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, by Captain Dutton in *Monograph II U. S. Geological Survey*, 1882. Also *The Preglacial Drainage of Ohio*. Special Paper No. 3, Ohio State Academy of Science, December, 1900.

foreign boulders are recognized as having been transported hundreds of miles from the north and northeast. The most extensive and remarkable groovings yet found in the rocks near this Basin, evidencing movement of a glacier bearing hard rocks firmly embedded in its substance, is on Kelly Island in Lake Erie. But a small section of these groovings has been preserved by the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, from the destructive hands of rock quarriers. These deep and extensive grooves may have been partly formed by water erosions, and the effects of the glaciers were to enlarge, mold and polish them to produce the remarkable result shown in the accompanying engraving. Numerous other scratchings of less depth and extent, and with varying bearings, have been exposed in the rock floor in different parts of the Basin; and many of the erratic boulders found above and within the ground-up mixed drift, still bear evidence of the great grindings and scratchings to which they were subjected.



Glacial Grooves in Granite Boulder in high Channel of Maumee River, Defiance County, Ohio. Looking southeast, 18th October, 1901.

Six Glacial Epochs, with alternating Interglacial Epochs, characterize the past glacial succession, Ice Period or Age, of Europe.*

---

* *The Great Ice Age*, by James Geikie, 3rd Edition, 1896, page 607. In the United States Geological Survey, *Monograph XLI*, Washington, 1902, Eleven Epochs or Stages of the Glacial Period are enumerated as having occurred in and surrounding this Basin.

These are evidenced by different glacial groovings in the rocks, water channel erosions between layers, changes in flora and fauna according to the alternations of climate shown in buried forests and animal remains in varying strata, peat bogs, etc. American geologists are not entirely agreed regarding the number and character of the Glacial Epochs in North America, particularly regarding the time and extent of deglaciation in the interglacial epoch or epochs. The area covered by the ice is vast, and the field work has been limited. More time must be given to active workers in which to accumulate and fully consider the evidences found in all parts of the glaciated area. Much has already been accomplished, however, in a general way, and careful work has been done in some local areas. The following groupings of Glacial Epochs, by Prof. T. C. Chamberlin,[*] embrace different interpretations entertained by experienced geologic field workers who believe in the differentiation of the Glacial Drift series. The upper layer, at least, of the Drift in the Maumee River Basin has been assigned to a dependency, glacial lobe, or retreatal oscillations, of the Wisconsin stage, reference to which will be again made:

FIRST GROUPING ON A TWOFOLD BASIS

1.	Concealed under-series (theoretical)	Unknown	
2.	Kansan stage of glaciation[†]	Early glacial epoch	GLACIAL PERIOD
3.	First interval of deglaciation		
4.	East-Iowan stage of glaciation		
5.	Second interval of deglaciation	Chief interglacial epoch	
6.	East-Wisconsin stage of glaciation	Later glacial epoch	
7.	Retreatal oscillations of undetermined importance		

SECOND GROUPING ON A TWOFOLD BASIS.

1.	Concealed under-series (theoretical)	Unknown	GLACIAL PERIOD
2.	Kansan stage of glaciation	Early glacial epoch	
3.	First interval of deglaciation	Chief interglacial epoch	
4.	East-Iowan stage of glaciation	Later glacial epoch	
5.	Second interval of deglaciation		
6.	East-Wisconsin stage of glaciation		
7.	Retreatal oscillations of undetermined importance		

GROUPING ON A THREEFOLD BASIS.

1.	Concealed under-series (theoretical).	Unknown.	GLACIAL PERIOD.
2.	Kansan stage of glaciation.	First (represented) glacial epoch	
3.	First interval of deglaciation.	First interglacial epoch	
4.	East-Iowan stage of glaciation.	Second glacial epoch	
5.	Second interval of deglaciation.	Second interglacial epoch	
6.	East-Wisconsin stage of glaciation.	Third glacial epoch embracing possibly a fourth glacial epoch	
7.	Later oscillations of undetermined importance.		

---

[*] *The Great Ice Age*, by James Geikie, pages 773 and 774.

[†] This first stage is, probably, more properly termed the Illinoian. It reached its most southern limit in that State. See T. C. Chamberlin's article in the *Journal of Geology*, vol. iv, 1896, pages 872 to 876.

The general conclusions regarding the Ice Age in America and Europe, harmonize, and the above grouping of the ice period in America on a three-fold basis runs quite closely parallel to the evidences of successive stages of glaciation apparent in Europe. In both countries the maximum glaciation, in extent, occurred at an early stage of the Period.*

Louis Agassiz, late of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was the first to announce a past Glacial Period in geologic history. This he did before the Helvetic Society of Natural History in 1837. In 1840 he presented the subject before the British Association for the Advancement of Science and, later in the same year, before the Geological Society of London. Since that time geologists have generally agreed regarding the former existence of such Period in parts of the earth which have long since been of temperate climate, and been sustaining large populations. Professor Edward Hitchcock, in April, 1841,† was the first in America to accept and apply the glacial theory to the Eastern United States.

There have been, however, diversity of opinions regarding the cause of the climate that produced the glaciers that overran these regions. That eminent English geologist, Sir Charles Lyell‡ advanced the theory of changes in the distribution of land and water, and elevation of great expanses of land at or toward the North Pole, as the cause of glaciers. Sir John Herschel in 1832, M. Adhémar in 1840, and notably Doctor James Croll in 1864, suggested astronomic causes for the variations in glacier accumulations and dissipations. The elevation of the Northern lands that was in progress during the Tertiary era is naturally a favorite theory with geologists in general in explanation of the cause of the great glaciers that overran Ohio and other States; and adherents to the theory have probably been increasing in number during late years that oscillations of the earth's surface was the chief cause of the oscillations of these glaciers.‖ Doctor James Croll,§ Professor James Geikie,¶ and Sir Robert Ball,** hold that it is more probable that the relative changes in the land and sea level were due to the alternate appearance and disappearance of the great snow-fields and ice-coverings; that it is improbable that such vast portions of the earth's crust were uplifted thousands of feet and equally depressed again and again with sufficient frequency to account for the complex alternation of cold and warm epochs, as is shown to have been the case by the northern deposits of southern marine and other animal life, and the growth of forests, during the interglacial epochs. In brief, their theory is that the climatic changes of the glacial epochs resulted from the combined influence of the precession of the equinoxes and secular changes in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit.

---

* *The Great Ice Age*, by James Geikie, page 774.

† In his address as retiring President at the second annual meeting of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists, held in Philadelphia.

‡ *Principles of Geology.* 1830, chapters vii and viii, and *Elements of Geology*, sixth edition, 1868, chapters xi and xii.

‖ See the *Ice Age of North America*, third edition, 1891, by G. Frederick Wright; also his smaller book on *Man and the Glacial Period*, second edition, 1896. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

§ In his books on *Climate and Time*, and *Climate and Cosmology.*

¶ *The Great Ice Age*, third edition, 1896.

** *The Cause of an Ice Age*, 1897. D. Appleton & Company, publishers.

According to the theory and computations of Doctor Croll, the last great cycle of eccentricity, to which he assigned the Glacial Period, began about 240,000 years ago and lasted 160,000 years, thus terminating about 80,000 years ago for the more strongly contrasted glacial and interglacial epochs. Others have varied but little from these computations. G. K. Gilbert, G. Frederick Wright, Warren Upham and others incline to the opinion, however, that the last ice sheet disappeared from the lower lake region about six thousand to ten thousand years ago, judging from the Niagara River Gorge, other gorges, the character of certain glacial deposits, etc.; and that this recent time, together with the want of evidence of glaciation in the Tertiary and former Eras, militates against the astronomic theory of causation. Sir Robert Ball, on the other hand, exploits the astronomic theory as the most complete explanation of the cause and, in corroboration, advances an 'accurate law' by which the distribution and retention of heat is regulated in the alternation of climatic zones between the earth's hemispheres. By this law he 'corrects and supplements' the theories of Sir John Herschel and Doctor James Croll. None of the more definite, and more exclusive, theories of causation, however, have fully borne the test of general consideration. It is probable that the various elements affecting climate, geographic, atmospheric and astronomic, are so well balanced that untoward influences affecting and holding a comparatively slight change or maladjustment might produce serious climatic effects, even to a period of ice in our present temperate zone.*

All agree that a simple low temperature will not produce a glacier. Snow in great quantity is necessary for such formation; in addition to the shortened summer and increased length of winter there was a cold under-current of air passing from North to South, and currents of warmer, mist-laden upper strata of air passing from the South to the North, causing an unusually great amount of snow—a quantity in excess of melting power of the sun, but which melted sufficiently during the short summer of each year to aggregate the glaciers, and this great amount of moisture thus congealed on the land, produced a change in the ocean level by depressing the land or attracting the ocean from southern latitudes, or both. Great accumulation of snow and ice from its partial melting and its weight, has been in progress towards the South Pole for many years, and theories of grave results to present temperate latitudes have been adduced therefrom.

---

* See Professor Herman L. Fairchild's Address, *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1898, vol. xlvii, page 270 *et sequentia.*

The area covered by these ice sheets is, in North America, about four million square miles, and in Europe about one-half this extent. Beginning in Labrador and south of Hudson Bay, as probable chief centers of the American ice distribution, the general course of the principal glaciating mass was to the south and east in the Eastern States, extending as far south as Long Island, to New York City, then the extreme southern limit in the East, excepting narrow extensions down drainage channels, and assuming a general northwesterly course through New Jersey and Pennsylvania to near Southwestern New York, thence in a general southwesterly course through Pennsylvania and the southern edge, ranging through Ohio near Canton, Danville, Newark, Chillicothe and Winchester to near the Ohio River, which is crossed from Clermont County; thence extending near this river to Cincinnati, thence southwest in a varying line which is crossed and recrossed by the Ohio, to near Louisville, where the boundary turns to the northward at about a right angle and extends to within a few miles of Indianapolis, where it again turns to the southwest, crossing the Wabash River at New Harmony into Illinois and reaching the most southern limit about fifty miles north of Cairo, whence it again turns to the northwest, extending nearly parallel to the Mississippi River and a few miles distant from it, to within a few miles of St. Louis, where it crosses this river and extends westward along or within a few miles of the Missouri River, entering Kansas a little south of Kansas City and continuing nearly west a hundred miles to near Topeka, thence northward across Nebraska approximating the Missouri River, and crossing the south line of South Dakota near the mouth of the Niobrara River, thence along the west bank of the Missouri to the mouth of the Cheyenne River, and thence westward.*

The marks of the glacier, and rocks transported by it, are found near, if not quite on, the top of Mount Washington, the present highest point in New England, 6347 feet above the sea, also at the tops of the other highest mountains in its course. The question of the force necessary to propel the ice over these great heights, if they were so high at the time of the glaciers, and to propel it so far from the northern places of distribution, has given rise to interesting inquiries regarding the thickness of the ice sheets and the character of the propelling force. About the year 1861 Professor Louis Agassiz, in a conversation with Professor J. P. Lesley, stated as his opinion, from studies of the movements of existing glaciers, that such masses of ice could not go over a barrier unless its extent above the crest of the barrier be at least one-half of the height of the barrier.* It is readily seen that mountains which bear on their summits glacial markings or rocks foreign to the locality, serve as glaciometers, and are among the best means of approximating the thickness of the ice sheet. This evidence with the hundreds of miles distance to the terminal moraines and glacial markings south and west from the northern centers of the glacier distribution, signify a necessary thickness of thousands of feet to the northern ice. Estimated from slopes of existing glaciers, the thickness of the glacier over Lake Erie has been computed to have been about eleven thousand feet, and that part north of Lake Superior thirty thousand feet.† Ice will move of its own weight, and particularly glaciers composed of crystals or 'glacier-grains' formed as they are, from snow. When the most solid parts of ice are exposed in a glacier to a peculiarly violent strain, its limited plasticity necessitates the formation of countless minute rents, and the internally bruised surfaces are forced to slide over one another, simulating a fluid character in the motion of the parts so affected. Reconsolidation of the bruised glacial substance into a coherent whole may be more or less effected by pressure alone similar to its effect upon granular snow, and upon ice softened by imminent thaw into a condition more plastic than ice at lower temperature.‡ Doctor Heim‖ has estimated that the average annual flow of the glaciers of Switzerland and Norway, and the smallest of the Greenlandic glaciers, ranges between one hundred and thirty and three hundred and thirty feet. The great glacial tongues that are protruded from the inland ice of Greenland move on an average in summer not less than fifty feet in twenty-four hours with often great declivity to the land and the open sea as a strong frontal attracting force. In mountainous countries the movement is accelerated by the declivity. Undoubtedly the movement of the glaciers that invaded this level region was far slower than the minimum above given. Doctor Geikie states that 'in many cases glaciers flow no faster than from three or four to eighteen inches a day, while in others the rate exceeds four feet in twenty-four hours.'

---

* See *The Ice Age in North America*, by G. F. Wright, third edition, 1891, page 120 *et seq.*

---

* *Second Geological Survey oj Pennsylvania*, vol. Z, page xiv. Wright's *The Ice Age of North America*, page 167.

† *The Ice Age of North America*, 3rd edition, page 173.

‡ See James D. Forbes' *Occasional Papers on the Theory of Glaciers*, page xvi; *The Great Ice Age*, by James Geikie, page 31; *The Ice Age in North America*, by G. F. Wright, etc.

‖ *Handbuch der Gletscherkunde*, quoted in Geikie's *The Great Ice Age*, page 36.

The phenomena attending the formation and movements of glaciers are endowed with several of Nature's laws of great interest. They have been studied by many geologists and physicists during later years not only in the effects of the past glaciers, but in the active processes of existing glaciers in Alaska, Greenland, the Alps, and others. From these studies we understand that the center for the formation of the glaciers that overran this region was on the most elevated points to the north and eastward; that during their formation they became firmly attached to the earth and rocks, which in much of the movements of the ice worked upward through its heights; that as the ice volume increased and advanced, filling the valleys and creeping up the hills and mountains, the accumulation of crushed and resisting rocks increased; that avalanches from the higher peaks and ridges brought frequent and material additions of snow, ice, earth and rocks down upon its surface; that it amassed to thousands of feet in thickness and, with its enormous weight, it was irresistibly impelled forward, carrying before and under it ridges and hills of earth; grinding and mixing the softer rocks into their component parts of lime, sand, gravel and clay; smoothing and grooving furrows in and by the more solid parts; filling deep water ways with this broken and ground material and thus changing the former drainage systems; creeping up and over the hills and mountains that withstood its force; dipping and scouring the bed of Lake Erie; moving along over the rocky elevations to the south and westward and

A Front of the Muir Glacier in Alaska a few years ago. From Gates' Tours.

leaving in its course a litter of detritus from its mill-like and mixing action, much being loosened by friction and by the melting of the ice and by the water that trickled through its crevices, but principally by the arrest of the glacier's progress and its dissipation by climatic changes, as the forward part of the glaciers in level regions possessed the greatest amount of detritus from their plowing and pushing everything movable before them, and from the constant dropping of the accumulations from the melting ice above.

Ridges of this ground up or transported material left by glaciers are called Moraines; and it is readily understood from the former statement that, later action of water being equal, the Terminal Moraine or, rather, the place where the front of the glacier rested the longest, would be the highest. The last glacier, usually connected with the last (often called Wisconsin) stage, that covered the Huron-Erie region was divided along its southern border into five lobes, tongues or fingers, which projected from the main mass.* The Western Erie or Maumee and Wabash lobe, which covered, and formed, the Maumee River Basin, moved in a southwesterly direction as shown by scratchings and groovings in the bed rocks. Markings of four distinct ice movements† have been observed on the islands in the west part of Lake Erie, but only those attributed to the third movement will be mentioned here, further than a few intersecting. The direction of these grooves vary somewhat according to the obstructions met and the flexibility of the ice. The table on opposite page shows location and direction of the principal groovings observed by members of the Ohio Geological Corps.‡

The Terminal Moraine of this Erie or Maumee Basin Glacier was thought by G. K. Gilbert in 1871 to be the St. Joseph-St. Mary Moraine ‖ shown on the map page 28; but Professor T. C. Chamberlin's survey § locates the Terminal Moraine proper, or extreme limit of this glacial lobe, near the southwestern border of Indiana. The highest moraines near the Maumee River Basin are those forming its northwestern and western borders, in Hillsdale County, Michigan, and in Steuben and De Kalb Counties, Indiana. There are in this region a confusion of moraines from the contact and blending of the northwest side of the Erie Glacial Lobe with the southeast side of what has been

---

* These glacial lobes have been given the names of the rivers now coursing most nearly in the direction of their trend, viz: 1. The Grand and Mahoning at the east; 2. The Sandusky and Scioto; 3. The Great Miami — all in Ohio; 4. The White River in Indiana, and 5. The Maumee and Wabash. See T. C. Chamberlin's Preliminary Paper on the Terminal Moraine of the Second Glacial Epoch.

† See *The Ice Age in North America*, 3rd edition, pages 235, 236.

‡ *Geological Survey of Ohio*, vol. i, page 538; vol. ii, pages 9, 10.

‖ *Geological Survey of Ohio*, vol. i, page 542.

§ *United States Geological Survey, Third Annual Report*, page 291.

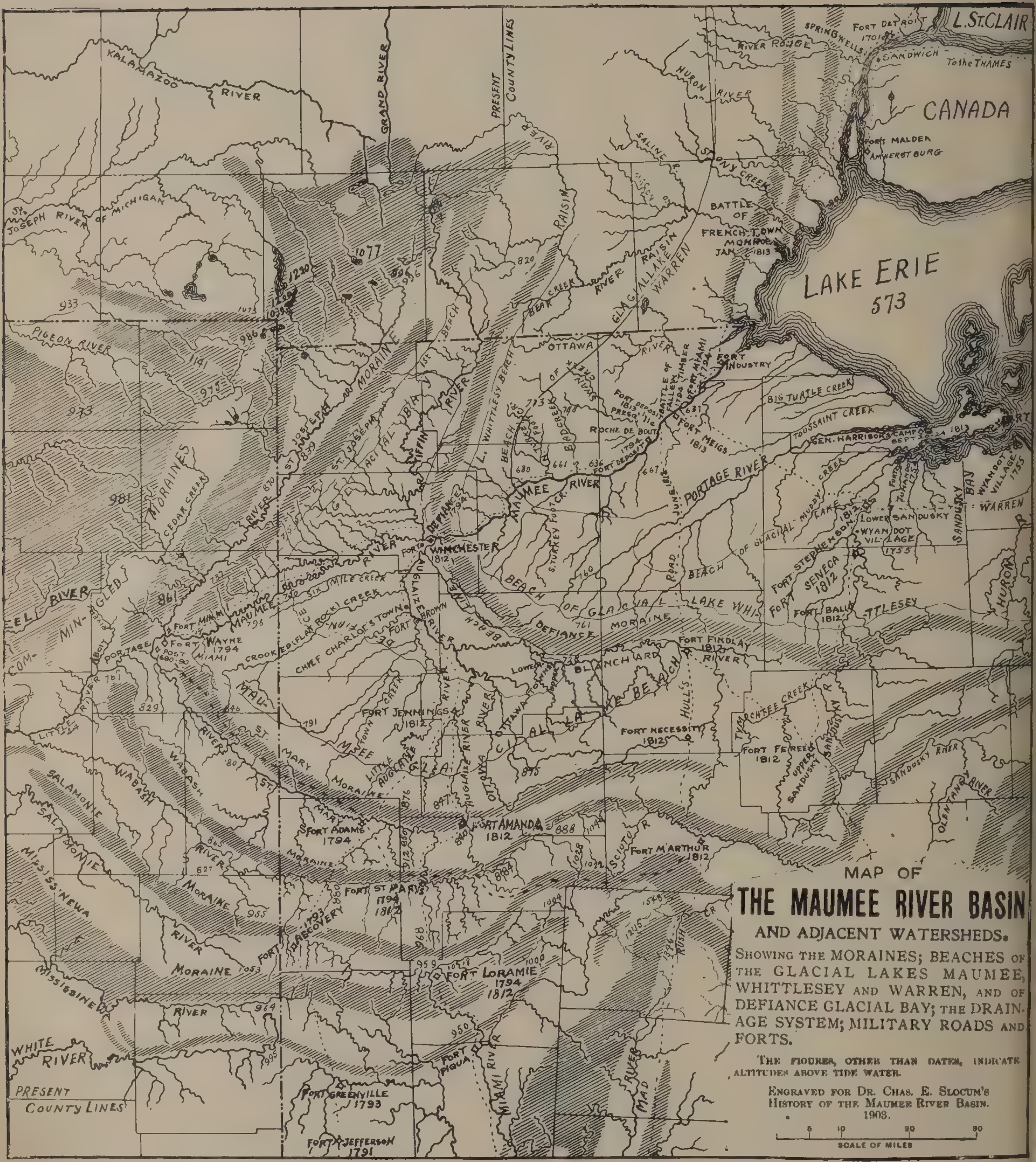
COUNTY	PLACE	ROCK	NO. OF OBS.	BEARING
Erie	Kelly Island	Corniferous Limestone	4	S. 78° W.
	"	" "	12	S. 80° W.
	"	" "	1	S. 60° W.
Ottawa	Put-in-Bay Island	Waterlime "	20	S. 80° W.
	"	" " intersecting	1	S. 15° W.
	South Bass Island	" "	Many	S. 80° W.
	"	" " intersecting	1	S. 15° W.
	West Sister Island	" "	Many	S. 80° W.
	"	" " intersecting	1	S.
Lucas	Sylvania	Corniferous "	5	S. 50° W.
	Monclova	Waterlime "	4	S. 62° W.
	Fish's Quarry	Corniferous "	1	S. 55° W.
	Whitehouse	" "	1	S. 50° W.
Defiance	Defiance	Ohio Shale	1	S. 45° W.
Paulding	Junction	Corniferous Limestone	3	S. 45° W.
Allen	Lima	Waterlime "	3	S. 35° W.
	Amanda	" "	1	S. 35° W.
Van Wert	Middlepoint	" "	2	S. 15° W.
Hancock	Findlay	Niagara "	1	S. 45° W.
	"	" "	2	S. 40° W.
	Amanda	" "	1	S. 32° W.
Putnam	Blanchard	Waterlime "	1	S. 28° W.
	Sugar Creek	" "	1	S. 50° W.
	Auglaize	Corniferous "	1	S. 48° W.
Seneca	Seneca	Waterlime "	1	S. 23° W.
	"	" " intersecting	1	S. 5° E.
Wyandot	Crawford	" "	1	S. 20° W.
	Crane	" "	1	S. 5° W.
	Marseilles	Niagara "	1	S. 10° W.
	"	" "	1	S. 10° E.
	"	" "	1	N. S.
Wood	Portage	Waterlime "	3	S. 50° W.
	Otsego	Corniferous "	2	S. 68° W.
	"	" "	1	S. 60° W.

OBSERVATIONS OF GLACIAL GROOVINGS IN BED ROCK.

termed the Saginaw Glacial Lobe, thus forming the Erie-Saginaw Interlobate Moraine.* The Saginaw Glacier is recognized as having been the lesser lobe or edge of these two, and the first to disappear. The survey of the western and northwestern border of this Basin, shows considerable complexity in its glaciation. The accompanying map shows five morainic loops of the Maumee-Wabash Glacial Lobe, divided into North and South sections by the Maumee River and the Wabash and its tributaries, viz: the Defiance Moraine, the St. Joseph-St. Mary, the Wabash-Aboite, the Salamonie and the Mississinewa. The two last named are so blended in northeastern Indiana with the Saginaw as to

---

* See the *16th Report of Indiana Geology*, 1888, pages 119-125, and the *17th Report*, 1892, pages 115 to 118.



MAP OF

THE MAUMEE RIVER BASIN

AND ADJACENT WATERSHEDS.

SHOWING THE MORAINES; BEACHES OF THE GLACIAL LAKES MAUMEE, WHITTLESEY AND WARREN, AND OF DEFIANCE GLACIAL BAY; THE DRAINAGE SYSTEM; MILITARY ROADS AND FORTS.

THE FIGURES, OTHER THAN DATES, INDICATE ALTITUDES ABOVE TIDE WATER.

ENGRAVED FOR DR. CHAS. E. SLOCUM'S HISTORY OF THE MAUMEE RIVER BASIN. 1903.

be indistinguishable to other than skilled glaciologists. North of Maumee Bay there are two other moraines extending northward.

It is still an unsettled question whether the different glacial evidences were separated by long intervals of mild climate, marking distinct glacial epochs, or whether there were a continuity of oscillations — advances and recessions — of the ice with only a modified glacial climate during its recessions of, perhaps, one, two, three hundred years, or more. Both theories have able advocates.‡ A further description of these moraines will be given in the chapters on the Glacial Drift, and the rivers.

The causes leading to the melting of the glaciers were but the reversal of the causes that produced them. Theories of the subsidence or great depression of the glaciated area (perhaps from the great weight of the ice) and theories of ocean elevation, and of astronomic variations, have been advanced as causes of the modification of the glacial climate.

Wherever the drainage ways in front of an advancing glacier were not sufficient at lower levels, bodies of water formed and accumulated in relative quantity from the constant melting of the ice. As the glacier advanced from the northeast the drainage channels of the areas of the present great lakes and tributaries, were dammed and the accumulating waters from them, and from the glacier, found outlet through the preglacial channels to the southward and southwestward. When the glacier finally stopped on the borders of the present Maumee River Basin the waters from the melting ice were discharged through the St. Joseph River which, cutting through the moraines southwestward from its present mouth, flowed into the Wabash River near Huntington, Indiana. Other points of discharge were southeastward into the Scioto River and southward into the Miami. As the glacier receded, by melting, there was formed between its front and sides and the St. Joseph-St. Mary Moraines, a body of water which constantly increased in extent as the ice disappeared. This body of water has been designated as the Maumee Glacial Lake. It had outlets southeastward through the Tymochtee Gap, 912 feet above tide water, to the Scioto River; southward near Lima and Wapakoneta, at an elevation of about 900 feet and later, at the formation of the River St. Mary and its junction with the St. Joseph at Fort Wayne, southwestward, at present erosion level of 767 feet, to the Wabash River; and still later, until the glacial ice dam melted in the Mohawk River Valley, New York, and in the St. Lawrence Valley, the drainage of the Maumee Glacial Lake was northward to the Thumb of Michigan, and thence southwestward south of Saginaw Bay, at an altitude of something over 700 feet above tide water, through the Grand River to Lake Michigan, and thence through the Illinois River to the Mississippi.

---

‡ For a discussion of the latter theory see *The Ice Age in North America*, 3rd edition, 1891, and *Man and the Glacial Period*, 2nd edition, 1896, both by G. Frederick Wright. Regarding the former theory see *The Great Ice Age* in which the author, James Geikie, discusses six distinct glacial epochs in Europe. In 1899 Dr. Albrecht Penck, in a pamphlet published in Vienna, recognizes four distinct epochs of glaciation in the Alps, instead of three as heretofore recorded. This subject, as well as others may be found more fully discussed in the proceedings of geological and other scientific societies, and serial publications, a number of which are referred to by name in this work.

With the melting of the ice the great number of granitic boulders, large and small, the immense quantity of finely ground rock material of different kinds, forming clay, gravel, sand, and lime, and all kinds of debris and detritus that had been received and gathered in its course, became liberated to settle to the bottom of the water or drifted to the shores. Icebergs and icefloes were broken from the glacier by the processes of fissuring and undermining, and either soon became fixed on the bottom to melt and deposit their loads of earthy material in a limited area, or were drifted about to its wider dispersement. The Maumee Glacial Lake gradually subsided into the present Lake Erie.

Defiance Glacial Bay Beach in Foreground, and Crest of Defiance Moraine in the distance. Looking east, 24th October, 1902, in Richland Township, three miles east of the Defiance Court House, and one mile south of the Maumee Water Gap. A very fertile country.

As the lake level declined the waters of the Rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary followed the receding lake, thus originating and forming the Maumee River. Following its continued recession the Defiance Moraine became the western and southwestern shore of the Maumee Glacial Lake, leaving to the westward and southward a bay, named Defiance Glacial Bay in the year 1899 by Frank Leverett assistant in the United States Geological Survey, at the suggestion of Charles E. Slocum of Defiance. This Bay in its full extent was about 1100 square miles in area, somewhat crescentic in form with its north and south points and concave shore lines to the eastward, with altitude of near 170 feet above the present level of Lake Erie, and 743 feet above the sea. Much of its shore lines may now be seen with more or less distinctness at or near the following named places: Beginning at Ayersville, five miles southeast of Defiance and at the Bay's principal connection with the receding Lake Whittlesey, and extending northward along the convex west side of the Defiance Moraine to Archbold, Fulton County, Ohio, the most northerly point; thence irregularly in a general southwesterly course along the slope east of Bryan, Williams County, and of Hicksville, Defiance County, to Antwerp, Paulding County, where it turns southeast to Scott, and near Delphos, Allen County, thence in a curving northeasterly course to near Columbus Grove and Pandora, Putnam County, thence north to Leipsic and Belmore, and thence northwest through Henry County to the mouth of the Bay opposite Ayersville. Its deepest part was at Defiance. Four lake beaches have been noted in this Basin by G. K. Gilbert,* by whom it was first surveyed. The first beach, the western shore of Glacial Lake Maumee, marks a water level of 220 feet above the present level of Lake Erie; the second at 195 feet, and the third at 170 feet, being the level of Defiance Glacial Bay, and Lake Whittlesey on the east side of the Defiance Moraine. The fourth beach lines record a slow descent from the eastern shore of Lake Warren, 90 feet to 65 and 60 feet above the fifth beach or present shore of Lake Erie, which is recorded as 573 feet above tide water.

With the subsidence of the glacier and its waters, the Maumee River Basin became defined; and it was quite well drained before the present Niagara River had origin. It was not until the breaking away of the glacial ice dams in the Mohawk River Valley, and in the valley of the St. Lawrence River, and the settling of Lake Ontario below the level of the land thirty-eight feet above the present Lake Erie, that the Niagara River began to form a channel; and as that level of Lake Ontario subsided, the Falls of Niagara had a beginning at the escarpment of Lewiston. With the erosions of the overlying till and the softer underlying eighty feet of shale, the upper eighty feet of limestone was undermined and broken to fall in fragments and be carried down the channel by the increasing height and force of the Falls and current. Thus the Falls receded and the Gorge was formed accordingly. This Niagara Gorge has been recognized by geologists for several years as the best practical measure of the time that has elapsed since the subsidence of the glacial waters that is convenient for their study. From the studies given to the erosions by the Falls, diverse opinions have, however, been advanced. R. Bakewell, Jr., in the year 1829, after consulting residents of the vicinity of forty years duration, estimated the recession of the Falls at three feet a year. E. Desor later estimated the recession as probably nearer three feet a century than three feet a year, making the time for the wearing of the Gorge 1,232,000 years. Prof. James D. Dana[*] estimated the more probable time as 380,000 years. Sir Charles Lyell[†] concluded that 'the average of one foot a year would be a much more probable conjecture' or 35,000 years. American geologists of later years have, also, variously read this chronometer, some deducing a period of time for the erosion as low as 7000 years, while Professor James W. Spencer in 1894, sums up the time necessary for this stupendous work of water at 32,000 years. In this estimation it is necessary to take into account different facts and agencies once potent, but not now apparent in the local study. There was far more moisture in the air and the ground, formerly than now, and then for a long period (estimated by Professor Spencer at over 17,000 years) the upper lakes were drained through Georgian Bay and the French River to the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, and only about three-elevenths of their water passed through Lake Erie and over Niagara Falls. It is, also, probable that more water passed over the Falls during the Champlain period[‖] than at present. And again, little of definite evidence has been obtained regarding the extent of the preglacial erosions above the occluded whirlpool channel and their effect on the present erosions. In this connection it is interesting to note that N. H. Winchell's studies of the post glacial erosion of the Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota, have led him to the opinion that it has required a period of 8000 years for the results there shown. The Ohio River is a preglacial stream, with its present bed at least one hundred and fifty feet above its preglacial bed, the channel having been much filled during the glacial period and since then eroded, in a somewhat wandering course to the present level. The trough of the Ohio River affords interesting opportunity for further study in this inquiry, and in fluvial history.[§]

---

* *Ohio Geological Survey*, vol. i, page 549. Also see Map, page 28.

---

[*] *Manual of Geology*, 2nd edition, 1875, page 591. Dr. Dana, in his last (4th) edition, 1896, contents himself with quoting the deductions of later geologists, and inclining to lower estimates than formerly.

[†] *Travels in North America*, vol. i, page 32; vol. ii, page 93; *Principles of Geology*, vol. i, page 358.

[‖] See Geological Chart, facing page 7.

[§] See *Geological Survey of Ohio*, vol. ii, page 13.

A writer in McClure's Magazine for August, 190', vol. xvii, page 304, estimates the age of the earth in years, counting from the surface downward so far as known, as follows:

Recent, Post Glacial, and Glacial	500,000
Pliocene, Miocene, Eocene	2,800,000
Chalk, Jura, Trias	14,300,000
Permian, Cambrian, Laurentian	100,000,000

(*Continued on page 33.*)

It is to the Glaciation and the Drift or Glacial Till that this Basin, in common with other glaciated regions, is indebted for its admirable topography, from an agricultural and commercial standpoint, and for its variety of fertile soils. Its study in connection with unglaciated regions will place this highly favored Basin in pleasing contrast. The more uneven parts of Southeastern Ohio and contiguous parts of West Virginia, Kentucky and Pennsylvania, that are south of the glaciers' course, although interesting in their relation to this subject, do not afford, in their additional geologic strata and their relation to the Appalachian chains of mountains, good illustrations of the topography that would now be exhibited in this region but for the mountains of ice that were moved over it. There is a limited unglaciated area embracing the northwestern part of Illinois, the northeastern part of Iowa, and the southeastern part of Minnesota, which presents in comparison with contiguous and other glaciated regions of these States, excellent illustrations of the great benefit now being derived from the results of the glaciers. Notwithstanding the fact that the ice passed around the corners of the three States here mentioned, an area of several hundred square miles in extent, and for several hundred miles beyond it, there are no well marked evidences of glaciation within its borders, nor of till, to obscure the contrast with other parts of those States; but it did receive a flow of loess or porous clay rich in carbonate of lime, from one of the later sheets of ice drift thus being modified, and improved, by the near passing of the glacier.

Although the diggings and borings through the Till with careful notings, have not been numerous enough thus far to demonstrate the system of preglacial drainage, it is probable that this Basin, being the first of its vicinity elevated above the sea and therefore the oldest on the surface in its preglacial history, became deeply and sharply channeled in the rock by the larger streams, and latterally by their tributaries. Gorges of great breadth and depth must have abounded in the rock beside multitudinous and diverse inequalities from the unequal decomposition and wear of the layers of varied and varying degrees of hardness of the rocks, by the rains, the drouths, the sun, the freezings, the thawings and by the floods. There were not only rugged cliffs abutting the streams and their valleys, but narrow gorges, isolated high

---

Still greater length of time has elapsed, in the estimation of others. See McClure's Magazine for October, 1900, vol. xv, page 514.

"On the contrary, the present tendency both among astronomers and geologists, is to diminish estimates of geological time in almost every period. The hundreds of millions of years claimed not long ago as necessary for the deposition and metamorphism of geological strata, and for the elevating and eroding forces to produce the present contour of the earth's surface have on geological evidence, been reduced to much more moderate limits. Thirty million years is now shown to be ample for the deposition, by forces still in operation, of all the sedimentary strata of which we have knowledge." *The Ice Age of North America*, by G. F. Wright, D. Appleton & Co., 3rd ed. page 449.

points of harder rock, and a general ruggedness throughout the entire surface. The comparative short time that has elapsed since the melting of the last glacier has sufficed for our sluggish streams to erode considerable valleys through the Glacial Drift, and, in many places, through the shale and several feet into the rock. The far greater length of the preglacial time during which the rocks were probably exposed to the changes mentioned above, must have resulted in producing a topography rougher than our imaginations can well portray it. Traveling across such an irregularly eroded region, if possible, would be attended with at least many difficulties and inconveniences. The way would be very tortuous and exhausting from many descendings and ascendings, and with many bridgings of chasms. Cultivation of the soil, where possible, would be in restricted areas, uncertain on account of the drouths, and laborious to prevent undue washings of the soil in wet seasons. The glaciers were like huge planes in their effects, leveling the high points, pushing everything breakable and movable before them, or crushing, grinding and triturating all between the basic rocks and the ice floors studded with granitic and softer rocks, and leaving all the old channels filled that were not otherwise obliterated. Here

Glaciated Granite Boulders in high channel of Maumee River, south part of Section 20, Noble Township, Defiance County, Ohio. Looking eastward, 18th October, 1901. This region, and the low channel half a mile below, afford the best display of such boulders in the larger streams of the Maumee River Basin. Small and more or less polished pieces are found along all streams.

was the comminuting and commingling processes of the different rocks—of the argillaceous, the limestones, the feldspars of the granites with, generally, just enough of their silica to preserve the good degree of congruity that distinguishes much of the inexhaustible soil of this Basin.

During the melting of the glaciers and the deposition of the Drift, the effect of water was great upon the superglacial and englacial Till; and the subglacial was more or less washed and reassorted in the locations of subglacial streams of water. Above the First Beach, west and northwest particularly, Erie Clay still lies in undulations, unchanged only by subsequent natural washings, showing that the Maumee Glacial Lake, if it really covered this region following the subsidence of the glacier, must have soon receded to the First Beach, a distance in some places of twenty miles with a fall of about two hundred feet. The glacial deposits within the beach lines were subjected to great and continued washings by which there was much of sortings, rearrangings and levelings of the inequalities. The present surface is largely independent of the underlying native rock surface, which is of itself irregular and the thickness of the Drift varying from

Looking down the Auglaize River in Jackson Township, Putnam County, Ohio, 28th May, 1902, in low stage of water. The Corniferous Limestone Boulder seen beyond the boat is the largest seen in the river channels of the Basin. Before it was drilled and blasted into three pieces a few years ago, its height above the ground was fifteen feet.

nothing to 550 feet, varies both from irregularity of its deposition and irregularity of its subsequent washings. The chief constituent of the Drift is a finely laminated clay, the Erie Clay of the earlier geologists, containing generally more or less sand, gravel and boulders. The latter are of various kinds and sizes up to twenty feet in diameter, many of them being smoothed on one side and showing straight and nearly parallel scratches received from their fellows during the movements of the glaciers. The channels of the larger rivers afford the best exhibition of these boulders, though some fields contain occasional outcroppings of them. The Drift or Till is best seen, for study of its irregularly stratified and specially washed conditions, in the precipitous banks of the rivers and in the deeper and more extensive cuttings for private and public works. Examination of a goodly number of small stones found in different later washings and in different parts of the Till, leads to the conclusion that the Laurentian rocks (metamorphic rocks, those intruded or foreign to Ohio in their origin and brought by the glaciers) are most numerous in the upper portions of the Drift, and the sedimentary rocks (of the character of those native to this Basin) predominate in the lower portions, while the middle portion exhibits a more even division of both kinds.*

Flowing water is the best of separators. Wave action separated the sand and cast much of it upon the shores of the glacial lakes and bays. The finer material of the Drift, generally free from sand and much of it known as Lacustrine Clay, settled to the bottom and now forms the level country between the ridges or lake and bay beaches.

Another form of clay, more delicately assorted, is found in defined areas, of considerable extent. Its character is attractive on account of its smooth and unctious surface when cut with a sharp instrument; its compactness, being susceptible of a glass-like polish; its great tenacity when wet to a certain consistency; and its impalpableness, being suitable as a fine polishing agent. Its color is generally light gray, darkening a little on exposure to the air. This is of the finest comminutions of the glacial grindings. Its chemic composition is quite like that of the coarser sediment above mentioned, viz: Silica 37.32 per cent; Alumina 29.85; Calcium carbonate 15.00; Combined water 11.47; Ferric oxid 4.52; and Magnesium carbonate 1.84 per cent. (Dryer).

The Till, or Drift in general, is often peculiar in its arrangement, affording cause for several theories regarding the mode of its deposition, none of which is entirely satisfactory to all geologists.

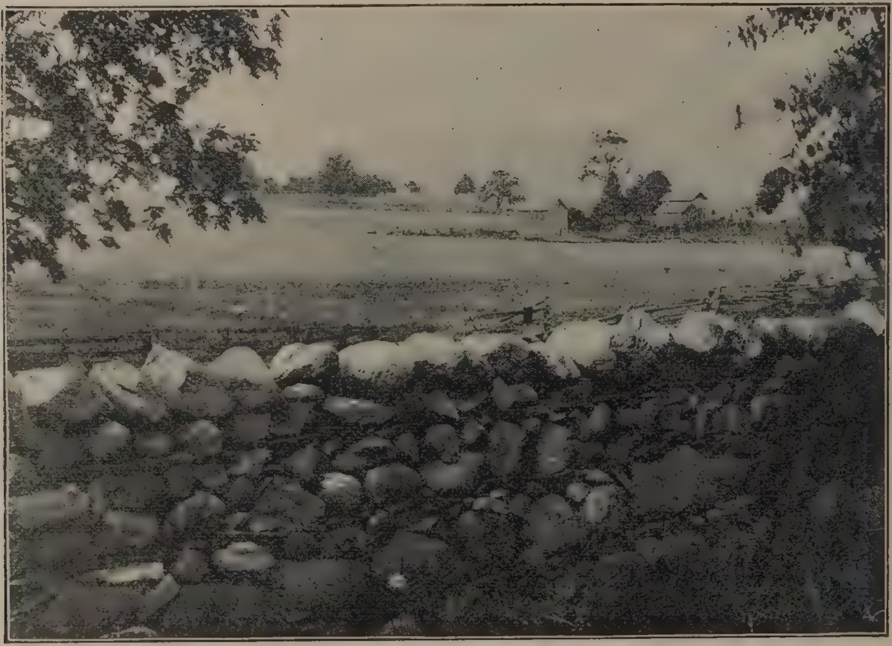
---

* The erratic stones, or those brought from a great distance from the north and east by the glaciers and distributed here, are denominated chlorite schist, quartzite (of which there are white, gray and flesh colored), gneiss (in color gray to pink, with less mica than hornblende), and greenstone. Those belonging to the Ohio column of rocks have been detached from the upper layers, including the Ohio Shale with varying size nodules of crude iron pyrites, or iron sulphid, Corniferous Limestone with some chert or impure flint, Waterlime near and below its exposures, and some Sylvania Sandstone near the Michigan line in Lucas County, Ohio. See *Geologic Chart*, page 7.

Several haltings of the Maumee-Wabash (lobe of the last) Glacier are marked by Moraines within, bordering on, and near to the southern and western sides of this Basin. These several Moraines were probably each deposited by the glacier, not altogether in its advance movement but when arrested in its recession by melting by a return for a time of the glacial climate. This being the opinion, they will be mentioned in the order of their formation from the west towards the east. The Mississinewa Moraine lies along the right (north) bank of the river of like name, and the Salamonie Moraine along the right bank of the river of its name. North of the Wabash River these two moraines are intimately blended with a moraine of the Saginaw Glacial Lobe, thus exhibiting a confused Interlobate Moraine. The culmination of this impingement and blending is seen at the head of James Lake in Jamestown Township, Steuben County, Indiana, and eastward therefrom for twenty miles. The United States surveying corps erected a column near the northeastern angle of this high point, the ground having an altitude here of 1141.5 feet above the sea — it being about the highest point in Indiana; and northeast in Hillsdale County, Michigan, near Reading, is the highest point in the lower peninsula of Michigan. The Grass Lake region to the west of these points is thought to mark the boundary between the Mississinewa and the Saginaw Moraines, but no distinctness exists. The western slope of this Interlobate Moraine drains into the St. Joseph River of Lake Michigan, and the eastern slope north of Allen County, Indiana, drains into the

Looking south of west, 8th June, 1902, across the Valleys of Little River and of the Wabash one-half mile above their junction, from the slope of the Wabash Aboite Moraine to the Salamonie Moraine. See Map, page 28. This was the great early drainage channel of the Maumee Glacial Lake.

St. Joseph River of the Maumee Basin. The next moraine to the eastward is the Wabash-Aboite Moraine, lying along the north (right) bank of the headwaters of the Wabash River and, from St. Marys, Ohio, northwestward, forming the southwestern boundary of the Maumee River Basin. North of Fort Wayne this moraine lies west of the St. Joseph River into which it drains. The most prominent parts of the Wabash-Aboite Moraine are near the line between Hillsdale and Branch Counties, Michigan, and the two tiers of the eastern townships of Steuben County, Indiana. The irregularity and variety of the physical features of these chief morainic regions invest them with much of beauty and charm. The numerous lakes — over one hundred on the map of Steuben County alone — varying in size, depth and setting, and abounding with fish of good quality, often with good bottoms for bathing, with pure atmosphere and wholesome material surroundings, make this otherwise interesting morainic region a healthful and choice summer resort which will become more and more appreciated as the years go by.



The Crest of Moraine dividing the Headwaters of the River St. Joseph of the Maumee from those of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, between Hillsdale City and Bankers Village, Michigan. Looking southwest, 6th June, 1902. In addition to the Stone Fence along the Public Highway in the foreground, two others are seen dividing the fields in the distance. These fences are composed of granite boulders gathered from the Glacial Till here. A small section of country here and another in Steuben County, Indiana, are the only parts of this Basin where such Stones can be found in sufficient quantities for fences.

These lakes resulted from the irregular depositions of the glacial clay till, leaving ridges and depressions. Where the till or wash was of a gravelly or sandy character, permitting the waters of wet season to percolate, the depressions are dry. Occasionally 'kettle holes' or dry, round holes are seen.* One theory of their formation is the grounding of clear icebergs or fragments of the glacier, and the washing and forming of the gravel and sand around them to so remain after the melting of the ice. The obliteration of glacial ponds and lakes of clay or non-leaking bottoms by washings, by the encroachment and decay of vegetation and the formation of peat, with other of Nature's accumulations, is a subject of interesting study. The moraines yet afford many instructive illustrations of Nature's ways of forming, and reforming, such features of the earth. The last stage of such lakes is often a cranberry marsh or a tamarack swamp. The areas of different lakes are now undergoing the final stages of transformation into excellent farms in Farmer and Milford Townships, Defiance County, Ohio. In some of these small lakes of great depth, a great length of

A View of Commingled Moraines June 6th, 1902, looking north in the northwest part of York Township, Steuben County, Indiana. The tree at the Crest to the right of the Road, one and three-fourths miles distant, is at Page Postoffice, beyond which the drainage is into the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan.

---

* Kettle holes may yet be seen in the St. Joseph Moraine, particularly in the southwestern part of Williams County, Ohio.

time is necessary for the solidifying by nature's process of the deep strata of the filling. The companies building railways over and along these moraines have encountered 'sink holes' which required great quantities of gravel and earth to be deposited for the necessary stability of the tracks. The builders of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway through Eastern Indiana, met with such difficulty in 1873, those of the Wabash Railway near Montpelier, Ohio, in 1901, and the other companies were annoyed more or less at the time of their building. It has even been thought necessary to change the line and build on one side of the 'sink hole.'

The first moraine fully within this Basin, and which has been probably improperly called the Terminal Moraine, is the St. Mary-St. Joseph Moraine, lying along the right (north) bank of the River St. Mary, and along the left (south) bank of the River St. Joseph. In Hillsdale, and part of Lenawee County, Michigan, it is blended with the Saginaw Moraine before mentioned, and forms the beginning of the Interlobate Moraine that increases in volume to the southwestward.* The next moraine to the east is the Defiance Moraine with northern point near Adrian, Michigan, curving southwestward and forming the eastern side of the Valley of the Tiffin River. It is cut through at the apex of its curve by the Maumee River three miles below Defiance, and thence curves southeastward forming the east valley of the lower Auglaize River and, eastward, the north valley of the Blanchard River.

Clear Lake, Clear Lake Township, Steuben County, Indiana. Looking north of west 6th June, 1902, in the rain. There are summer hotels on the Commingled Moraine of the distant shore.

---

* For a more detailed description of these moraines see Dr. Charles R. Dryer's survey in the *ixteenth Report of Indiana Geology*, page 119 *et. seq.*

All of these moraines are nearly parallel, and much curved with the concave sides to the eastward, facing the direction of the advent and departure of the glacier. At the northern inlets of Maumee Bay, in the northern part of the Basin, is the point of a small moraine extending northward, being parallel outside the Basin to a like moraine. Reference to figures on the map on page 28 will show the altitudes of these moraines, and of many of the intervening parts. The highest point is 568 feet above Lake Erie at a distance from Maumee Bay of 75 miles in direct line; but the drainage waters of this high point flow three times this distance or more. The approach to the moraines is of such gradual ascent that they scarcely impress the traveler — in fact the average traveler crosses and recrosses the moraines within the Basin without thought of the elevation or, at most, of there being but 'a slight ridge.' The crest of the several moraines vary materially in their width. A popular public road (the evolution of an early trail through the forest) still winds along the crest of the Defiance Moraine for much of its extent, both north and south of the Maumee River, and is commonly known as the North and the South Ridge Road. In

Hamilton (Fish) Lake, Otsego Township, Steuben County, Indiana. Looking northwest from top of toboggan slide at Cold Spring, early and wet morning 7th June, 1902. Moraine on distant shore.

places along this crest the ground declines perceptibly from both sides of the narrow roadway, but in most of its course the travelers' view is over 'a level country.' A continuous series of undulations, of very moderate variation in altitude, exist in the St. Joseph Moraine and still higher on the watershed west of the St. Joseph River, and to lesser heights in other moraines within the Basin; but the inequalities are more marked to the northwest just without these limits. The soil of these moraines is very fertile. It is generally of sandy loam, and quick to respond to the worthy husbandman's efforts with bounteous returns. It is of a good degree of thickness, easy to cultivate, not prone to wash away and, on account of the favorable subsoil, it never misses a crop. In wet seasons the surplus water readily disperses, largely through the subsoil, and in seasons of drouth the ground water is well attracted to the needs of vegetation. Proper underdraining and tilling are rapidly producing these favorable and certain results in the more distinctive clay soils of all levels.

Looking south at Bankers, Cambria Township Hillsdale County, Michigan, June 6, 1902. Big Bear Lake, one of the sources of the River St. Joseph, glimpsed in the distance. The middle ground shows vegetation that is fast encroaching upon and filling in the upper part of this lake. The greatest altitude in lower Michigan is but a few miles to the right.

There are, further, some ridge and mound formations by the last glacier, or deposited in and by its crevicing or its supra or sub-waterways, called osars or eskars, and kames.* A number of these interesting formations are found on the westerly part of the St. Mary Moraine and near its southwestern border. The first eskar to be mentioned forms the western wall of the Six-Mile Creek Gap in Section 15, Adams Township, Allen County, Indiana.† It is composed of gravel in anticlinal stratification, is 20 feet high, about 330 feet wide, and half a mile long. An eskar and kame are situated on the crest of the St. Mary Moraine in the eastern part of the City of Fort Wayne. The eskar was a broad, sandy ridge extending from the east line of Section 7, Adams Township, westward one and a quarter miles. The freight yards of the Pennsylvania Railroad occupy a leveled portion of it. The kame is just west of this point and rises conically to a height of 30 feet. A little to the north of this eskar, and parallel with it, is another of symmetrical form and one-fourth mile in length. Another extends from near the crossing of the River St. Mary by the N. Y., C. & St. L. Railway (the 'Nickel Plate') to the southward one and one-half miles as a massive ridge. It has been much excavated as a gravel supply. Another rises 30 feet as the west river bank and curves and branches irregularly across the Allen County Infirmary farm to the

Long Lake, looking north of east from Clear Lake Township, Steuben County, Indiana, to the Michigan Shore, Hillsdale County, 6th June, 1902. This lake is near the highest altitude in these two States.

---

* There has been much confusion in the use of these names, and much discussion regarding the process of formation of the prominences thus named. Osar is the old European name for ridges of gravel and sand of varying lengths that cannot be attributed to the action wholly of the ice, or to the action of running water without aid similar to that a glacier might afford, nor to the wave action of a lake. Eskar is the term latterly used by geologists to the displacement of osar. A mound or conical prominence constructed by the glacial streams, generally in immediate relation to the edge of the ice, is the later signification of the term kame.

† See account of the survey of Dr. Charles R. Dryer in the *Sixteenth Report of Indiana Geology*, page 116.

southward, a mile in length. Several other eskars are discernible in this vicinity; and associated with this series are several small island-like prominences in the broad drainage channel of the Maumee Glacial Lake through which the Wabash Railway, and electric cars, run southwestward from Fort Wayne. On the largest of these prominences, known as Fox Island, is the most symmetrical and graceful eskar of this system. It is curved like the letter *S*, in slighter degree, and is three-quarters of a mile in length. It is 25 feet in height and its sides are 'as steep as sand can be piled.'

Crest of the St. Joseph Moraine. Looking west in the west part of Hicksville Township, Defiance County, Ohio, 30th October, 1902. Showing the Baltimore and Ohio Railway tracks as lowered during the years 1900-01-02. A very fertile country.

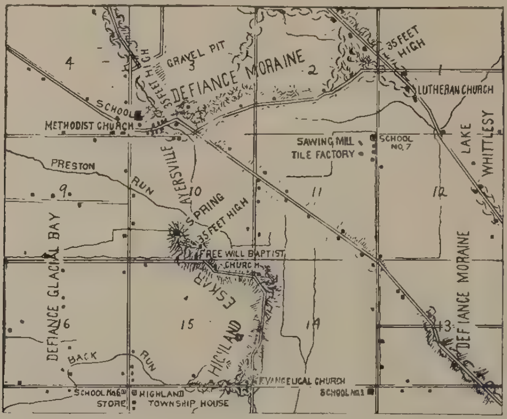
A very interesting serpentine eskar is situated in Highland Township, Defiance County, Ohio, six miles southeast of the City of Defiance and one mile south of the hamlet of Ayersville. This is the most extensive in the Basin. It is named Highland Eskar by the writer. It was formed in part by direct deposit by the glacier, and by the running water in the melting glacier at the time the Defiance Moraine was laid; and it is now a much more prominent feature of the landscape than any part of the moraine in its vicinity, which has suffered materially from washings.

When the Maumee Glacial Lake had receded to have the Defiance

Moraine for its western and southern shore, the northwestern, western, southwestern sides of the Highland Eskar were washed by the Defiance Bay, and its northeast side faced the connection of this Bay with the Lake, it being a prominent island in other words, at the mouth of the Bay. Its northern end lies one-fourth mile in the southwestern quarter of Section 10, extending to the south line of this Section where the public road rises to and follows its crest eastward and southward for three-fourths mile across the northwest quarter of Section 15, and the northeast quarter of Section 14, where it turns south and extends one-half mile, and then turns southwest, ending beyond the south part of these Sections and along the line between them. Its length is about two miles. Its highest part is 35 to 40 feet in the northern third of its length. It is generally narrow in body, and ridge, so narrow in places that there is just width enough for the public road that winds along its ridge the entire extent, excepting the north one-fourth mile. There are six farm residences, with the other usual farm buildings, occupied by old settlers or their descendants, along the crest of Highland Eskar; also a Freewill Baptist church building with its churchyard cemetery. The base of this eskar is composed of clay to varying heights above the level surrounding country overlain with gravel, and then with sandy loam of great fertility, affording the best of gardens and small orchards on its crest and sides. Wells have been made on its sides near the base and supply good water at a depth of 12 to 14 feet; and at its northern end there is a spring of excellent water which is not exhausted in dry seasons. Excavations on this eskar have brought to view parts of trees and other vegetation that quickly crumbled to dust

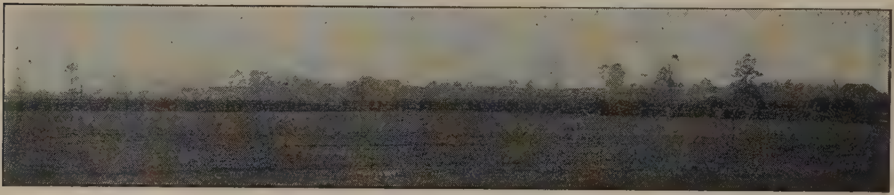
Defiance Moraine Glen, in north bank of the Maumee Water Gap, three miles east of the City of Defiance, looking north, 15th October, 1901.

on exposure to the air, evidencing their burial in the remote past, probably at the time of the formation of the eskar. The views from the crest of this eskar in all directions are over well-tilled and highly fertile farms, brightened with comfortable homes, on the 'elm' lands that were formerly the bottom of the Maumee Glacial Lake, and later, of Defiance Bay, from the waters of which the rich soil was deposited.



Map of Highland Eskar in the Mouth of Defiance Glacial Bay at the Ancient Water Gap in the Defiance Moraine, six miles southeast of the City of Defiance. The squares are Land Sections, each one mile square, in northeast Highland Township. The dots mark the situation of houses.

Thus, in the ideal topography of this Maumee River Basin, and in the due admixture of the best of soil ingredients, so commingled and conditioned in its Drift as to retain their vitality from dissipation by undue oxidation, washing, or leeching, do we realize the beneficent results of its Glaciation.



The Highland Eskar in northeast Highland Township, Defiance County, Ohio. Looking south 26th October, 1901.

CHAPTER III.

EVIDENCES OF PREHISTORIC MAN—THE ABORIGINES AS FIRST SEEN.

The American or Western Continent has been designated by good authority* as the oldest of continents; and the aboriginal man in America has been classed among the Mongoloids, or earliest of people, antedating Adam.†

There have been many speculations and theories regarding the length of time that man has existed. The earliest Stone Age in Europe has been recorded‡ as beginning probably more than 100,000 years in the past, and perhaps many hundred thousand years. Other writers regard the beginning of the first Stone Age as probably not earlier than 4400 to 5000 years ago, but admit that man probably existed prior to that time and left no evidence of his handiwork.

The existence of man before, or during the Glacial Period, has been quite well established in the opinion of many scientists, both by the discovery of his fossilized bones and of stone implements of his shaping buried in the Glacial Drift. It is very seldom that fossilized bones of any animal are found notwithstanding the myriads of mankind, and of larger lower animals that have existed through the multiple ages. This is not strange when the facility of their destruction, and the exacting conditions of Nature for their preservation, are considered.§

---

* Louis Agassiz in the *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xi, page 373; *Geological Sketches*, page 1.

† *Preadamites*, by Professor Alexander Winchell, LL. D., pages 66, 304.

‡ Haeckel's *Natuerliche Schoep ungsgeschichte*, page 595. *Preadamites*, 421.

§ The process of fossilization, or changing to stone, consists in the replacement and solidification of each cell with minute particles of calcium or silica which are held in solution by the water covering the bones. This process is one of Nature's very slow, delicate, and all-exacting methods of preserving the organic form while replacing or modifying the organic structure of very hard tissues. Soft tissues cannot become petrified on account of their ready putrefaction.

Casts of the human form are sometimes made by the body being rapidly encased in fine lava or material that readily adapts itself to the form and quickly hardens. A mold is thus formed which may become filled by a semifluid that will harden. Casts have thus been made in the oldest molds found—those at Pompeii of persons, and dogs, overwhelmed by the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A. D. 49.

Also in favoring conditions of temperature, moisture and ingredients, the soft parts of an animal body may become changed to adipocere (*adeps*, fat, and *cere*, wax), or ammonia margarate. An occasional human body, exhumed after a few score years for burial elsewhere, has been found in this condition—the most notable instances being at the Cemetery of the Innocents, Paris, in 1786-87, and later in New York City, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of that city yet possessing the body. There is, also, a later specimen of this character in the Wistar Museum of Comparative Anatomy of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. These specimens, however, possess nothing of stony hardness and are crumbling. Comparatively few fossilized bones have been found, which proves that even the hardest parts of mankind and the lower animals generally return to their native elements with great facility.

The most important discoveries yet made of this character are as follows: A human skull found in a cave at Engis near Liege, Belgium, in 1833, and a like skull found in 1857 by workmen in a limestone quarry in the valley of the Neander[*] a small stream near Düsseldorf, Germany, which have become known as the Engis and the Neanderthal skulls.

Part of a human skull was found in February, 1866, in gold-bearing gravel in Sonora Table Mountain, Calaveras County, California; and it is thereby known to archæologists as the Calaveras Skull. Other human bones, and stone implements chipped by man, were also found in this deposit of gravel which Prof. Josiah D. Whitney classed in the Pliocene of the Tertiary age.[†] Some of the geologists of the United States Survey, however, have classed these gravels in the Quarternary Period.

Other ancient remains have been recorded in this species of evidence in different countries, including different parts of America; but it should be admitted that most of them have not well withstood the tests of scientific investigation. Human footprints have, also, been found indelibly impressed and hardened in Post-Pliocene stratum, one of the most noted being found in Nicaragua.[‡]

The most numerous, and the most probable of the evidences thus far discovered of man's existence in the Glacial Period, however, are stone implements that were moved and covered by a glacier. The observing and persevering archæologist, M. Boucher de Perthes, discovered during the years 1841 and subsequently, chipped stones which were evidently shaped by man for cutting purposes. These rude knives were found in glacial gravel which had apparently remained undisturbed since the ice placed it on a high terrace in the valley of the River Somme at Abbeville, North France. The sciences of geology and anthropology were then in their infancy, and the branch archæology had then hardly a beginning.

Account of these implements and of the depths at which they were found, were published by their discoverer in 1847, and additional accounts of the discoveries by his pupil, Doctor Regillot, of Amiens, were soon thereafter given to scientists; but it was not until 1858-59 that other French and English geologists visited this locality and became convinced of the probably true character of the implements and of the stratum in which they were found. This conjoined investigation and discussion led to a more enlightened search and to additional discoveries elsewhere. Peculiar stones that had been found in

---

[*] See Dr. Schwalbe's lecture mentioned in the *American Review of Reviews*, Jan. 1904, p. 111.

[†] *Memoirs of the Museum of Comparative Zoology*, of Harvard University, vol. vi.

[‡] *American Philosophical Society's Proceedings*, xxiv, 1887, page 437.

England in the 18th century and preserved with the bones of an extinct species of elephant were, upon reconsideration, declared to be palæolithic, or palanthropic, or shaped by man in the earliest Stone Age.

In April, 1873, Dr. Charles C. Abbot discovered similarly formed knives in the glacial gravel at Trenton, New Jersey,* and later finds in the same place have been published by him and by others.† The correctness of the published deductions regarding the age of these implements has been doubted, however, by different writers.‡

The first evidence thought to be decisive of the presence of man in Ohio previous to, or during the Ice Age, was found in October, 1885, by Dr. Charles L. Metz, at Madisonville, eight feet below the surface in the gravel of the Little Miami River Valley one mile back from the river terrace. This find is a crudely shaped black-flint knife about the size and form of one of the same material found at Trenton, above mentioned. Doctor Metz found another knife in 1887, thirty feet below the surface in coarser undisturbed gravel one-fourth mile from the river at Loveland, Ohio, twenty-five miles above Madisonville. Petrified bones of a mastodon were also found in the immediate vicinity; and the contiguity of similar fossils and relics in other localities are considered in favor of the validity of the evidence that man existed in the same geologic era as the mastodon.

In 1896 a grooved axe was found by a well digger near New London, Huron County, Ohio, twenty-two feet below the surface of the ground, under thirteen feet of tough clay.§

Since the year 1887, numerous other like implements have been found in Ohio and other States under conditions thought by their discoverers to be well authenticated for their great antiquity, even beyond the Ice Age. Great care is necessary, however, that articles of later prehistoric times, and even those chipped and artificially 'weathered' in the present generation, be not sold, and recorded, by imposters and incompetent judges, to the confusion of legitimate and commendable efforts. Careful and well-attested description of the conditions surrounding every implement of unusual character found should be sent with the implement, to the nearest University possessing a well-ordered department of archæology, and every facility should be afforded the chief of this department for his personal investigation.

---

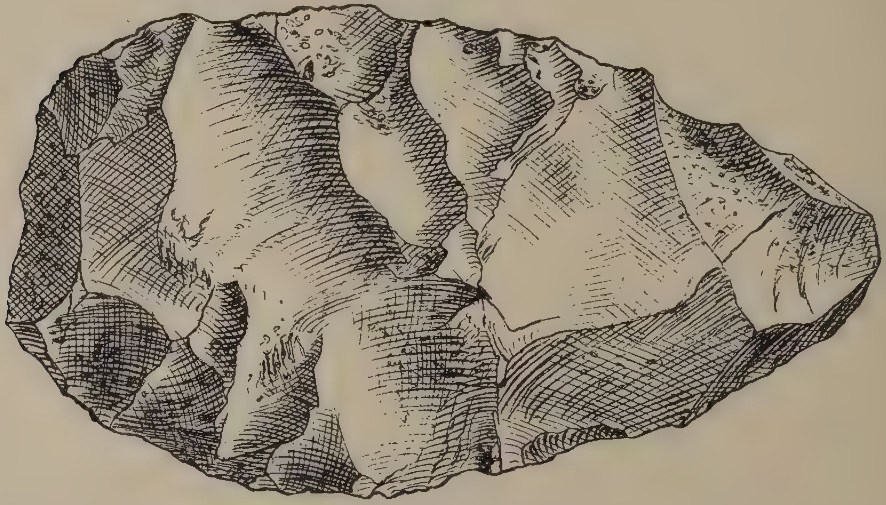
* *The American Naturalist*, vol. vii, page 204; vol. x, page 329. Winsor vol. i, page 333.

† *Tenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. ii, pages 30, 225. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, i, 334.

‡ See the *American Journal of Anthropology* 1892; *Science*, November, 1892; *Journal of Geology*, 1893; *The Meeting Place of Geology and History*, 1894, wherein William H. Holmes and Sir J. William Dawson claim that the evidence of age is not satisfactory from a geological point of view, as the implements found at Trenton were not taken from undisturbed gravel, but from a talus of loose debris; and that they resemble the rougher tools and rejectamenta of the descendants of the aborigines. The trustees of the Carnegie Institution made a grant of $2000 in 1903 to the Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, for further investigation regarding the early history of man in America. See *Year Book*; also *Science*, December 25, 1903.

§ See the *American Geologist*, November, 1896, and the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Ohio State Academy of Science.

There are in the writer's collection of prehistoric implements a number of rudely chipped flint knives which exhibit on their surface the evidence of great age,* and which are not unlike in appearance the palæoliths, or palanthrops, mentioned above. The accompanying engraving shows one of them of medium size. They have been found in different parts of the Maumee River Basin, some of them not widely separated from fossil remains of the mastodon; but the character of their surroundings when found are not sufficiently attested to warrant their classification as belonging to the Age of Ice.



Prehistoric Flint Knife, full size. Found in the Maumee River Basin. It resembles some of the 'Palæoliths.' Author's Collection.

While excavating a tunnel into the loess of the Missouri River Valley in February, 1902, near Lansing, Kansas, remains of two human skeletons were found, one of which being better preserved is treasured as of great archæological value. Warren Upham, in the magazine *Records of the Past* for September, 1902, vol. i, page 273, estimates the age of this skeleton at 12,000 years, which he regards "as no more than an eighth part of the whole duration of the Ice Age in its successive Alberton, Aftonian, Kansan, Helvetian (or Buchanan), Iowan and Wisconsin stages. . . . It can scarcely be so little as 10,000 years, and may indeed, according to estimates by other glacialists for the date of the Iowan stage, have been even 20,000 years, or more. At the most, it can be only a small fraction of the antiquity of man in Europe, where he seems surely to have been coeval with the beginning of the Ice Age." T. C. Chamberlin, in the *American Journal of Geology* for October and November, 1902, accords this Lansing skeleton 'a very respectable antiquity, but much short of the close of the glacial invasion.' W. H. Holmes, in the *American Anthropologist* for October-December, 1902, also places these remains in the Post-Glacial Age. In the April, 1903, *Records of the Past*, George Frederick Wright states that "while the glacial age of this skeleton may, therefore, be confidently accepted, it should be kept constantly in mind, for the relief of the anthropologist, that there is increasing evidence that the closing stages of the Glacial period in North America did not long precede that of the high stages of civilization brought to light by recent explorations in Babylonia. Hilprecht and others would carry that date back to 9000 or 10,000 years, which would be within 3000 years of the date assigned by Mr. Upham to the deposition of the Iowan loess."*

---

* The degree of weathering or change produced by time in flint, ordinary stones, or in any article may and generally does depend upon the character of the article itself, the dryness, moisture, heat, cold, lime, soda, sulphur, atmosphere, or other surroundings and conditions to which it has been subjected. When conditions are favorable there may be little if any change, consequently the condition of an article does not necessarily signify the time that has elapsed since it was shaped or used by man. The character of the substance of the article itself, its form, the character of its surroundings and the probable changes that have occurred in them if any, should all be taken into the estimation.

In September, 1902, the engineers in charge of the construction of the St. Louis Belt Railway, found a granite axe five inches long and three and one-half inches wide, three-quarters grooved and well finished, under fourteen feet of loess, a half mile northwest of Clayton, Missouri. Cyrus A. Peterson, M. D., who describes and pictures this axe in the *Records of the Past* for January, 1903, regards this discovery as evidence of the preglacial existence of man and his advancement in handiwork.

PREHISTORIC MOUNDS OF EARTH.

Europeans, upon their advent into the Maumee River Basin, found little beside the wandering Aborigines, the wild animals, and other products of Nature, to attract their attention, or to stimulate investigation. As the years passed, bringing an ever increasing population and the clearing of the forest, some persons there were who recognized in certain tumuli, or mounds, the work of a people of whom the Aborigines, as seen at the beginning of the written records of the region, knew nothing, even by tradition. These mounds of earth, a very few crude articles sometimes found therein, and stone weapons, implements, and ornaments, in use when the existing Aborigines were discovered by Europeans, constitute all the works of man of a prehistoric character that have been discovered in this region.

---

* See also proceedings of the Congress of Americanists, New York meeting, 1903; of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the *Popular Science Monthly* for March, 1903; and N. H. Winchell in the *Bulletin of the Geological Society of America*, 1903.

Different writers have estimated the number of prehistoric earth mounds in Ohio at from ten to thirteen thousand. Probably the authentic number, great as it certainly is, is not so large as this.

By far the larger number of these mounds are situated in the southern portion of the State. They were probably made for different uses: for burials, for defense, and perhaps, for religious ceremonies. Many are large and required great labor in their construction which may have been performed by prisoners of war subjected to slavery.

Earth mound in the Northwest Quarter of Section 28, Defiance Township. Often erroneously called the work of Prehistoric people—The Mound Builders. Looking northeast across the valley of the Maumee River, 25th October, 1901.

The number, and size, of similar mounds lessens materially toward the northern portion of Ohio; and, probably, many of the prominences in this Basin that have in later years been called the work of man in the far distant past, are due wholly to natural agencies, such as the glacial or subsequent deposits, or erosions of water. The mounds, however, that are composed of different layers of earth separated in a suggestive way from their kind, with ashes, charred wood, etc., and with some anciently formed weapon or ornament of stone, or fragment of ancient pottery, found in definite arrangement, thus evidence their formation by mankind.

While the Basin of the Maumee River was probably not the headquarters of so great a number of early peoples of somewhat sedentary or settled habits as was the country to the south and southeast, it is probable that the Maumee River and its larger tributaries were great thoroughfares of travel by the prehistoric peoples, as they were by the historic Aborigines from the time of the advent of the Europeans up to the time of the removal of the last tribe to its western reservation in 1843. Some of those early people also here heaped the earth in low conical mounds above the bodies of certain ones of their dead.

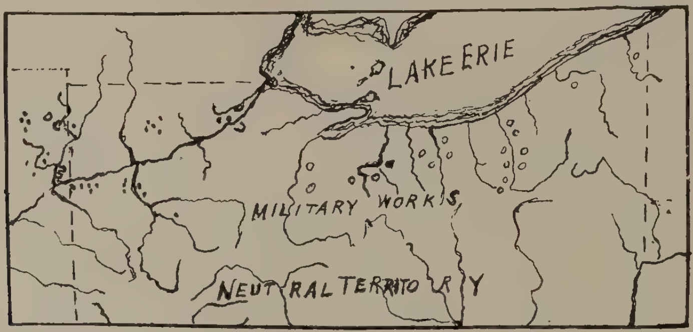
The fact that so few artificial mounds are now found in this Basin is probably due to several causes, among which may be mentioned the sparse, or absence of, fixed population. This may have been due in part to the dense forest and the general flatness of the country conducive to great moisture and softness of the soil and to much of miasm and disease in dry seasons; second, to this region being often patrolled by the Five Nations of the east, and its being the middle or enforced neutral ground between the wilder tribes to the northward and the more peaceful or stronger, and consequently, more advanced people to the southward who were represented here only by occasional wandering bands that had few deaths and buried shallow from want of time, lapse of inclination, or fear of desecrations by their foes; third, to many of the smaller mounds, containing single or few bodies, becoming obliterated by the natural forces, or the plows of the early white settlers; fourth, to most of the bodies of those killed in battle, or dying of disease, not being interred.

The belief has become quite general among archæologists that the Mound Builders were the ancestors of the Aborigines as seen by Europeans, or of the Chereokee tribe particularly, and perhaps of the Shawnees also, and that they were distinct from their descendants only by their greater advancement toward civilization, they having had more fixed habitations which conserved their energy to the interdependent study and practice of peaceful arts.

It can readily be imagined that the Mound Builders met defeat by their distant cousins, the tribes to the northward who had remained in wildness and savagery, surging down upon them, like a horde of rapacious vandals that they were, and putting to death all who could not flee from their merciless attacks! This is the probable mode of their vanquishment. Their complete overthrow, ejectment or captivity may have been accomplished in one year, or it may have been the result of repeated attacks through a series of years.

Southern Ohio and the Cumberland River Valley, Tennessee, are among the regions containing the mounds and graves which have thus far yielded hammered native copper, chased gorgets and other ornaments that show the greatest advancement in handiwork of the prehistoric people of the more Northern United States of this meridian.*

Undoubtedly the number was increasing among them, who were turning away from the wandering and warring habits of their ancestors to a more settled, peaceful and happier life, improving in handiwork and trade in village, or in tilling the soil near by. Their numbers, and the influence of their peaceful work, were extending northward; but there was not time allowed them to assume a firm and stable hold upon Northern Ohio before the irresistibly fatal invasion swept them away with all the evidences of their advancement excepting their fortresses and burial mounds, and such articles as were preserved therein or were lost on the surface to be covered for centuries and then to be turned up by the plows, or like their relics in the mounds be excavated, by a different and much further advanced people. The savage, victorious invaders constructed few, if any mounds, nor did they undertake so much work as was necessary to destroy those of the vanquished.



Location of Prehistoric Mounds and Circles of Earth in Northern Ohio and Northeastern Indiana.

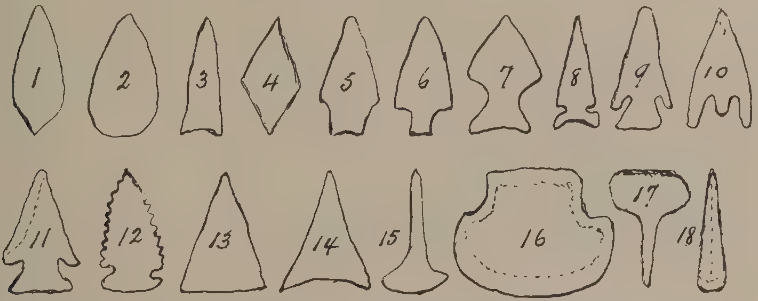
The writer's record embraces something over fifty mounds and earthworks in this Basin that can properly be classed as the work of prehistoric man. Their situation is on high ground, in small groups widely scattered.

About twenty mounds have been noted in DeKalb and Steuben Counties, Indiana. Mastodon remains, some very large and complete, have also been found in a half dozen places in DeKalb near some of these mounds. In section 27, of Smithfield Township, the remains of a Mastodon were found in good preservation at a depth of four feet in blue clay, whereas such preserved bones are usually found in muck or peat where the animal mired and met its death by asphyxiation or starvation. The mounds in this vicinity contained considerable charcoal. In one near Waterloo the charcoal was several feet in thickness, and covered the remains of twenty-five or more persons, whose bodies were deposited irregularly as though hastily and indifferently.*

---

* See *The Antiquities of Tennessee and the Adjacent States*, by Gates P. Thruston, 2nd edition. *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology*, by Cyrus Thomas, Washington, 1894. *Archaeological History of Ohio*, by Gerard Fowke, Columbus, 1902.

Nine mounds of earth have been reported in Allen County, Indiana.† Four of these are on high land between Cedar and Willow Creeks and near the Fort Wayne branch of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway. Two are situate about forty feet apart in north and south line, and the other two fifteen rods east about the same distance apart in east and west line. They were explored many years ago and found to contain human remains, charcoal, something of crudely hammered copper ornaments, and of the ordinary chipped flint points. A large oblong mound exists four miles southward of the above named; and at Cedarville, near the St. Joseph River, are three mounds about one hundred feet apart parallel with the river in northeast line.



Type-forms of Prehistoric Flint Knives (Nos. 1, 2), Arrow and Spear Points, Perforators (Nos. 17, 18), and Scrapers (No. 16). They vary much in size. Of the 'Points' about 5000 to 1 are beveled to the left, as shown here in the thick Number 11.

A single small mound existed on the east bank of the river about four miles north of Fort Wayne, and this is the most southern part of Allen County at which prehistoric earthworks have been determined.

Nine mounds have been determined on the high banks of the Maumee River. Two of these mounds are in Indiana near the Ohio line, four also on the south bank at Antwerp, Ohio, the first of which is one mile west of this village, the second in the park within the corporation, the third one-half mile, and the fourth one mile eastward.

A mound was found on the high south bank of the Maumee River, a few rods west of the middle north and south line of Section twenty-seven of Defiance Township, (nearly a half mile above the present Water Works pumping station) by Joshua Hilton, who purchased the farm embracing this land in January, 1822. This mound was about four feet above the surrounding land, about thirty feet in diameter, and was covered with oak trees 18 to 20 inches in diameter. Mr. Hilton and his son, Brice, who gave the writer this information, opened this mound in the year 1824. A small quantity of bony fragments were found which readily crumbled between the fingers on being handled. Human teeth were found, some of which were of large size. Some dark stone gorgets were also found, about four by two inches in size, pierced with slanting holes of 'goose-quill' size. This mound was excavated and used as a cellar by the family, the first house, built of logs, being at convenient distance from it. The site of this mound was undermined by the river many years ago.

---

* See the *Sixteenth Report of Indiana Geology*, page 104.

† By Colonel Robert S. Robertson, reported in the *History oj Allen County*, and to the writer.

Right Bank of the Auglaize River, looking north, 19th September, 1901, from the southwest corner of Section 3, Defiance Township, Ohio, at the mouth of Garman Run. Low stage of water. The Glacial Till somewhat stratified. To the right of the central distance a Prehistoric Burial Mound is being undermined by the high waters and freezings. This Mound formerly contained eight human bodies in sitting posture. The bones disintegrated some years ago.

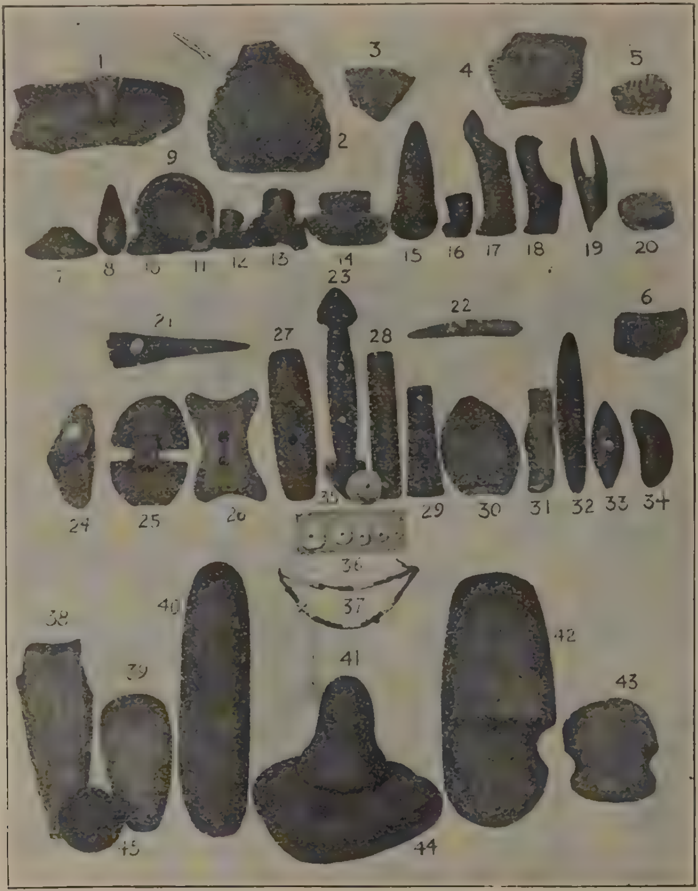
The other two mounds along the Maumee were on the north bank on the farm of Captain Clayton W. Everett, just above the line of the City of Toledo. In leveling one of these mounds in the summer of

1900, a bar or pick-shaped amulet, of dark, fine-grained slate, was found which measures eighteen inches in length, the longest on record. This has been deposited in the museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus.

Along the Auglaize River, five mounds have been determined; two in the western part of Putnam County, near Dupont, and three in Defiance Township. One, situated on the high east bank near the south line of Section 3, about four miles southwest of Defiance Court House, is now nearly obliterated by infringement of the public road and undermining by the river. (See engraving.) This mound was opened by curious neighbors previous to 1870. Decaying bones of eight or ten persons who had evidently been buried in sitting posture, were found with charcoal.

A smaller mound, about two feet high and fourteen feet in diameter, was situated on the high west bank of the Auglaize, near the middle north and south line of Section 34, two and one-fourth miles southwest of Defiance Court House. It was explored in the summer of 1878. About six inches below the surface of the central part a circular group of stones varying from two to five inches in diameter were found that had been taken from the river channel near by. They rested upon a layer of clay two inches thick, like the surrounding land in quality, which had been subjected to great heat while wet and was, consequently, very hard and brick-like. Beneath this layer of clay was a layer of ashes two inches thick, and eight or ten sticks of thoroughly charred wood about two feet long and two or more inches thick in their largest parts. With the ashes were, also, bits of charred flesh and small bones, perhaps of some animal, but the kind could not be determined, and small fragments of crude pottery which easily crumbled. Upon removing the ashes and about one foot of hardened earth, human bones were found in an advanced stage of decomposition, consisting of parts of the calvarium and long bones of one person, head lying a little east of north. With these bones was found only one plain gorget four inches long, one and three-eighths inches wide and one-half inch thick, tapering on the sides toward the ends, and with two holes one and a half inches apart and equidistant from the ends. These holes are of one-fourth inch diameter on one side and taper gradually and smoothly to one-eight inch on the opposite side. The gorget is of Ohio Shale such as is seen in the bed of the Auglaize River nearby. About forty rods north, also on the high bank overlooking the river, was another mound of like size and contents, excepting the gorget.

The only mound, however, that has been generally known and talked about as the work of the Mound Builders near Defiance, has been considered by the writer as a natural mound, caused by erosions of the river around. It is situate toward the southeast side of Blodgett Island (see engraving) eastward from the two mounds last described, it being near the east line of Section thirty-four in Defiance Township, and a little north of the center of the south-east quarter of the Section,



Prehistoric Articles made and used by the Aborigines. Found during later years in the Maumee River Basin, and now in the Author's Collection. Nos. 1 to 6, Fragments of Pottery; 7, Turtle shaped Granite; 8, 10, Plumbet and Half-globe of Haematite; 9, Double Discoid of Granite; 11 to 16, Tobacco Pipes; 17, 18, Bird-form Amulets of Slate; 19, 24, 25, 33, 34, Banner Stones of Slate; 21, 22, Awls of Deer Bones; 23, 26, 27, 28, 30, Gorgets of Slate; 29, Pendant; 31, 32, Bar Amulets of Granite; 35, 36, 37, Wampum of Shells; 38, Part of Elk Horn used in Planting Corn; 39, Celt, 'Thunderbolt' or Tomahawk of Granite; 40, Pestle and Rolling Pin, also 41, 44, Pestle and Stone Base (uncommon), for Cracking and Grinding Corn; 42, Axe, ¾ Grooved, Weight, 6½ lbs., Length, 9¼ inches; 43, Axe, Full Grooved, for twisting around Withe Handle; 45, Ball for Games. The articles last named are of the hardest Granite, and some of them show long time weathering.

and forty rods northwest of the present Cement Works. This mound, in the summer of 1898, was thirty-five feet above the ordinary summer level of the river, twenty-five above the land immediately to the south, and twenty feet above that a few rods to the north. It is somewhat elliptical in outline, its longest diameter being a little north of east by south of west, and measures 55x40 feet from points midway from base to summit from which points the slopings are gradual, below and above, being rather more abrupt on the south side, against which the current strikes in high stages of the river. This mound was covered with trees, the same as parts of the island and the river banks in the vicinity, until the year 1874 when it, with the land around not then under cultivation, was cleared, and the island was planted with corn. It has been regularly cultivated since, occasionally wheat being the crop, to the north particularly. The plowing has been extended upward on the sides of the mound each time and this and the washings of rain have materially modified its outline. It was partially opened many years ago with negative result. In 1895 the writer obtained permission from Adam Wilhelm, for many years its owner, to excavate it; but in the winter it was found that some persons had surreptitiously dug into its eastern

Blodgett Island in the Auglaize River, Defiance Township. Looking west, 2nd November, 1902. The main branch of the River is by the distant trees. The large Mound toward the right has been called the work of the Mound Builders, but it is of the same formation as the neighboring high places and is, probably, a natural monadnock like the peculiar triangular eminence at the mouth of Powell Creek a few hundred feet to the left. This island is sixty acres in extent.

summit a hole six feet square to the depth of about eight feet. Again, in the winter of 1897-98, an excavation was made by the same persons two feet to the southwest of the other, eight feet square and to a depth of ten feet or more. These openings were not seen by the writer until heavy rains had washed their sides and caused much filling. The ground material thrown out by these diggings was the same as that composing the high banks of the river in the vicinity, with nothing of the alluvium covering the other parts of the island.

This work of excavation was done by ignorant persons with the hope of finding material of commercial value, and, possibly the chest of money which rumor many years ago said was buried in this direction from Defiance. The tradition of buried money has been perpetuated in nearly every section of the country. In and about Defiance belief in this tradition has been strong, and the desire for great gain has induced many persons to dig into many prominences in field and woods without regard for archæological considerations.

At the eastern edge of the second glacial lake beach, on the headwaters of Bad Creek, in Pike Township, ten miles northeast of Wauseon, Fulton County, Ohio, there were early discovered on the Howard farm eleven mounds of small size, arranged in somewhat of circular form. Nearly all of these mounds were dug into soon after their discovery by persons actuated by curiosity, or the more serious desire for articles of commercial value. A few human bones, some charcoal, and a few (to the vandals) indifferent articles of flint and slate, were the result of their work. In the year 1884, Judge William H. Handy, then a resident of Wauseon, led an exploring party to these burial places, with somewhat better results. They called several of them sacrificial mounds on account of patches of earth, hardened by fire, which they termed altars.

Such places of baked clay in the earth mounds of ancient people were called altars by Squier and Davis, in the first volume of the Smithsonian publications. But, if they were altars, they do not necessarily imply the custom of human sacrifice; nor does the finding of charcoal so generally in these mounds, imply cremation of their dead. Fire was used in these places possibly as a funeral rite; but these places were probably used for camps in wet seasons, and the fire was used for heating and cooking; also the smallest bones found thereabout are probably of the animals there eaten.

The finding in Tennessee of adult skeletons in stone graves too small for the complete body, has been interpreted as reburials of the bones after the flesh had disappeared. Likewise skeletons of numerous bodies, found in separated and promiscuous condition under ashes, baked clay, charcoal, etc., with charred posts, leads to the inference that the prehistoric people buried their dead under the floor of their hut, like some of the later aborigines; or had a charnel house, and when for any cause a change of location was desired they burned the house and sometimes threw up a mound over the remains.

Mastodon and Other Extinct Animal Remains.

The petrified remains of several mastodons have also been found in Fulton County, the most complete and perfect being in York Township eight miles southeast of Wauseon. In the southeastern part of the Basin like remains have been found as well as in the western part before mentioned; also in Auglaize County, Ohio, parts of eight mastodon skeletons have been found, and the remains of the giant beaver, both of which animals were co-existent with man in the Maumee River Basin following the subsidence of the glacial waters.

Pre-Historic Circles and Semi-Circles of Earth Ridges.

Earth enclosures also abound in Ohio and in other States. In form these vary from square to more or less octagonal and circular. Their uses have been discussed as hill forts, geometrical enclosures, as sacred and as defensive walls, forming partial enclosures.*

Of circles, the writer has record of three in the Maumee River Basin; also of four semi-circles. It is regretted that full and accurate surveys were not made of these ancient earthworks before their obliteration; but authentic data of their existence, situation and approximate size, have been gathered by the writer from elderly persons residing near, and from various other sources.

Beginning in the northwestern part of the Basin and following down the streams, we note first, a circular ridge of earth on the moraine in the northeastern and highest part of Smithfield Township, DeKalb County, Indiana. The ridge is rather indefinite in part, with indications of possibly two original openings, while in other places it is yet near three feet in height. Its diameter is about 200 feet. Another circle is situate about four miles northeast of Hamilton, Steuben County, in Richland Township. It is locally known as the Mystic Circle, is 68 yards in diameter, and averages between three and four feet in height with a breadth of 12 feet at the base of the earth wall or ridge. Both of these circular earthworks show an entrance opening of 12 to 14 feet wide, a little west of south. Many large trees are growing in and around both these circles.

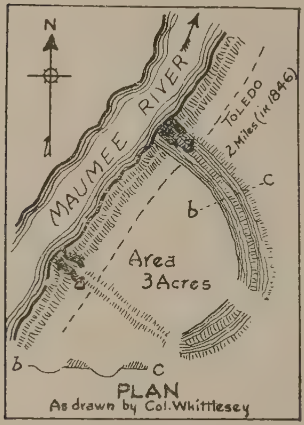
The third circular earthwork, now nearly obliterated by cultivation of the land, was situated on the east (left) bank, in a bend of the River St. Joseph, in the northern part of St. Joseph Township, Allen County, Indiana.

---

* For a full discussion of Prehistoric Mounds and Enclosures, see the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1894, 4to, pages XLVIII+742. Also *Archaeological History of Ohio*, by the State Society, Columbus, 1902, etc.

A few miles below, on the west bank, 'opposite Antrap's mill,' is a semi-circular ridge with opening to the river. The earthwork is about 600 feet in arc, and is yet about two feet high, with a well defined ditch on the outside. 'Very large trees which have grown on the embankment have fallen and gone to decay.' *

Three semi-circular ridges of earth were found along the lower Maumee River. The first was observed between the years 1837-46, and the book† from which the accompanying engraving is made, was published in 1848 as the first volume of the Smithsonian Contributions to knowledge. The description given at that time reads that



Prehistoric Earthwork at Eagle Point, near Toledo.

> This work is situated on the right bank of the Maumee River, two miles above Toledo, in Wood County, Ohio. The water of the river is here deep and still, and of the lake level; the bluff is about 35 feet high. Since the work was built, the current has undermined a portion, and parts of the embankment are to be seen on the slips, a, a. The country for miles in all directions is flat and wet, and is heavily timbered, as is the space in and around this inclosure. The walls, measuring from the bottoms of the ditches, are from three to four feet high. They are not of uniform dimensions throughout their extent; and as there is no ditch elsewhere, it is presumable that the work was abandoned before it was finished. Nothing can be more plain than that most of the remains in Northern Ohio are military works. There have not yet been found any remnants of the timber in the walls; yet it is very safe to presume that palisades were planted on them, and that wood posts and gates were erected at the passages left in the embankments and ditches. All the positions are contiguous to water; and there is no higher land in their vicinity from which they might in any degree be commanded. Of the works bordering on the shore of Lake Erie, through the State of Ohio, there are none but may have been intended for defense; although in some of them the design is not perfectly manifest. They form a line from Conneaut to Toledo, at a distance of from three to five miles from the lake, and all stand upon or near the principal rivers. . . . The most natural inference with respect to the northern cordon of work is, that they formed a well-occupied line, constructed either to protect

---

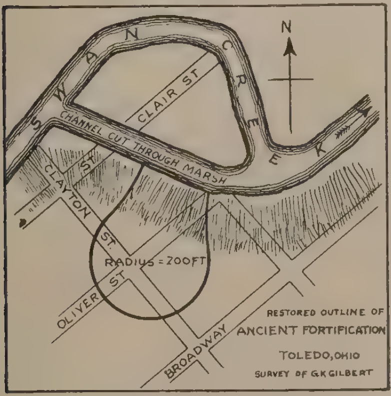
* The two last named earthworks were but briefly mentioned by Col. Robert S. Robertson, of Fort Wayne, in a contribution years ago to one of the newspapers (name and date not known to the writer) of his city, with the title Prehistoric Remains. A clipping is preserved in his scrap book, now in possesion of the writer, who is further informed that no definite survey was made of the enclosures or mounds mentioned above.

†*Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, by E. George Squier and Dr. E. H. Davis, Washington, 1848.

the advance of a nation landing from the lake and moving southward for conquest; or, a line of resistance for people inhabiting these shores and pressed upon by their southern neighbors. The scarcity of mounds, the absence of pyramids of earth, which are so common on the Ohio River, the want of rectangular or any other regular works at the north — all these differences tend to the conclusion that the northern part of Ohio was inhabited by a distinct people.

The writer quoted above prepared a pamphlet later, which was published for the Western Reserve Historical Society, descriptive of this line of earthworks* showing the one here engraved as the most westerly of the series.

About two miles below the above mentioned semi-circle, another of similar form was later described.† It was situate also on the east bank of the Maumee a little above the present Fassett Street Bridge and back of the present Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton Railroad Grain Elevator, in Toledo. When surveyed by Grove K. Gilbert the ridge of earth was little less than two feet above the surface, and ditches existed within and without. Its diameter was 387 feet, its curve irregular as though its location had been influenced by the position of trees. At one point, probably the entrance, a second short ridge existed inside the principal one. The northern end rested on the river bank a few yards south of the present Fassett Street. When Elias Fassett settled at his present residence nearby, previous to the year 1850, the site of this inclosure was covered with large sugar maple trees. Not a vestige of this ancient earthenwork, nor of the one above described, now remains. There are in the vicinity of the site of the one last described two small streets named Fort and Crescent, suggestive of its use and form.



Prehistoric Earthwork in Toledo.

The last prehistoric earthwork of this series remaining to be described, was situated on the south bank of Swan Creek, a few squares above its entrance into the Maumee River. It included the present crossing of Oliver and Clayton Streets, Toledo, as shown in the accompanying engraving.†

At the time of its survey in 1871, it had been nearly obliterated by the grading of the streets, but was restored in this drawing by aid of old citizens familiar with its outlines. Its shortest diameter was 400 feet, and its walls extended down the bluff to the former channel of the creek which has wandered northward a square or more, evidently since this inclosure was built, leaving a small flood-plain through which a channel was cut for lake boats about the year 1870.

---

* *Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio*, by Col. Chas. Whittlesey, Cleveland, 1871.

† *Geological Survey of Ohio*, Geology, volume i, page 586.

A few pieces of pottery and stone implements have been found in and about these inclosures; but they are not authentic as relics of those who constructed the earthworks, nor of their early occupants.

The later Aborigines, and the early French fur buyers also occupied some of them, if not all. The latter probably erected stockades on their ridges to protect their stocks of brandy and trinkets for trade. The number and situation of these earthworks make it improbable that the early European traders built them.

At the dawn of history in this Basin, and for many years thereafter, the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York were at war with the Miamis and the Illinois tribes, and it is probable that those aggressive and generally successful warriors used these inclosures, if they did not build them, as rallying points, and as means of defense when hard pressed, on their long campaigns. The three by the lower Maumee were well situated to guard their route against their enemies to the northward; and those in northeastern Indiana to guard against the Miamis, whose headquarters at the head of the Maumee were within easy reach of the two lowest enclosures by the St. Joseph River. If defeated at one rallying point, retreat to the next one could be easily made.[*]

Similar circular ridges of earth in Southern Ohio, and farther south, have been termed sacred enclosures; the smallest ones hut rings, and the largest ones lodge sites or walls embracing and protecting a collection of lodges, to the number of even one hundred.[†]

THE ABORIGINES AS FIRST DESCRIBED.

The American Aborigines when they first saw Europeans were awe-struck by the size of their ships, and by the accouterments, conduct and general appearance of their visitors; and for a time the foreigners were treated with native reverence begotten of fear and wonderment. A short-time association, however, demonstrated to the Europeans the savage nature of these primitive people.

Perhaps the best all-sided glimpses we get of some of the first historical Aborigines whose descendants infested the Maumee River Basin in later times, are from the Jesuits* who, from the year 1610, traveled along the St. Lawrence River, north and south, and along the Great Lakes. Their altars, chants, robes, and their kindly demeanor made a great impression at first upon these Aborigines and, although several priests later suffered great violence and death at the hands of these savages, they were generally afforded good opportunities for observing the characteristics and the wretched state of these children of the wilds; and the refined spirits of these priests enabled them to write forbearingly of the multiform barbarities they could not prevent, and which they were compelled to witness and sometimes personally experience.

---

[*] The Iroquois had circular forts with stockades in New York in 1615; also the Wyandots (Hurons). The Jesuits advised the latter to build their forts in square form so that the French arquebuses at two diagonal corners could protect the entire enclosure. The palisaded forts were probably built after the suggestion of Europeans who supplied the metal axes for the work. See Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, page 403. Also *The Jesuit Relations.*

[*] *Eleventh Report of the Peabody Museum*, vol. ii, pages 347, 348.

While it is given to but few of the civilized and somewhat cultured people to rise very high above childhood's estate, in many ways, there was not one of these primitive people but who was childish in the extreme, in most respects throughout life, although at times exhibiting the ferocity of a tiger. The early record of them, given in the writings of these missionaries, is but a continued series of contradictions, with a great preponderance of unbridled savagery springing from their primitive impulsive sensuousness. In most respects they were but little above the savage wild beasts surrounding them, and in some of their exuberances they were generally fiendish. While they were at times somewhat amiable, they were licentious and impure. They were lazy, rude, egotistical and boastful. At times generous and liberal, they were generally improvident, selfish and full of banter. With something of fortitude they were cowardly, importuning and with much of inconstancy. Their fidelity was opposed by craftiness and treachery; their charity by ingratitude, hypocrisy and deceit; their modesty by assertions of their superiority. Their moods were very changeable, but not so their filthy habits, pride and arrogance, suspicion and jealousy; and among a long list of other indictments are those of covetousness, thievishness, foulness of language, ingratitude, malice, noisiness of manners, contempt for strangers, faithlessness, with much of cruelty and ferocity and, often, worse than the savage beasts in their want of natural affection for their sick and afflicted progeny and aged kinsfolk, who were often either killed outright, or left to starve and die alone and unprotected.

They were styled savages by the missionaries; and a late writer styles them the fiercest savages known to history, and the most wretched of the races of man.†

---

* *Jesuit Relations of Travels and Explorations* of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791, Cleveland, 1896–1902, seventy-three volumes, 8 vo.

† *The Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland, 1896, vol. i, pages viii and 38.

Their bodies were generally of good height, well-proportioned, lithe and vigorous, as no deformed or weakling one was permitted to survive childhood. "Their complexion," wrote Rev. Joseph Jouvency, "is the same as the French, although they disfigure it with fat and rancid oil, with which they grease themselves; nor do they (the men) neglect paints of various colors, by means of which they appear beautiful to themselves, but to us ridiculous. Some may be seen with blue noses, but with cheeks and eyebrows black; others mark forehead, nose and cheeks with lines around the eyes and in different directions and with various colors derived from earths, roots, etc., all mixed with grease, so that one would think he beheld so many hobgoblins. Others paint the entire body so as to resemble clothing at a distance, or otherwise. They believe that in colors of this description they are dreadful to their enemies, and that likewise their own fear in line of battle will be concealed as by a veil; finally, that it hardens the skin of the body, so that the cold of winter is more easily borne." Some of them also indelibly tattooed the neck, chest, arms and cheeks with powdered charcoal, by means of thorns, thus portraying rude outlines of birds or animals, such as the snake, eagle, toad, etc. Occasional deaths were noted from this practice, probably by blood-poisoning from the impure rancid greases and other filth with which the charcoal was mixed, and from their general uncleanly habits.

The hair was worn in different styles. Some disposed of it from the sides of the head and tied the central remaining part together so as to stand upward; others trained the hair downward over the temples. All persistently pulled out the beard. Men and women alike, pierced the lobes of their ears, and some their noses, making the holes as large as practicable, and wore therein mollusk shells or whatever of bright objects they could get.

Winter clothing was nearly alike for men and women. It was composed of skins of animals fastened together with animal tendons or strips of skin, and suspended from the shoulders or over one shoulder and under the other and it extended generally to about the knees. A belt was often worn and the robe was pouched over the stomach thus forming a receptacle for personal belongings. Leggings and moccasins were also worn out of doors; and sleeves, which were large at the shoulders and nearly came together at the back. These limb coverings were removed by all on entering the lodge; and the men usually disrobed to nudity excepting a piece of bark or skin suspended from the waist in front which was their only summer covering. Seldom was any covering worn on the head. Belts, necklaces and bracelets made of round clam shells or quahaug (*Venus mercenaria*) or from quills of the porcupine, were valued highly.

They moved from place to place with great facility. The women, assisted by the children, did all the heavy work including the drawing or carrying of all their meager belongings and the putting up of a lodge or wigwam, when one was necessary in cold weather. They would put up a teepee (tipi) in from half hour to two hours by gathering poles, sticking them in the ground, fastening the top ends together, and covering the sides with skins, bark, branches of trees, moss or mats made of rushes or tough grass. A hut was even more readily built in the forest. An opening was left at the top for the smoke of the fire to escape, which it did but imperfectly, causing much irritation and injury to the eyes of the inmates with additional repulsiveness to their general appearance and odor. Foliage of trees and grass was sometimes laid on the ground and alone used, or covered with skins or mats for beds. A piece of bark or a suspended skin served as door if such was thought necessary as a protection against cold winds. For summer use, if to remain in one place for some length of time, broader and longer cabins were sometimes built in form of arbors, bark and mats being used for covering. These were often large enough to accommodate several families—as many as twelve being mentioned by Champlain, two families using one fire in common. They had no chairs nor other furniture and sat on the ground with their heels close to the body and knees close to the chin.

They obtained fire by striking two hard stones together with glancing strokes (one piece of iron pyrites and one piece of flint were preferred) over the dried skin of an eagle's thigh with the down left on, or over spunk or pulverized bark, which caught the sparks and served as the first kindling. They also made fire by the friction method of rotating a dry stick rapidly back and forth between the hands, one end being pressed against a dry stone or stick.

Their food, in winter particularly, was largely of meat obtained by hunting, trapping and fishing, in which the men generally took the lead, often making long and tedious journeys and suffering much from hunger in the chase. Here, also, the women generally gathered dead limbs of trees and made the fire, found the water, prepared the food, preserved the meats by smoking and drying them, prepared the skins and made the clothing, did much of the fishing, made and repaired the canoes, snow shoes and utensils, and went for the game to the place where their lords had killed and left it. The meat of the bear was preferred on account of the large quantity of grease it contained. Eggs of wild fowls were eaten, also wild fruits, berries, beans, nuts and roots in their season. These people were, however, improvident, and dire hunger sorely distressed them in unfavorable seasons. When not pressed by enemies, some maize (corn, *zea mays*) was cultivated by the women, then either roasted on the ear, or pounded, wet with water and baked between heated stones. The succotash, composed of corn, beans and sometimes vegetables, boiled together, was a later dish after the receipt of metal utensils from Europeans. Receptacles were made of bark (they possessed no metal utensils until supplied by Europeans) in which meats and other food were placed with water and then more or less cooked by means of heated stones dropped into the mess. They had no salt for their food. Their meager culinary utensils were, like their game, never cleaned—the more saturated they were with grease the better—and they partook of the general filthiness of the lodge or camp. They ate from their hand direct; and the hands of the men and women, when dripping with grease, were wiped on their hair or clothes. When otherwise particularly or obnoxiously covered the hands were wiped on the shaggy hair of a dog or rubbed with powdered rotten wood or whatever was most convenient. Their nails were never cut, nor particularly cleaned. Water for bathing was not in favor; vermin abounded on their persons and were eaten when caught.

These people were bred to savagery and war A slight offense or injury, real or imagined, inflicted on any member of a band or tribe would excite a desire for revenge, and war would generally result. These conflicts were waged by small bands, by the entire tribe or by a combination of tribes, according to circumstances and conditions. Their weapons for warfare and against the wild beasts were bows and arrows, javelins or spears and, for closer combat, stone axes, stone tomahawks and clubs of wood or stone heads. Their bows were made of hickory, oak, ash, and sometimes of softer woods, often reinforced along the back with rawhide. These bows were operated with strings of rawhide or twisted hemp bark (*cannabis sativa*). The arrows were feathered at the heel and often pointed at the head with flint or bone. Possibly some of these points were sometimes dipped in the juices of poisonous plants and then dried, for use against their enemies; but the general uncleanly conditions were sufficient to account for all inflammations and blood poisonings authentically recorded from their use. The weapons were generally carried in belt or skin quiver. The axes and tomahawks were hafted with withes wrapped around them and, later, covered with wet rawhide which shrunk, on drying, and formed a stiff, serviceable handle. Firm wood was sometimes shaped as handles by burning to the desired length and then scraping with flints. Occasionally one protected himself against enemies by a shield made of bark covered with rawhide. A few warriors also wore for a time armor for body and limbs made of dried rawhide or of braided twigs, strips of bark or hemp. Probably the idea of armor and of shield was obtained from the earlier Europeans.

Both shields and armor were but little employed on account of their interfering with their movements through the woods and the free use of their bodies in battle. All their powers of deception, stealth and treachery were employed in their campaigns against and in the attackings of their enemies. The chief desire was to surprise, by ambush or stealthy approach, the party they wished to assail, and in the confusion and panic that followed to slay or capture as many as possible. No attempt was made to maintain a regular order and line of battle; in fact the war-chief, like their other nominal leaders generally, had little if any control after the combat began. Those of the enemy slain, or wounded so they could not walk well, were scalped.

Captives were generally very desirable for slaves or, if particularly obnoxious enemies, they were subjected to the most fiendish tortures according to the convenience, mood and degree of frenzy of the captors and their women or friends. They were generally stripped of clothing and forced to run the gauntlet between rows of their tormentors who, armed with whips, thorns, sharp sticks, clubs, and other articles, goaded, beat and lacerated the limbs and body until the poor victim often fell bleeding and exhausted; when he was left to revive, to be again beset with new tortures—his nails torn from his fingers by their teeth, the fingers crushed or cut off, his limbs broken, his scalp removed, his limbs pierced by sharp sticks and the nerves drawn out, his wounds burned by live coals of fire and blazing torches which were applied to the most sensitive parts. Pieces of roasted flesh would be cut or torn from the limbs, eaten by the persecutors and their children, or thrust down the throat of the sufferer. If he showed great fortitude and endurance the torment was continued from day to day intermittingly; his blood was applied to freshly made openings in the skin of his tormentors that they might therefrom become imbued with his fortitude; he was made to walk through fire; his flesh was lacerated and burned in new places; he was tied to a stake and a slow fire kindled under him and more of his flesh distributed and eaten. Finally, when the victim was exhausted and could be made to suffer no more, his heart was torn out and eaten that they might thereby receive his bravery and endurance.

Each individual and tribe endeavored to exceed the others in their atrocities. The women generally entered into these fiendish acts with high glee; and while women captives were generally treated with less atrocity, and were often adopted into the tribe and married by their captors, they occasionally suffered the same fate as the men.

Captive children, if strong, were generally kept, and the youths and less obnoxious captives were also sometimes saved from mutilation and death and subjected to slavery or adopted. The stronger tribes increased in numbers materially by such captures.

The scalps of enemies were considered great trophies. They were at first suspended from the belts of their takers, and then dried, painted and displayed by the women inside the lodges, or outside on poles, that all members of the camp, young and old, might continually be impressed with the prowess of the possessors of the largest number.

The heads of the vanquished were sometimes severed as trophies and their limbs were occasionally removed and carried away for food, as all of these warring tribes were cannibals.

There was no tendency among these Aborigines toward the bettering of their very low, savage condition at the time of the coming of the Europeans early in the seventeenth century. They possessed nothing that could be called government in general. Individualism and impulse were the rule, ever varying with the condition and mood. There were no laws, no magistrates, no regular marriage ceremony, no code of ethics or of morals. Their social relations were meager, consisting mostly of their loose combinations for war, feastings and dances.

Their industries were of the most primitive kind. The forming of canoes from bark represented their most skillful handiwork. Some there were who fashioned snares and traps for wild animals, including fish, of strings and mats. They were not workers of metals other than of native hematite or blood iron ore, fragments of which they dressed as they did stones, and of native copper fragments which they pounded by stones into somewhat of the forms desired; but of these there were comparatively few articles.

Their weapons and implements, other than of wood and bones of lower animals, were of flint and other hard stones (see *ante* page 58). Some of the knives, tools, implements and weapons of the Stone Age used by them were well formed; but whether the better class of these articles were made by these tribes or whether they were obtained from the southern tribes by trade or conquest, is not definitely known. But few utensils were made, and the ever-ready bark of trees, in various kinds and thicknesses, was the principal material employed. Receptacles for carrying smaller articles were made of skins of animals as well as of bark. Occasional pieces of rude pottery were in use, but their generally broken condition and the few fragments found here have led to the inference that these articles, like their better stone articles, were brought from the more sedentary people to the southward.

Ornaments of stones, shells, bones, birds' claws, etc., were also used. These articles, like their weapons, were quite uniform in material, form and finish, as found throughout the States, north, south, east and west, during later years, which indicates that their manufacture was carried on by the more mechanical tribes to the southward, and that the tribes had remarkable wide range, perhaps both in trade and conquest alternately. Their stone articles were gradually discarded at the coming of Europeans with metal weapons, utensils, and ornaments, to trade for furs.

They had no system of writing; but there was in occasional use something of a code of communication by means of small sticks, indicating number or direction, left in the probable track of following friends; and in imitation of south-western peoples or, later, in imitation of the Europeans. There were also crude efforts in pictography on pipes, rocks, skins, etc.

The only domesticated animal they possessed was a shaggy, wolfish dog. It was kept in considerable numbers, was serviceable in the hunt, particularly of the bear, and was used sometimes by the women to assist in drawing on poles their belongings from one camping place to another. These dogs were generally close attendants and often supplied the family meat by their own bodies, both in times of feasting and of scarcity in the hunt.

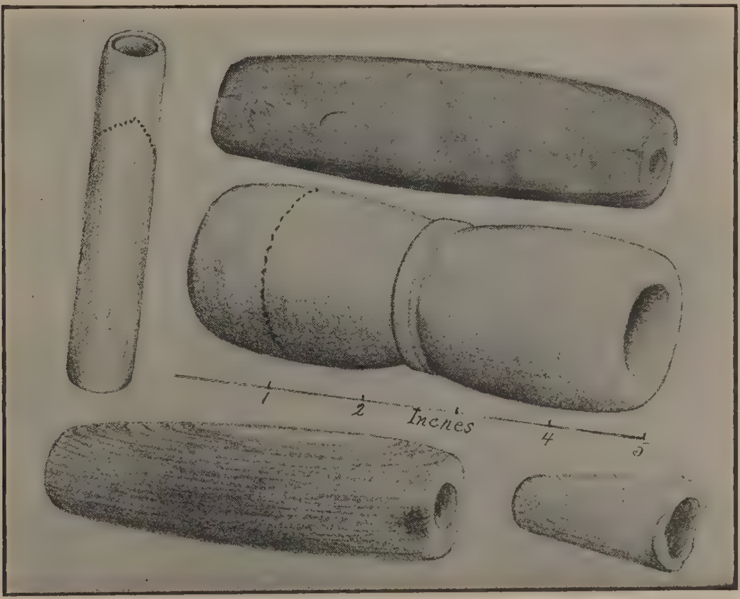
Their peaceful hours were mostly passed in recovering from the fatigues of battle or the chase, or from the ill effects of the feasts. Badgerings of one another were often indulged in, and games in which the gambling phase was uppermost. The game of straws was a favorite one and was played with great dexterity and vivacity. The straws employed were of three lengths, the greatest length being about ten inches. The game appeared at times something like that of jack-straws, but generally Europeans did not gather an understanding of it. A game, designated crosse by the Jesuits, was also frequently played, and this is the source of the modern game Lacrosse. A game of dish was another common one. It was played with plum seeds, about six in number, one side of each being darkened. They were caused to bound and turn by striking the bark dish containing them on the ground, and the player having uppermost the greatest number of a certain color was the winner. The fascination of the gambling feature in these games often led to the complete impoverishment of one or more players at each game by the loss of his weapons, clothing and trinkets.

Fastings were compulsory by nature, following their engorgements, and at times on account of their improvidence in years of plenty against the severe seasons when they could not hunt, or when there was a dearth of game and of vegetable products.

Feastings and dances were common when food was obtainable, to celebrate any event or to work off any exuberance of spirit, and gluttony was habitual. Their 'eat-all' or 'leave-nothing' feasts resulted, in times of plenty, in the great gorging and distress of the partakers, for he who could eat the most was the greatest among them. These feasts were great drains on the possessions of their givers.

The feast of all most generally and widely participated in, was called the feast of the dead. The bones of their deceased friends and of animals, on account of their enduring nature, were endowed with superstitious beliefs of their future rehabilitation, and these superstitions gave rise to various forms of their deposition, and peculiar reverence to them and to the place of their deposit. The flesh, on account of its ready decay, was an obnoxious substance to be gotten rid of as soon as possible. At first the body was enveloped in furs and buried in a shallow grave, often in their sitting posture with heels and knees close to the body; or sometimes placed in a tree. On the battle-field, or near the enemy, their slain were hurriedly secreted and covered with leaves or whatever was most convenient. At irregular intervals feasts of the dead were proposed by the older persons, and as many influenced to participate in them as practicable, even of other tribes when good will existed. On these occasions, every eight, ten, twelve or more years, the dead, wherever buried, were brought together at the central point agreed upon. The flesh still present was stripped from the bones and cast away, and the bones were carried into the family lodge or assembled in the largest cabin to await the return of the most distant bodies. The bones of as many as one hundred deceased persons were thus seen gathered for the final leave taking of the friends; and sometimes the emotion there displayed was in great contrast to the indifference manifested at other times in the abandonment of the sick or aged to wild beasts or to starvation. The ceremonies at these feasts consisted of examination and leave-taking of the bones, the giving of presents, athletic contests, dances in which the women often led in song and, finally, in the deposition of the bones in one place, either in a pit or on the ground, rather promiscuously, and then the covering of them, sometimes by a mound of earth like the prehistoric mounds described on previous pages. These were great occasions in the longer intervals of peace when the food supply was plentiful, and many joined in the ceremonies with liberal presents to the dead, many of which presents were retained by the chief managers and others were distributed by throwing them high to be scrambled for by the multitude. Rude drums and rattles were sometimes the accompaniments to their dancing and chanting.

The mortality of these savage people from exposure and disease was great, particularly among children. The mothers were generally prolific, but, having all the heavy work to do and being at a great disadvantage in their nomadic life and from the indifference of the men, many accidents and willful mishaps befell them. It was estimated that not one child in thirty lived through childhood. From their gormandizing and other excesses, diseases were common among the adults. There were neither nurses nor delicacies for those seriously or long sick. The only attention they received was from the sorcerers, who were wholly ignorant regarding diseases and of the science and art of medicine for their cure. Their following was wholly from superstition. Their efforts for the cure or advice of their patrons consisted of the crudest jugglery and generally hastened the death of all persons weakened by disease. These sorcerers were called priests, prophets, diviners by dreams from something of hydromancy, necromancy and pyromancy; soothsayers, magicians, etc., of primitive type. They were considered more intelligent than the generality of their people and were chiefs in most affairs. They invented the legends and repeated as much of the traditions as suited their desires. Their words were listened to with awe. They were vaguely and variously religious; and they were made more awe-inspiring by the display of peculiarly shaped articles of stone and slate, or of unusual brightness, also by hideous attire and trappings, monotonous movements or



Prehistoric Tubes, found along the banks of the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers near Defiance. There are several theories regarding their use. Perhaps they were used by the sorcerers in their incantations. The shortest one has been called a tobacco pipe. Like most of the others, it is a good whistle. The hour-glass form is very rare. It is of fine-grain granite, and the others are of slate. In the Author's Collection.

'dances' accompanied by intonations of the most unmeaning semblance of words that came to the tongue and which none of the users, even, understood. In these and other ways these sorcerers hypnotized their auditors to a degree and nourished the superstition in which their influence consisted. With grotesque accouterments, incantations and ceremonial objects they sought or pretended to relieve the sick by driving or drawing the pain or malady away, by sucking or blowing through tubes, by tappings with crescentic articles of slate; or by efforts to exorcise it with ridiculous tricks, or hideous noises that were very prostrating and disastrous to one in low physical condition. Extremes of sweatings and then of dashings of or into cold water were sometimes employed after seeing the bathings of Englishmen. Also, after viewing the medicine chests of the Europeans and witnessing their administration of medicines to their sick, the Aborigine sorcerers prepared and administered compounds without reason or formula, but as an addition to their ever varying pretences. Generous payment in furs and other articles of trade was expected and received by these pretenders.

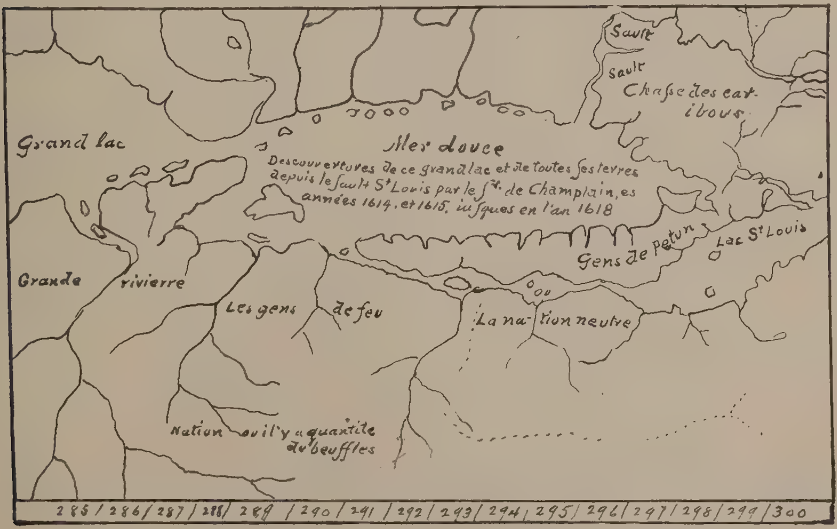
AN ABORIGINE MEDICINE MAN.
(From Catlin)

CHAPTER IV.

Explorers—Cartographers—Aborigines—The British Succession.

1615 to 1766.

Frenchmen began to explore the shores of the Great Lakes early in the seventeenth century. In the year 1615 Samuel de Champlain visited the Wyandots (Hurons) at Lake Huron, and passed several months among them and in visiting other tribes during that summer and the following winter. He probably traveled in winter along the western and southwestern shores of Lake Erie, and thus obtained a better understanding of some of this lake's tributaries and of the Aborigines than of the breadth of it, which he represented too narrow in his map as published in 1632. While the lakes of the central part of this map, here shown, are out of proportion, the reader will readily recognize what was drawn for the Maumee and its tributaries.



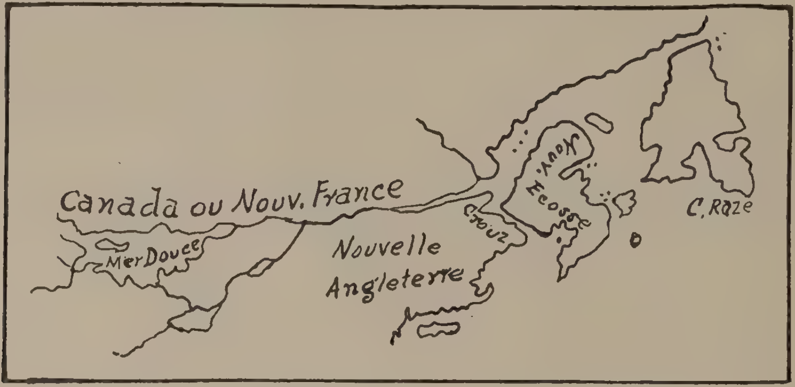
Central part of Champlain's Map published in 1632. 'Mer Douce' is Lake Huron.*

---

*This map and the next eight maps of Lake Erie and the Maumee River, are taken from Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, volume iv, by permission of Houghton, Miffln and Company, publishers, Boston.

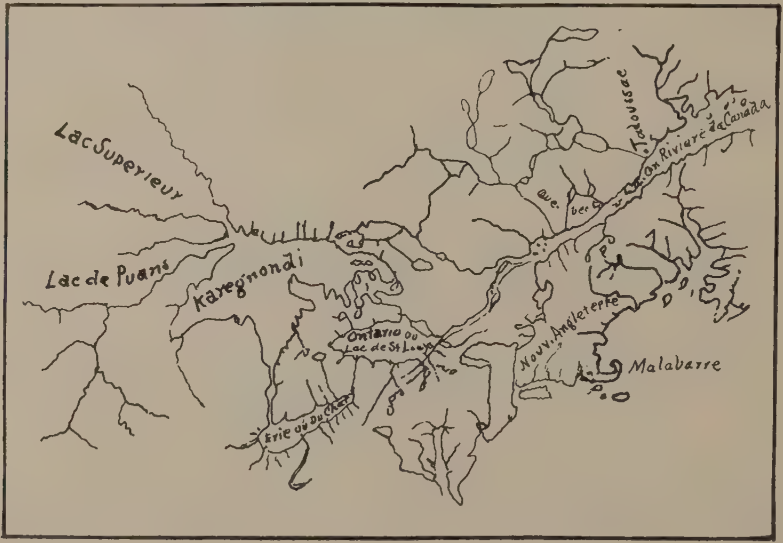
This map is also given in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, volume iii, Albany, 1850.

Probably Champlain did not explore all these regions in person, but gathered his information largely from the imperfect description given by the Aborigines. The very meager and untrustworthy descriptions given by the Aborigines may account for many of the imperfections, including disproportions, of the early maps of this broad forest region. The representations of Aborigine lodges, and swamps, and the shadings of Champlain's work, are omitted from the outline reproduction of this very interesting map.



Carte Générale des Costes de l' Amérique, by Covens and Mortier, 1654-55? The *Mer Douce* at the left is Lake Huron, and southward are sketched Lake Erie and the Maumee River.

Another map without name or date, but probably drawn between the years 1640 and 1650, shows Lake Erie in better form than does

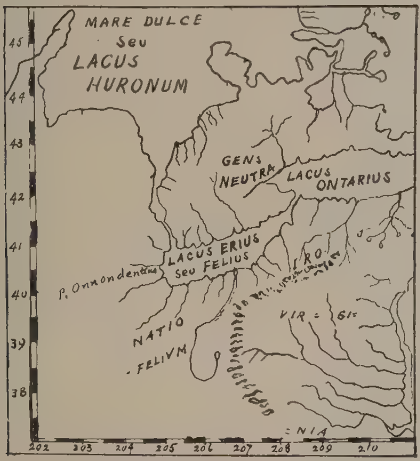


Sanson's Map, 1656.

Champlain's map, but Lake Huron is too widely separated, and disconnected. This map like many others of early times, omits portages or the proximity of headwaters.

A General Map of the Coasts of America was published in Amsterdam, Holland, by Covens and Mortier in the year 1655 or before. It is here reproduced in outline.

Nicolas Sanson, Royal Geographer of France from 1647 to 1667, made a map bearing date 1656, a part of which is here reproduced.

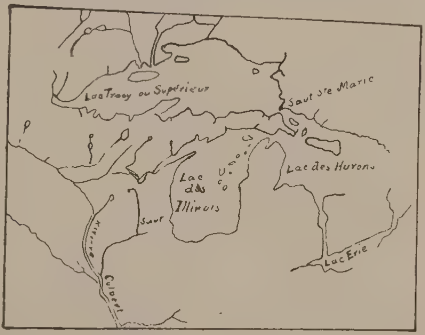


Map by Creuxius, 1660. Central part.

Pére du Creux, whose name is often written Creuxius, produced a map in 1660 which also shows Lake Erie and its tributaries.

Soon after this date if not before, the Jesuits sketched a map in which the Maumee River is prominently shown as the only tributary to the southwestern part of Lake Erie.*

It appears probable that the intrepid and illustrious French explorer Sieur de la Salle not only passed up the Maumee River and down the Wabash to his discovery of the Ohio and Mississippi in the fall of 1669, but that he returned along these rivers during the winter, spring or summer of 1670, thence along the western shore of Lake Erie, and northeastward to the Ottawa River in Canada, where the *voyageur* writer Nicolas Perrot saw him that summer.†



The Jesuits' Early Map. Central part.

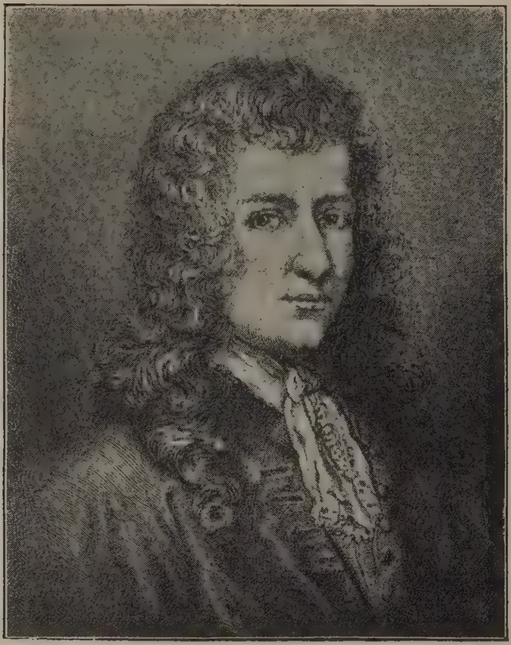
The maps of this new country produced soon after this date show important changes, and evidence the above claims regarding

---

* See Francis Parkman's *La Salle and the Great West*, page 452.

†There has been much of research and speculation by writers regarding the whereabouts of La Salle during the autumn of 1669, and the year or two next following. The reader who desires to pursue this subject is referred to those writings, and to the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April, 1903, volume xii, page 107 *et seq.*, where Charles E. Slocum has gathered evidence of La Salle's travel along the Maumee and Wabash.

La Salle. The Ohio River is in them first traced, but near enough to the Maumee for easy portage. This is the case in Joliet's smaller map of 1672, and in an anonymous map of the Basin of the Great Lakes of about the same date. Sketches of the central parts of these maps are here given.*



RÉNÉ ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE.†

Born 25 November, 1643, at Rouen, France. Was assassinated 19 March, 1687, in Texas.

The Wabash River was traced on Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin's map in 1682, showing its origin in a lake near the Maumee, according with statement in the preserved fragment of one of La Salle's letters, and with the swampy condition of the early drainage channel of the Maumee Glacial Lake southwest of Fort Wayne, Indiana, which swamp remained undrained until the latter half of the nineteenth century. This map by Franquelin, however, traced the Wabash into the Illinois River, an error that was corrected in his map of 1684, which map is more in detail and quite accurate in many respects.

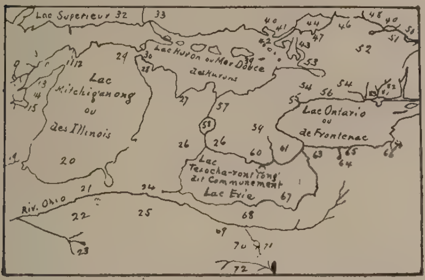
The next year (1685) Minet published his *Carte de la Louisiane* which, though not accurate, shows the Maumee River, the portage southwest, the Wabash River springing from a lake, and the route to the Mississippi.‡ Other maps were published during the latter part of the seventeenth century and early part of the eighteenth, showing more or less of these features, particularly the maps by Raffeix in 1688, by Hennepin in 1697, and by La Hontan in 1703 and 1709.

---

* The legend in Joliet's map was written below the Ohio River at a much later date than the making of the map. The figures in the map of the Great Lakes refer to a written list of explanations, samples of which are here given, viz: 21, Rivière Ohio ainsy apellée par les Iroquois a cause de sa beauté par ou le Sr. de la Salle est descendu. 22, Les Illinois [Aborigines]. 23, Baye des Kentayentoga [Water-way of the Kentucky Aborigines]. 24, Les Chaouenons. 25, Cette rivière baigne un fort beau pays ou l'on trouve des pommes, des grenades, des raisins et d'autres fruits sauvages. Le Pays est decouvert pour la plus part, y ayant seulement des bois d'espace en espace. Les Iroquois ont détruit la plus grande partie des habitans dont on voit encore quelques restes. *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, Boston, 1884, volume iv, page 216.

† From *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History*, volume v, copyright, 1901, by Harper & Brothers.

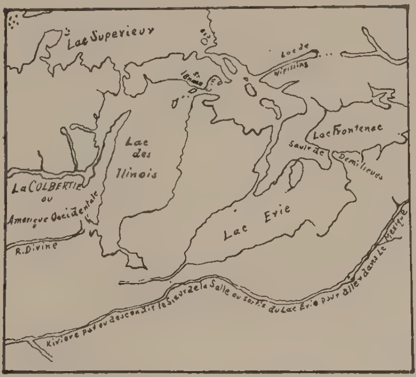
‡ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, volume iv, page 237.


Lac Superieur 32
Lac Huron ou Mer Douce des Hurons
Lac Mitchiganong ou des Illinois
Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac
Lac Teiocha-rontiong dit Communement Lac Erie
Riv. Ohio

Basin of the Great Lakes, 1672. Central part of the Map.

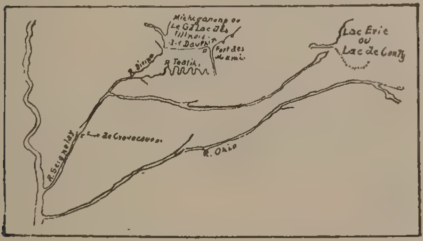
Previous to this time the British had no special cartographers in America. The 28th November, 1700, Richard Coote Earl of Bellomont, Governor of New York, in his report to the Lords of Trade in London, stated that

> The French have mightily impos'd on the world in the mapps they have made of this continent, and our Geographers have been led into grosse mistakes by the French mapps, to our very great prejudice. It were as good a work as your Lordships could do, to send over a very skillful surveyor to make correct maps of all these plantations and that out of hand, that we may not be cozen'd on to the end of the chapter by the French.


Lac Superieur
Lac de Nipissing
Lac des Illinois
La Colbertie ou Amerique Occidentale
R. Divine
Lac Frontenac
Lac Erie
Riviere par ou descendit le sieur de la Salle au sortir du Lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique

Joliet's smaller map, 1672. Central part. The legend under the Ohio River is of later date.

This suggestion was favorably acted upon after further evidence from 'Doc' Cadwallader Colden Surveyor General of New York who, in a Memoir on the Fur Trade of 10th November, 1724, wrote that the French have been indefatigable in making discoveries and carrying on their commerce with Nations of whom the English know nothing, but what they see in the French Maps and Books.*



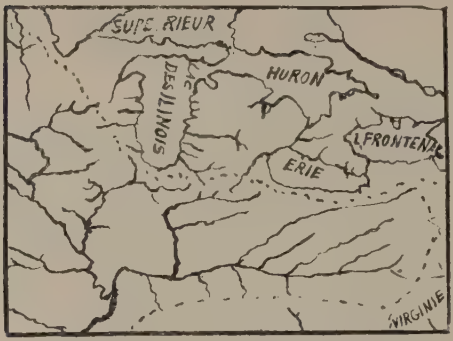
Franquelin's Map of 1682.

The Coureurs de Bois.

These early maps prove conclusively that Frenchmen passed up and down the Maumee River in the seventeenth century of whose journeyings no other record than these maps has been preserved. Probably the swarms of French *coureurs de bois*, bush or forest rangers[*] were the first to pass along the lake shores and the larger rivers, in every direction, with brandy and small stocks of trinkets to trade with the Aborigines for their more valuable furs, even long before the records of the missionaries began.

---

* See London Documents XIII and XXIII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume iv, page 796, and volume v, page 727.



Franquelin's Map of 1684. Central part.[†]

On account of the prohibiting of trade to all others than a licensed company or two, and of the many other monarchical requirements of State and the restrictions of the Church, many of the early French immigrants preferred life in the forests with the Aborigines, unrestrained by any of the proprieties of civilization. Reversion to barbarism, to turn traitor to civilization, is far easier to many persons than to keep step with the rigid, virtuous demands of advancing civilization.

The character of many of these early immigrants had been bad in their native land, of many of the *coureurs de bois* and soldiers particularly, prison doors having been opened to people these forests; and the open forest ways to libertinism, with the Aborigines who knew no morals, were very attractive. These people at once advanced to popularity with the savages who soon became addicted to their brandy and granted them every privilege. Their communication with the Aborigine women of every tribe and band was without restaint; and thus the French blood was early and freely mixed in the succeeding generations. They became defiant and the Government, and the Church, could neither control nor restrain them.[‡]

---

[*] More commonly called in New England and New York bushlopers and swampiers and, by the Hollanders, bos loopers. In the year 1700, it was lamented by some British officials that they had no such representatives in the forests. London Doc. XIII, *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vol. iv, page 650.

[†] This map, and the preceding eight maps showing Lake Erie and the Maumee River, were taken from the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv, published by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, Boston.

[‡] M. Talon, in his Memoir to King Louis XIV, under date of 10th November, 1670, writes regarding the *coureurs de bois* as follows: The edict enacted relative to marriages has been enregistered, and, proclaiming the intention of the King, I caused orders to be issued that the volunteers (whom on my return, I found in very great numbers, living in reality like banditi) should be excluded from the [Aborigine] trade and hunting; they are excluded by the law also from the honors of the Church, and from the Communities [*Communautés*] if they do not marry fifteen days after the arrival of the ships from France [with women for this purpose]. I shall consider some other expedient to stop these vagabonds; they ruin, partially, the Christianity of the Aborigines and the commerce of the French who labor in their settlements to extend the Colony. It were well did his Majesty order me, by *lettre de Cachet*, to fix them in some place where they would participate in the labors of the *Communauté*. Paris Document I, *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vol. ix, page 65.

Their numbers increased and, as the strictures of the authorities became more rigidly enforced in the French market, they carried their accumulations of peltries to the English markets which caused new and great alarm to the French companies and Government. Efforts to restrain them from this practice led to something of an organization among them, and to special rendezvous. It was also soon learned by the authorities that a brother-in-law of their leader Du Lhut was near the Governor, and an officer in his guards.* Force proved a damage to the Government and the palliative method was adopted. Amnesty was afterwards granted them and, as the population increased and the companies' trade extended in all directions further into the forests, they were employed as guides and *voyageurs* to and through the wilds before visited by them. They had previously penetrated every region, near and remote; had dwelt among the Miami Aborigines, the Illinois, the Sioux, and even the Assiniboins† (in the present Canadian province of Assiniboia) some having been absent one year, others two, three, and more years on their private explorations.‡

The British, being now largely deprived of the trade of the *coureurs de bois*, deemed it the more necessary to urge their own traders with the Aborigines to extend their range; and they employed the Five Nations also. The result of this aggressive action contributed a local coloring to the British-French wars that continued to be frequently waged, with North America, constantly increasing in importance, as the prize to the victor.

The British-French Wars from 1613 to 1747.

The British have always been an aggressive people, in new countries particularly; and the French have not always been behind in urging their own claims, and in disputing the claims of others. Wars between these nations, and between people of these nationalities in America, were frequently the rule for many years. France claimed the right to central North America from her claim of being the first to discover it in the voyages of John Verazzano who sailed from her port in the years 1523-24. In this claim they ignored the claim of the British from the voyages along the Atlantic coast from the Carolinas to Labrador in 1497-98 by John and Sebastian Cabot who sailed from Bristol, and whose reports of Newfoundland and its Banks induced English, Breton and Norman fishermen to ply their vocation there long before Verazzano's voyages. There were, consequently, disputes between the British and French regarding America from their first meeting here. January 2, 1613, the French complained of outrages committed by the English on the coast of Canada. At the organization by Richelieu of the Company of New France in 1627, four armed vessels convoyed a fleet of eighteen transports laden with 135 cannon, soldiers, supplies and emigrants, to reinforce and fortify Quebec. They were captured by an English fleet that was already on the way to destroy the French settlement there. The capture of the town was delayed until 19th July, 1629; but it was soon restored to the French on account of the treaty between these nations 24th April, 1629, which was not then known to the commander of the distant fleet. Notwithstanding treaties, each nation continued anxious to extend its domain in America and continued to infringe on the settlements established by the other. The French claimed not only Canada, but the country of the Iroquois (Five Nations) in New York, and southwestward to the Gulf of Mexico. The British desired to restrict them to the country north of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes.

---

* Paris Document II, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume ix, page 131. †*Ibid*, page 153.

‡ The general stimulus to individual, and clandestine, fur trade is described by Cadwallader Colden in 1724 as follows: The Barrenness of the Soil and the coldness of the Climate of Canada, obliges the greatest number of the Inhabitants to seek their living by travelling among the Aborigines or by trading with those that do travel. The Governor and other officers have but a scanty allowance from the King, & could not subsist were it not by the perquisites they have from this Trade. Neither could their Priests find any means to satisfy their ambition and Luxury without it. So that all heads & hands are employed to advance it and the men of best parts think it the surest way to advance themselves travelling among the Aborigines and learning the Languages even the Bigotry & Enthusiasm of some hot heads has not been a little useful in advancing this commerce. *N. Y. Col. Docs.* volume v, page 727. Compare, also, Volney, 371; the *Jesuit Relations*, volumes 69, 70, etc.

King Louis XIV of France became alarmed at the success of the English in acquiring New Netherlands from the Hollanders by conquest and, upon the English declining to exchange this territory with the French or to restore it to the Dutch, the first formal war to materially affect these nationalities in America was declared by France against England January 29, 1666. Chevalier de Courcelles Governor of New France (Canada) had invaded New York to punish the Mohawk Aborigines, and it was there that he learned from his pickets of the reduction of the Dutch province to English rule, whereupon he exclaimed 'the King of England does grasp at all America.' It is not known that this war had any effect upon the French then wandering through the lake region or upon the natives surrounding them. It spent its force in the provinces of the East and at sea. It closed with the Treaty of Breda, proclaimed January 1, 1668; but the French persisted in claiming the Iroquois and their country, and in their efforts to reduce them to their subjection, which resulted in many retaliations by the British. Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, visited Albany in 1684 and made a treaty with the Five Nations (Iroquois) of New York and received from them title to their well sustained (by might) claim to the country along Lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron, and westward to the Illinois; and subsequent treaties confirmed this grant, and the subjection of these tribes to the British.*

A further glimpse of the increasing desire to retain the favor of the Aborigines by keeping them free from the influence of the rival nation, and of the temper of the chief English official in America, is found in Governor Thomas Dongan's letter from Albany, New York, 22nd May, 1686, to M. de Denonville, then Governor of New France, which reads in part as follows:

> I have sent for the five nations of the Aborigines that belongs to this Government to meet me at this place, to give them in charge, that they should not goe to your side of the great lakes, nor disturb your Aborigines and traders, but since my coming here I am informed, that our Aborigines are apprehensive of warr, by your putting stores into Cataract [Niagara] and ordering some forces, to meet there; I know you are a man of judgment, and, that you will not attack the King of England's subjects, being informed, that those Aborigines with whom our Aborigines are engaged in warr with are to the west, and southwest of the great lakes, [in part in the Maumee River Basin], if so, in reason you can have no pretence to them, it is my intention that our Aborigines shall not warr, with the farr Aborigines, whither they do or not it does not seem reasonable, that you should ingage yourself in the quarel of Aborigines; we pretend, too, against our own Aborigines, whither these territoryes belong to our or the French King, is not to be decided here, but, by our masters at home, and your business and mine, is to take mapps of the Contry so well as wee can and to send them home for the limits to be adjusted there. I am likewise informed that you are intended to build a fort at a place called Ohniagero on this side of the lake within my master's territoryes without question, (I cannot beleev it) that a person that has your reputation in the world, would follow the steps of Monsr Labarr,† and be ill advised by some interested persons in your Govornt to make disturbance, between our Masters' subjects in those parts of the world for a little pelttree [furs]; when all those differences may be ended by an amicable correspondence between us. If there be anything amiss, I doe assure you it shall not be my fault, tho' we have suffered much, and doe dayly by your people's tradeing within the King of England's territoryes; I have had two letters from the two fathers [priests] that lives amongst our Aborigines, and I find them somewhat disturbed with an apprehension of warr, which is groundless, being resolved that it shall not begin here, and I hope your prudent conduct will prevent it there, and referr all differences home as I shall doe.‡

The French now (1686) numbered 17,000 in Canada, 3000 of whom could be called upon to bear arms, and they became more watchful against the British. This year twenty-nine 'Christians' (British traders) and five friendly Aborigines were arrested by the French and Ottawas along Lake Huron and 'plundered of all the goods and merchandizes which they had with them, which according to their computation would have purchased there about eight thousand Beavers.'

---

* London Document v, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, volume iii, pages 394, 417, 443. *Plain Facts*, Philadelphia, 1781, pages 22, 23. Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies. Narrative and Critical History of America*, i, 304.

† Le Fèvre de la Barre, the former Governor of New France who persisted in invading the English territory and alienating the Iroquois natives of New York.

‡ London Document V, *New York Colonial Documents* volume iii, page 455.

The French and Ottawas about fifteen hundred in number, while taking these prisoners towards the east end of Lake Erie, met 'Captain Macgregory with his troop consisting of twenty-nine Christians, six Aborigines, and eight prisoners whom, by threatening to kill and putt to the sword ettc.' they also took prisoners, and 'all their goods and merchandizes were also plundered . . which by computation would have purchased to that troop eight or nine thousand Beavers.' . .

One member of this last party captured, was shot by the French on account of his being of French birth and a British subject. The others were taken 'to a fort beyond the lake' (Ontario) where they were obliged to work hard in strengthening the fort. Later they were sent to Quebec where they were 'put out to farmers and others for to work for their victuals.' They were to be held as prisoners until Governor Dongan desisted from trading with the far Aborigines and from supplying the Senecas with ammunition and giving them assistance against the French.*

A treaty of neutrality for America between France and England was entered into November 16, 1686.

In 1689 the 'merchants and adventurers to and in New York and the Colonyes adjacent' petitioned the King for the appointment of Colonel Slater to the office of Governor of New York, and for soldiers and supplies against the French, alleging that they 'have already taken away a great part of our Bever trade, which is the only profitable trade of those parts, and if they debauch the five nations of Aborigines from us, as the want of a sufficient force to protect them will readily tempt them to, the whole Bever trade will be lost, and the province of New York not able to subsist, but in a short time will fall into the hands of the French.'† . .

In this year (1689) another formal war began between Great Britain and France and, although originating principally from home causes, it materially affected their colonies in America. The French emboldened by the success of their former plans, became more aggressive even to the invasion of British settlements for the purpose of retaliating for former real or imagined infringements of trade with Aborigines, or for direct injuries sustained by marauding bands of

---

* London Doc. V, *N. Y. Col. Docs.* volume iii, pages 436-37. Governor Dongan reported to the Privy Council as follows: I am sending a Scotch Gent. called McGreger (that served formerly in France) along with our people. Hee has orders not to disturb or meddle with the French, and I hope they will not meddle with him. These expeditions were undertaken for the purpose of carrying back the captive Aborigines taken by the Iroquois 'in order to the restoring them to their liberty & bury their Hatchetts with those of their enemys, by which means a path may bee opened for these far Aborigines to come with safety to Trade at Albany, and our people goe thither without let or disturbance' . . *Ibid.* page 395. Colonel Patrick Magregorie was taken prisoner to Montreal; and was liberated by orders from France in 1687 when he returned to New York.

† London Document V, *New York Colonial Documents,* volume iii, page 652.

Aborigines supposed to be favorable to the British. The latter became so annoyed by these incursions as to declare that the French 'must be rooted out of America.' . . .

The efforts of the Aborigines were the great source of the peltry supply, and the competition in this trade was but a competition for the friendship of the greatest number of them. The fickleness and treachery of these savages had much to do in causing the bitterness and clashings between the rival European nations. May 30, 1696, Governor Fletcher reported to the English Lords of Trade that . . 'sculking partys of French and Aborigines disturb the people in their husbandry who live upon the Fronteer but our Aborigines do revenge that part with better success upon the French.'*

John Nelson, who had had twenty-six years experience with the French in America, four and-a-half years as a prisoner, in a memorial to the same Lords of Trade under date of 24th September, 1696, stated the difference between the English and French modes of dealing with the natives, and the cause of the latter's greater success as follows:

> The Great and only advantage which the enemy [French] hath in those parts doth consist chiefly in the nature of their settlement, which contrary to our Plantations who depend upon the improvemt of lands, &c theirs of Canada has its dependance from the Trade of Furrs & Peltry with the Aborigines, soe that consequently their whole study, and contrivances have been to maintaine their interest and reputation with them, which has been much augmented by that late foolish, and unhappy expedition from New England by Sr William Phips . . . wherein by fatall experience we may lay it downe as a maxime, That those who are masters of the Aborigines, will consequently prevail in all places where they are neglected as we have too much done; the French are so sensible of this, that they leave nothing unimproved in this regard; as first by seasonable presents; secondly, by choosing some of the more notable amongst them, to whom is given a constant pay as a Lieutenant or Ensigne, &c, thirdly by rewards upon all executions, either upon us or our Aborigines, giving a certaine sûme pr head, for as many Scalps as shall be brought them fourthly by encouraging the youth of the Countrey in accompanying the Aborigines in all their expeditions, whereby they not only became acquainted with the Woods, Rivers, Passages, but of themselves may equall the Natives in supporting all the incident fatigues of such enterprises, which they performe, by advancing upon any exploite, the most forward and deserving, unto some office amongst the regular troops. . . . I have known one of this nature which did create such an emulation, that if the Earl of Frontenac had not restrained their forwardness for fear of leaving the Country naked, the whole body of their Youth would have perpetually been out in parties, &c. Fifthly, but the great and most effectual means they have taken for the confirming their Aborigines, and for the subverting or corrupting of ours, is that for some years ever since the war, they have from time to time transported into France some of the most eminent and enterprising Aborigines (not only of their own, but of ours whom they have happened to take their prisoners) for no other intent than to amaze and dazzle them with the greatness & splendour of the French Court and Armie where the King hath so thought it worth his countenancing as to send them into Flanders, where the Armies have been expressly mustered before them to show

---

* London Document X, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume iv, page 150.

their greatness, at the same time they are not wanting to insinuate to them our weakness, poverty, and incapacity of protecting them, which they readily believe, not having any other notion or Idea of Our Nation, force and strength then what they see from our poor Settlements about them.* . .

Thus, in divers ways of seeking the alliance and trade of the Aborigines, these two nationalities were kept in an almost constant state of war in America which often assumed general and dire proportions. Colonel Ingoldsby, in his statement to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations 16th July, 1697, wrote: .. . 'This War ruins the people; the Inhabitants are decreased in number. The English and Aborigines were in very good Correspondence: But the French outdo us much in caressing them.' . . The French were not only active but ingenuous in their aggressiveness and warfare. It was even charged against them that they instructed some of their natives in the ways of poisoning natives friendly to the English, and they often adopted the modes of warfare of the natives. They insinuated themselves into the favor of the powerful Iroquois to the degree that Governor Earl Bellomont was assured that 'the French have to the full as many friends among the Onandaga Nation as we have.' . . .

The British were also active in cultivating the friendship of the Five Nations. Colonel Peter Schuyler, Dellius, and Major Wessells made report to Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York September 28, 1697, in part as follows:

> Three Sachims and sev^{ll} Capt^s of the Coyougers [Cayuga] Nation come to Albany and made ye following proposalls: 'Brethren, Wee come here to lay before you our poverty and that wee are menaced by the French and Twightwicks [Miami] Aborigines, both our enemies. Wee beg that you'l please to assist us with powder and lead that we may be capasitated to defend ourselves and anoy ye enemy (They lay down two otters and four beavour skins). Brethren, Wee are sorry to have to tell you the loss of our brethren the Sinnikes [Senecas] suffer'd in an engagement wth ye Twichtwichts [Miami] Aborigines; our young men kill'd severall of the enemy† but upon their retreat some of their Cheife Capts were cut off. You know our custome is to condole ye dead by wampom, therefore we desire you to give us some for these Beavours' (soe laid down ten Beavr skins). The wampum was imediately given them for the said skins, and the day following appointed for a conferance upon the first proposition made by them for powder & lead &c‡.

About this time another peace was declared from the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. But this peace was not to be operative for long in America. The French, being now free to distribute their soldiers, extended their lines of forts and posts. Their Post Miami, at the head of the Maumee River, built about 1680-86, was re-built or strengthened

---

*London Document X, *New York Colonial Documents* Volume iv, pages 207, 208.

† These tribes were at war in this Basin at the time of its discovery, and for many years thereafter.

‡ London Document X, *New York Colonial Documents* volume iv, page 294.

in 1697 by Captain de Vincennes, who was 'very expressly forbidden to trade in beaver.' *

The French also courted anew the favor of the Aborigines in this western country, and invited them to a council and treaty in Montreal in 1701, when they were feasted and confirmed in their friendship. The first fort at Detroit, Fort Pontchartrain, was built this year by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac.

In 1702 Captain de Vincennes again passed through this Basin establishing Posts, military or trading, along the Maumee River, and along the Wabash as far southwest as Vincennes. Posts already existed by the Maumee, but they required repairs, were not favorably situated, or were not sufficient in number.

British traders had also been among these Aborigines, quietly; also messengers from different Governors of New York inviting them to visit Albany and council regarding trade.

Queen Anne's War was declared against France 8th March, 1702, from home causes, and was participated in by the American colonists with great energy; nor did the war stop here with the Treaty of Utrecht 11th April, 1713, which closed the war at home. The natives of the East early entered into a treaty of neutrality with the British, but the French induced them to violate it and, rallying in accumulating numbers with the French, they perpetrated a long list of savage butcheries including children, women, and members of the Society of Friends who had been especially friendly to them.

The British had become more alive to their trade interests in regard to the 'far natives' and had sent deputations among the Miamis and other tribes of this Basin with favorable effect. The French had claimed these Aborigines as their own for over half a century and now, desiring their aid, sent special presents to them in 1704 for this purpose. They, however, continued to treat and trade with the British whereupon M. de Cadillac moved against them with soldiers in 1707 and intimidated them, apparently, to the French cause. The following year, however, found them again in Albany to council with Governor Lord Cornbury and to deal with the British traders. This transit and traffic became so regular that, in 1712, Captain de Vincennes was again sent among the Miamis 'as a messenger of peace or war' whereupon they again promised loyalty to the French. They could not, however, yet resist the temptations of higher prices paid for peltries and lower prices charged for goods offered by the British traders who continued to entice them.

In the year 1712 the Ontagamie or Fox Aborigines, aided by the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, attacked the post at Detroit and contin-

---

* Paris Document V, *New York Colonial Documents* Volume ix, page 676.

ued the siege with vigor for some days. The Ottawas, Wyandots, Pottawotamis, Menominis, Illinois and Osages, friendly to the French rallied to their aid and saved the post. The French charged that this attack was instigated by the British, and they sought to retaliate in every opportunity, and with widespread success.

The proclamation of the close of Queen Anne's War 11th April, 1713, stopped the more open hostilities of the French in the northeast and enabled them to more quietly gain in other regions for their loss of Acadia. Their widespread operations in this way against the British are shown in Colonel Caleb Heathcote's letter to Robert Hunter Governor of Virginia under date of 8th July, 1715, which reads in part as follows:

> It is undoubtedly by the management of the French that the fire is kindled in Carolina, & they'le not be wanting in their endeavours to spread the flame through the whole Coast. . . the mischief is intended general. . . It is my opinion that it would be very proper, with as little loss of time as may be, for your Excellency to desire a meeting or congresse at some convenient place, of all or as many of the Governours on this continent as can with conveniency come & attend it; where it may be considered & resolved on, what measures to take for extinguishing the fire already begun, & to prevent its increase; for as every part of North America is struck at, so all our interests are the same, & what number soever is wounded or hurt, the whole ought to reckon themselves agrieved, and not carelessly suffer the French to angle us away, province by province, till at last all will be gon; and as it is impossible that we & the French can both inhabit this Continent in peace, but that one nation must at last give way to the other, so tis very necessary that, without sleeping away our time, all precautions imaginable should be taken to prevent its falling to our lotts to remove.* . . .

In the year 1716 Sir Alexander Spotswood Governor of Virginia opened a road over the Blue Ridge Mountain to Ohio lands, and in this year the route, known and used by the French for fifty years or more, up the Maumee River and down the Wabash was more openly published as the most direct and best way to the southwest; but the British were yet few in numbers who went so far from their eastern settlements.

In September, 1717, the Illinois country was joined to Louisiana. The activity of the French was now greatly increased, and several times their successes in alienating the natives from the British, even those natives immediately surrounding the British towns was so great that the necessity for active retaliation seemed imperative. The 'Representation of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the King upon the State of His [Britanic] Majesties Colonies & Plantations on the Continent of North America' dated September the

---

*London Doc. XX, *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vol. v, page 430. This letter contains the second suggestion we find for united action of the British Colonies, Plantations or Provinces. 'A Briefe and Plaine Scheam . . by Mr. [William] Penn' . . January 8, 1697, for this purpose, is the first suggestion, *Ibid.* iv, 296.

8th, 1721, shows that the French had won the friendship of nearly all the Aborigines from New Hampshire to the Carolinas, excepting the Iroquois of New York, whose alliance they several times nearly secured. The Lords of Trade and Plantations realized the dangers of the situation, and a paragraph in their report reads as follows:

> . . Thus, by one view of the Map of North America, Your Majesty will see the danger your subjects are in, surrounded by the French, who have robbed them of great part of the trade they formerly drove with the natives, have in great measure cut of their prospect of further improvements that way, and in case of a rupture, may greatly incommode, if not absolutely destroy them by their native Allies. And although the British Plantations are naturally fortified by a chain of Mountains that run from the back of South Carolina as far as New York, passable but in a few places, yet should we not possess those passes in time, this would rather prove destructive than beneficial to us.* . .

The full knowledge of their danger begot the means of their salvation. The increase in number of the British in America was greater than that of the French. They also rallied to the necessity of giving more and more attention to the Aborigines in general from the policy of both protection and trade. In greater numbers and to farther distances they followed the French along the water courses. Their presents, their increased prices for peltries and their cheaper prices for the goods exchanged for them were attractions for the natives that the French could not fully continue to meet. The British looms had been kept at work on various fabrics of the brightest colors expressly for the American Aborigines. The French Companies could not buy their goods as cheap as could the British, and 'the Duty the French Company is obliged to pay to the King . . enabled the Traders of New York to sell their Goods in the Aborigine Country at half the price people of Canada can, and reap twice the profit they do.'† Strouds were sold at Albany, New York, for £10 that commanded £25 at Montreal. In 1724 British merchants of New York 'allow Traders with the Aborigines double the Price for Beaver that the French Company allow.' . . The prices had been advanced from three shillings until five shillings New York money, or three shillings sterling, were paid per pound for skins in New York, while in Montreal the price was two livres or eighteen pence.‡ The French not being able to keep the British traders from the natives in Central Western Ohio, endeavored to remove the Aborigines to the north and west, but were not successful.

France declared war against Great Britain March 15, 1744, again from European causes, and the British Colonists in America, now more

---

*London Document XXII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume v, page 623.

† London Doc. XXVII, *New York Colonial Documents,* volume v, page 730.

‡ The Chapter on the Maumee River gives further glimpses of the increased activity of the British through this Basin.

conscious of their strength, readily entered into the contest here under the name of the War of King George II, and with a greater feeling of local justification. In Europe this was known as the War of the Spanish Succession. This year the British effected another treaty with the Six Nations at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, wherein was confirmed their cession in 1684 of claims to lands along the southern shore of Lake Erie and to the southwest. They also effected several other treaties about this time, including one with the Ohio Aborigines.*

On account of the increased traffic and trade, the Maumee River Basin experienced more of this war than of the others that had been waged between these contending nations. In fact Ohio had become the center for Aborigine warriors, and the increased peaceful successes of the British with these Aborigines was becoming a more serious matter with the French; and wherever traders of the former were reported, parties or troops of the latter were dispatched for their arrest or dislodgment. At the beginning of King George II's War, M. de Longueuil commandant at Detroit, passed up the Maumee River with his body guard and a company of Ottawas on their way to capture British traders by the White River, Indiana. Many of those western tribes were yet friendly to the French and, in the summer of 1746, eight or ten of the tribes were represented by warriors at Montreal ready to enter upon any savage work to which the French could direct them.

The Conspiracy of Nicholas Against The French.

A number of the western tribes of Aborigines, however, were not active with the French, and other tribes were divided. The Miamis of the Maumee were not largely represented at Montreal at this time. The Iroquois of New York were again divided, and the British by the friendly members sent war-belts of wampum to the Hurons (Wyandots) and the war-chief Nicholas with his band accepted the overture. From the Paris Documents IX and X which are the French records of occurrences during the years 1747–48, the following statements relating to the widespread influence of Nicholas in this Basin and its vicinity are extracted, largely in the words there given, viz:

> The Wyandots under Nicholas killed five Frenchmen who were on their return from the post at White River [in the present Indiana] and stole their furs; and all the natives of the neighborhood, except the Illinois tribes have formed the design to destroy all the French of Detroit on one of the holidays of Pentecost, and afterwards go to the fort and subject all to fire and sword. Some Hurons having struck too soon, the plot had been discovered by a Huron squaw who came to give M. de Longueuil, Commandant of Detroit, notice of it. . . . Other Hurons came to assure him that they had no share in the misconduct of Nicolas' people . . who have attached to them several

---

* *Narrative and Critical History of America* volume i, pages 300, 305; also volume v, pages 487, 566, with notes and other references.

families of vagabond Iroquois, Loups, Sauts, etc. . . We are informed that all the [western] Nations in general continue to be ill disposed to the French . . that those of the Lake, Sauteurs and Outaouas [Chippewas and Ottawas] are on the eve of attacking Detroit; . . that the fort has lost almost all the cattle; and fears that the garrison will perish, being all at the discretion of the enemy. . .

A party of Miamis have come to dance the Calumet at the fort [Detroit] and another section have been to visit Nicolas at Sandusky. The ceremony attendant on the former has been very expensive; their reception, the good cheer for the space of fifteen days, and the presents which have been made to them with a view both to destroy unfavorable impressions amongst them, and to protect the lives of the French who are in their village, have cost a great deal.

Such was the state of affairs at Detroit on the 25th August, 1747. . . The Montreal convoy arrived safe in Detroit on the 22nd September, escorted by about 150 men including the merchants and their servants. This relief is the salvation of Detroit, and has apparently made an impression on the Nations [tribes of Aborigines]. The Miamis [of the Maumee River] and perhaps also the Ouyatanons [of the Wabash] are in disorder. The former allowed themselves to be gained over by the Belts of Nicolas, who represented to them that Detroit had been razed by the Lake tribes; that consequently they could no longer defer killing the French who were among them. The Miamis have listened to this message. They first seized eight Frenchmen who were in the fort of that post [Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee] whom, however, they did not injure; they afterwards seized the property and burnt a portion of the buildings. Two of the eight Frenchmen whom the Miamis had allowed to leave uninjured, arrived at Detroit on the 7th of October, 1747. . . There are a great many peltries at Detroit, which cannot be brought down [to Montreal] until next year. . . These nations [the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatamis] are only endeavoring to get their supplies out of us, and to discover a favorable opportunity to betray us irrecoverably. Mr. de Longueuil is consequently, obliged to ask us for a reinforcement of men and provisions, at the very opening of spring. . . There are not provisions at Detroit for any length of time. . .

M. Longueuil not being able to send any Traders to the Miamis until the Nation return to its duty, sends back to Montreal Ensign Douville, who commanded at that post [at the head of the Maumee] and who was at Detroit at the time the natives committed the pillage. . . The Miamis, who had formerly pillaged the fort and seized the Frenchmen have sent [fall or winter of 1747] one of their principal chiefs to M. de Longueuil to request him to send back some Frenchmen to them, and not to deprive them of their indispensable supplies, promising him that order would be restored in a short time. That officer yielded to their solicitation, with a view to deprive the enemy [British] of the liberty of seizing a post of considerable importance. Ensign Dubuisson whom he sent thither [at the head of the Maumee] is to form only a small establishment there to winter in. He has been supplied with thirty Frenchmen to maintain himself there, and is accompanied by thirty others destined for the Ouyatanons trade [down the Wabash], with orders to the latter to rejoin Sieur Dubuisson in the spring, so as to return together to Detroit. . .

Nicolas, Orotoni and Anioton, chiefs of the Huron [Wyandot natives] traitors, came there [Detroit] to sue for peace, and to surrender the belts [of Wampum] which have been the cause of this treason; they have made speeches to which M. de Longueuil has given an answer, but he doubts their sincerity. . . The post at Detroit will, it is feared, run short of provisions in consequence of the great number of tribes continually there, and who are to come from all parts this spring [1748]. A Frenchman has been killed at the gate of the fort of the Miamis [at the head of the Maumee] it is supposed by some Iroquois.

Nicolas' conduct is not free from equivocation; the English of Philadelphia visited him twice during the winter [1747–48], to trade, and they were well received. The scalp belonging to the Frenchman who was killed near Fort Miamis, has been carried thither [to Sandusky]. . . The posts of the Miamis and at the River [St. Joseph] are not in want of goods. . . The messages and proceedings of Nicolas are too suspicious to be relied on. . . Presents are sent [from Detroit] by Cold Foot, a Miami chief, who appears trustworthy. . .

Count de la Galissonnière [Governor of New France] writes to the commandants of the posts of the Miamis, Ouyatanons, River St. Joseph, &c., respecting what concerns them; and adds, that they ought to keep an exact and circumstantial journal of the occasions wherein they are obliged to incur expenses for presents to natives. . . He sends these officers a list of the *voyageurs* who are wintering with the natives, and of the *Coureurs de bois* in order to their being sent back, so that they not return any more to the Upper country. . .

Kinousaki had returned, on the 7th of April [1748], from the Miamis [Maumee] River, whither he had gone to bring back the Hurons [Wyandots] who had deserted from the village of Ostandosket [Sandusky] and reported that Nicolas, with 119 warriors of his nation, men, women and baggage, had taken the route to the White River, after having burnt the fort and the cabins of the village; that the Outauas [Ottawas] had given him (Kinousaki) a cool reception, and that a portion only of them would consent to return to Detroit, the remainder wishing to settle at the lower end of the Miamis [Maumee] River, where the Hurons had promised them the English would supply their wants. . . The natives in and around Detroit have all sworn fidelity and obedience to Chevalier de Longueuil . . who by four Belts, [of Wampun] put moccassins on the feet of all the warriors so that they may be ready at a minute's warning. . .

Numerous war parties were fitted out in Montreal and at the western posts, for incursions against the British and their native allies; and many scalps, from one to twenty-five or more per war party, were brought in and payment for them collected. Further glimpses of the horrors of such ignoble warfare that was sometimes repugnant to the savages are excerpted from the reports to superior officers made at the time, viz: 'June 22, 1748. Thirty-four Iroquois of the Saut have been outfitted for a war party, and ordered to divide themselves into two or three small sections; but having manifested some repugnance, they were authoritatively, told that they were to submit to orders and obey.' This policy sometimes acted like a two-edged knife; and the definition of murderer hinged upon the relationship of the party killed, for instance:

June 25th. All these natives [the Sauteurs or Chippewas near Detroit] have very urgently demanded mercy for the murderers; they were answered, that it was mercy to detain them so as to prevent them continuing their bad conduct; that the people of their nation ought to have confidence in their Father's [the French Governor's, through the commandant of the fort] benificence. . . July 8th. The Outaoua [Ottawa], Huron, and Pouteouatime [Pottawotami] chiefs at Detroit have requested some young men to go on a war excursion [against the British], as well to afford proofs of their fidelity as to repair past faults, whilst they, the chiefs, would return home to promote peace [toward the French]. The first portion of their request has been approved; the young men have, consequently, been equipped, but the chiefs have been given to understand that they ought not to think of returning before speaking [inflicting

> injuries] to the Five Nations, who were daily expected. The different Michilimackinac Nations made similar requests to those of Detroit. Ninety of these natives, fifty domiciliated natives and twenty-six Canadians have all been equipped under the command of Chevalier de Repentigny, who is accompanied by several military cadets. . . July 16th. Twenty-four Outaouas and Pouteouatamis of Detroit have been likewise fitted out for a war excursion. . . Nine Sauteurs of Detroit have been equipped to go on a war excursion. Sieur Blondeau, a volunteer, commands them. . . August 10th. Chevalier de Repentigny, who went out with a party of natives to fight arrives from Montreal; he made an attack near Corlac and took eleven prisoners and twenty-five scalps. . .

If the British inflicted less injury than they experienced by this horrible mode of warfare it was less from their desire than from their limited success in enlisting the savages as their allies. Governor George Clinton in a letter dated New York 25th April, 1747, wrote to Colonel William Johnson that 'In the bill I am going to pass, the council did not think proper to put rewards for scalping, or taking poor women or children prisoners, in it; but the assembly has assured me the money shall be paid when it so happens, if the natives insist upon it.'

On May 30th Colonel Johnson wrote to the Governor that 'I am quite pestered every day with parties returning with prisoners and scalps, and without a penny to pay them with. It comes very hard upon me, and is displeasing to them I can assure you, for they expect their pay and demand it of me as soon as they return.'* . .

Governor Clinton reported to the Duke of Newcastle, with date 23rd July, 1747,† that

> Colonel Johnson who I have employ'd as Chief Manager of the Aborigine War and Colonel over all the natives, by their own approbation, has sent several parties of natives into Canada & brought back at several times prisoners & scalps, but they being laid aside last year, the natives were discouraged and began to entertain jealousies, by which a new expence became necessary to remove these jealousies & to bring them back to their former tempers; but unless some enterprize be undertaken, which may keep up their spiritts, we may again loose them. I intend to propose something to our Assembly for this purpose that they may give what is necessary for the expence of it, but I almost despair of any success with them when money is demanded.
>
> I must likewise inform your Grace that by this last trip to Albany, I have got two native Nations‡ to join us, who are numerous & who were formerly allways in the French interest. They have actually fallen upon several French trading parties. They may be of singular use to distress the French trade & to cut off all communication between the French in Missesipia River & Canada. . .

The Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, in April, 1748, closed King George II's War in Great Britain, but settled nothing between the American and French Colonies further than to restore to the French possession Louisburg and Cape Breton captured by the British in 1745.

---

* *History of Detroit and Michigan*, by Silas Farmer, volume i; and *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.*

† London Document XXVIII, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume vi, page 358.

‡ Probably the Wyandots, and the Miamis of the Maumee River Basin.

THE LAST BRITISH-FRENCH WAR IN AMERICA. 1754 TO 1760.

King George II's War exhibited the increasing strength of the British in America, and their increasing desire to extend the borders of their settlements according to former grants and treaties. It had been a good training school for the simple, brawny colonists in the ways of war and they had shown themselves equal to the task of coping with the best French regular troops. Further, the home government had taught the Colonies the lesson of self-reliance. They had been compelled to sustain themselves and the armies with food, and to protect their borders with comparatively little aid. They had been well informed regarding the cause of French successes with the Aborigines and, following the treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was but another truce, they were relieved of the task of guarding their coast towns against French warships and the invasion of French troops. The results were soon observed by the French in the extension of British settlements and traders with the Aborigines. The Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia also sought to confirm their purchase of Ohio lands at Lancaster in 1744, and the treaties with different tribes, by inviting the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, Nanticokes (a band of Delawares) and the Miamis to a council 19th July, 1748,* when the chiefs and warriors assembled (Kequenackqua, father of Little Turtle (?) and two other chiefs, Assapausa and Natoecoqucha, for the Miamis) fully committed their tribes to the direction and protection of these Colonies. To draw the Miamis and their neighboring bands away from the French influence, the British traders had built a stockade by the Miami River at the mouth of Loramie Creek in the present Shelby County, Ohio, and had been succeeding in gradually attracting the tribe thither. This station was sometimes called Tawixtwi and Twightwees' (the British name for the Miamis) town, and sometimes Pickawillany.

The French were quick to perceive the developing aggressiveness of the British and, smarting from their apparently weakening prestige among the natives, redoubled their efforts along the borders for the purpose of obstructing the advance of British company land grants, traders and settlers. Hostilities of more or less moment continued along the old, and the constantly increasing, lines of travel to the westward regardless of the treaty.

The grants of land in 1748 to the British colonists forming the Ohio Company and others, made a new route of travel to the Ohio

---

* Alfred T. Goodwin wrote that this treaty was held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. *Journal of Captain William Trent,* Cincinnati, 1871, pages 22, 40, 95.

River desirable as the former routes were well guarded by the French. The French had foreseen this and had established forts in the vicinity of the probable routes; and now they saw the necessity of adopting increased precautions to prevent the inroads of their enemies, the British. In 1749 the Marquis de la Gallissonnière, then Governor in chief of New France, sent Captain Pierre Joseph de Céloron[*] to Ohio for this purpose. This command of two hundred French and thirty Aborigines[†] left Quebec the 15th June, 1749, arrived at Niagara the 6th July, and at the junction of the Miami River with the Ohio 28th August, where Céloron buried the sixth, and last, lead plate stamped with the notice that France had taken formal possession of the country. Tin plates bearing the same notification were nailed to trees, and every other means taken to proclaim this event. The 13th September the expedition arrived at the mouth of Loramie Creek, the site of Pickawillany stockade built by British traders about the year 1740. At the time of the coming of Céloron there was here a village and fort of a Miami chief of the Piankeshaw band called *la Demoiselle* (the Young Lady) on account of his display of dress and ornaments. Céloron requested the chief to take his band, which British traders had enticed away from the French, back to Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee River. This he promised to do later. At this time there was in this village of forty to fifty Aborigine men, but one English trader (others had departed on their approach); but a number of others were met on the route from the headquarters of the Ohio River to this point, whom Captain Céloron ordered out of the Ohio country; and he reported their promises to go.

Captain Céloron burned at Pickawillany the canoes with which his command had ascended the Miami River, and marched across the divide and along the right bank of the River St. Mary to its mouth at the head of the Maumee.

> He found Fort Miami in very bad condition; most of the palisades were decayed and fallen into ruin. Within, there were eight houses—or, to speak more correctly, eight miserable huts, which only the desire of making money could render endurable. The French there numbered twenty-two; all of them, even to the commandant, had the fever [probably the ague]. Monsieur Raimond [the commandant] did not approve the situation of the fort [see No. 5 on the accompanying map], and maintained that it should be placed on the bank of the St. Joseph River, distant only a scant league from its present site [see No. 6 on map]. He wished to show me that spot, but the hindrances of

---

[*] There has been some confusion regarding this officer's name. In the *New York Colonial Documents* it is given as Captain Bienville de Céloron. In another writing it is shown as Blainville the name of an ensign present at the taking of Fort Massachusetts; and others give it as Céloron de Bienville. The Reverend Father Bonnécamps accompanied this Ohio expedition, and the name is here given as recorded by him in *The Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland edition.

[†] London Document XXIX, *New York Colonial Documents,* volume vi, page 533.

> our departure prevented me from going thither. All that I could do for him was to trace the plan of his new fort. The latitude of the old one is 41° 29′.[*] . .
>
> We bought pirogues and provisions and, on the afternoon of the 27th [September, 1749] we set out *en route* for Detroit.[†] . .

A new Fort Miami was built by Commandant Comte de Raimond after the visit of Captain Céloron, in 1749 and during the year 1750. It was located on the east bank of the River St. Joseph, and the old Fort on the right bank of the St. Mary over a mile to the southwest, was abandoned.

The British were again stimulated to increased activity by Captain Céloron's expedition. The Ohio Land Company, formed in Virginia in 1748, sent Christopher Gist to Ohio in 1750, and Governor James Hamilton of Pennsylvania sent George Croghan, to explore the country and to conciliate the Aborigines unfriendly to the British. Presents of rum, paint, blankets, etc., were carried along as necessary ways and means to the end desired. Fealty was promised, and manifested while the agents were present by the Miamis refusing to receive the friendly wampum, tobacco and brandy, presented by four Ottawas direct from the French at Detroit.[‡] Many presents were also sent to the Aborigines in Ohio by the 'Governor of Philadelphia' including twelve barrels of gunpowder '&c' with captivating assertions for better prices for peltries and cheaper prices for goods, all made practical, and tangible, by the convivial effects of the freely flowing rum, which was represented as better than the French brandy while far cheaper in price.[§]

'Valuable presents' from the French followed those from the British in the spring of 1750; and these presents were soon followed by French threats to destroy the tribes who continued to favor the British. Evidences of an impending final struggle were fast gathering, and Ohio was the skirmishing ground. The Aborigines were fickle and wavering, with the tendency always toward the side that most freely and continuously offered the greater inducements in presents of gaudy trappings, intoxicants and weapons; and while the French and British, each in turn, acknowledged exhaustion from such apparently necessary policy, we also catch glimpses from their records of fatigue, and even of disgust, occasionally manifested by the Aborigines at the continuous solicitations, bribery and threats of force by these European invaders of the forests to keep the Aborigines involved in their long continued contests for supremacy. It was but a phase of the old story of the aggressiveness and persistency of the Anglo-Saxon people in their conquest of the world.

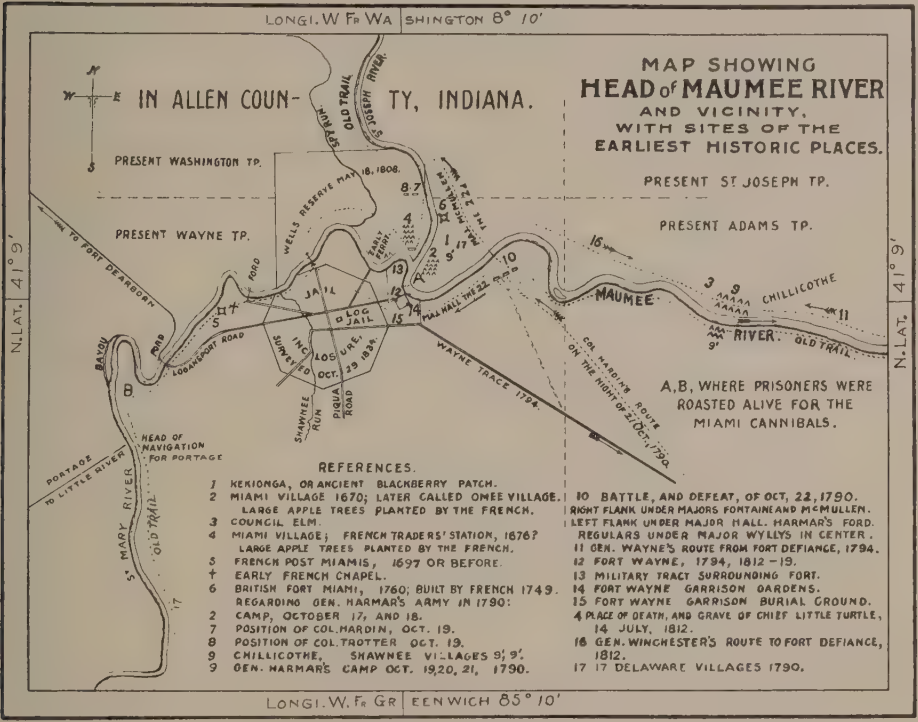
---

[*] This computation is but twenty minutes in excess of the author's computation for the site of General Wayne's fort shown on the accompanying map, and illustrates that the early, and ready, means of computing latitude was fairly satisfactory.

[†] From Father Bounécamp's diary of Captain Céloron's expedition through Ohio in 1749. *The Jesuit Relations*, volume lxix, page 185 *et seq*.

[‡] London Doc. XXIV, *N. Y. Col. Docs.* volume vii, pages 267 to 271. *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, volume v. *Olden Time*, volume i. *Dinwiddie Papers*. For the *Journal* of Mr. Gist's journey, see Pownall's *Topographical Description of North America*, London, 1776.

[§] Compare London Document XXIX, *New York Colonial Documents* volume vi, page 549.


LONGI. W FR WASHINGTON 8° 10'
MAP SHOWING
HEAD of MAUMEE RIVER
AND VICINITY,
WITH SITES OF THE
EARLIEST HISTORIC PLACES.
IN ALLEN COUNTY, INDIANA.
N
W
E
S
PRESENT WASHINGTON TP.
PRESENT ST JOSEPH TP.
PRESENT WAYNE TP.
PRESENT ADAMS TP.
OLD TRAIL
ST JOSEPH RIVER
SPY RUN
WELLS RESERVE MAY 18, 1808.
TO FORT DEARBORN
FORD
EARLY FERRY
JAIL
LOG JAIL
SURVEYED
INC LOS URE, OCT. 29 1834.
LOGANSPORT ROAD
BAYOU
SHAWNEE RUN
PIQUA ROAD
WAYNE TRACE 1794.
HALL THE 22
COL HARDIN'S ROUTE ON THE NIGHT OF 21 OCT. 1790
MAUMEE RIVER
CHILLICOTHE
OLD TRAIL
A,B, WHERE PRISONERS WERE ROASTED ALIVE FOR THE MIAMI CANNIBALS.
HEAD OF NAVIGATION FOR PORTAGE
PORTAGE TO LITTLE RIVER
ST MARY RIVER
OLD TRAIL
N. LAT. 41° 9'
N. LAT. 41° 9'
REFERENCES.
1 KEKIONGA, OR ANCIENT BLACKBERRY PATCH.
2 MIAMI VILLAGE 1670; LATER CALLED OMEE VILLAGE. LARGE APPLE TREES PLANTED BY THE FRENCH.
3 COUNCIL ELM.
4 MIAMI VILLAGE; FRENCH TRADERS' STATION, 1676? LARGE APPLE TREES PLANTED BY THE FRENCH.
5 FRENCH POST MIAMIS, 1697 OR BEFORE.
+ EARLY FRENCH CHAPEL.
6 BRITISH FORT MIAMI, 1760; BUILT BY FRENCH 1749.
REGARDING GEN. HARMAR'S ARMY IN 1790:
2 CAMP, OCTOBER 17, AND 18.
7 POSITION OF COL. HARDIN, OCT. 19.
8 POSITION OF COL. TROTTER OCT. 19.
9 CHILLICOTHE, SHAWNEE VILLAGES 9, 9'.
9 GEN. HARMAR'S CAMP OCT. 19, 20, 21, 1790.
10 BATTLE, AND DEFEAT, OF OCT, 22, 1790. RIGHT FLANK UNDER MAJORS FONTAINE AND McMULLEN. LEFT FLANK UNDER MAJOR HALL. HARMAR'S FORD. REGULARS UNDER MAJOR WYLLYS IN CENTER.
11 GEN. WAYNE'S ROUTE FROM FORT DEFIANCE, 1794.
12 FORT WAYNE, 1794, 1812-19.
13 MILITARY TRACT SURROUNDING FORT.
14 FORT WAYNE GARRISON GARDENS.
15 FORT WAYNE GARRISON BURIAL GROUND.
4 PLACE OF DEATH, AND GRAVE OF CHIEF LITTLE TURTLE, 14 JULY, 1812.
16 GEN. WINCHESTER'S ROUTE TO FORT DEFIANCE, 1812.
17 17 DELAWARE VILLAGES 1790.
LONGI. W. FR GREENWICH 85° 10'

The Six Nations of New York, now much reduced in number and efficiency by past wars, still claimed and held the country to the east end of Lake Erie and, notwithstanding treaties and purchases, yet claimed along its southern border and were yet very desirable allies. Their influence and assistance were still claimed by both the French and the British. The temper of the situation is shown in the following excerpts from the letter of Marquis de la Jonquière, Governor of New France, to George Clinton, Governor of New York, under date 10th August, 1751, viz:

> You, very unadvisedly, and in opposition to your own understanding, call the Five Nations subjects of the King, your Master. They are no such thing, and you would be very careful not to put forth such a pretension in their presence. You treat them with much more circumspection. . . It must be concluded that your excellency has had no authority to object against the post [in New York] I have caused to be established. It has been erected with the perfect knowledge of the Iroquois of the Five

Nations, who alone are competent to complain of it. They did not oppose it; they consented to it. . .

You are not ignorant, Sir, of the expedition Mr. de Céleron made in the year 1749. . . I had the honor to write to you myself on the 7th March, 1750, on that subject, and to request your Excellency to issue an order forbidding all the subjects of New England to go and trade on the territory of the King, my Master. In the same letter I had the honor to express to you my just sensibility at all the secret movements of the English to induce the Aborigines, who, from all time, have been our closest allies, to destroy the French. . . But the result has undeceived me. The English, far from confining themselves within the limits of the King of Great Britain's possessions, not satisfied with multiplying themselves more and more on Rock River [the Miami], with having houses and open stores there, have, more than that, proceeded within sight of Detroit, even unto the fort of the Miamis [at the head of the Maumee]. This proceeding, following so many unneighborly acts, the evil consequences we but too sensibly feel, have placed Mr. de Céloron, the commandant at Detroit, under the necessity of ordering these Englishmen to be arrested. . . The capture of these four Englishmen ought not to surprise you; . . as for John Pathin, he entered the fort of the Miamis to persuade the Aborigines who remained there, to unite with those who have fled to the Beautiful river [the Ohio]. He has been taken in the French fort. Nothing more is necessary. . . John Pathin could enjoy the same freedom [as the others], but he is so mutinous, and uttered so many threats, that I have been obliged to imprison him at Quebec. . .

Governor Clinton replied in a long letter that, 'The Gov^r^ of Canada, by his answer of 10th of August, confesses the things complained of to be true, does not deny them to be infractions of the Treaty of Utrecht [in which the French were not to enter the country of the British Aborigines], but advances a number of facts groundless and false in themselves. . . This seems to be treating his Britanick Majesty and the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle with contempt. . . The French possession of Detroit was not till after the peace of Ryswick . . and these incroachments were grieviously complained of by the Five Nations to the Gov^r of New York.' . . James Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania, wrote to Governor Clinton 13 September, 1751, that 'The Gov^r of Canada's letter . . is indeed a singular piece of argumentation, but though its reasonings are everywhere false, as might be easily proved, yet I think it will be to no purpose to confute them, since little regard will probably be had to anything that can be said on this side of the Water.' . .

In the fall of 1750 the British enlarged and strengthened the stockade at Pickawillany, which was made necessary by the increase of population and business. Christopher Gist, at the time of his sojourn there, wrote in his Journal (see *ante*, page 96) February, 1751, that this place was daily increasing and was accounted one of the strongest Aborigine towns on the continent. The stockade was then being strengthened. During the winter of 1750–51, thirty Miamis were killed by the French and their St. Lawrence Aborigine allies. In 1751 the

French captured near the Maumee River Luke Arowin, Joseph Fortiner, Thomas Borke and John Pathen, Pennsylvania traders with the Aborigines whom they held as prisoners. Retaliation was sought, and was accomplished the following spring by Fifteen French traders falling victims of the Miamis.

Marquis de la Jonquière Governor of New France ordered Captain Céloron, now commandant of Detroit, to attack and reduce Pickawillany; but he could not or would not obey. The threatened condition of French affairs at this time in and contiguous to this Basin are further told by the report of Comte de Raimond, commandant of Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee, that

> . . My people are leaving me for Detroit. Nobody wants to stay here and have his throat cut. All the tribes who go to the English at Pickawillany come back loaded with gifts. I am too weak to meet the danger. Instead of twenty men, I need five hundred. . . We have made peace with the English, yet they try continually to make war on us by means of the Aborigines; they intend to be masters of all this upper country. The tribes here are leaguing together to kill all the French, that they may have nobody on their lands but their English brothers. This I am told by Coldfoot, a great Miami chief, whom I think an honest man, if there is any such thing among Aborigines. . . If the English stay in this country we are lost. We must attack and drive them out.* . .

War belts of wampum were sent from tribe to tribe until St. Ange commandant at Vincennes became alarmed. In the winter and spring of 1752 small-pox disabled many soldiers at Fort Detroit and Baron de Longueuil, acting Governor, wrote that 'it is to be wished that it would spread among our rebels; it would be fully as good as an army.† . . We are menaced with a general outbreak, and even Toronto is in danger. . . Before long the English on the Miami will gain over all the surrounding tribes, get possession of Fort Chartres, and cut our communications with Louisiana.'

A force of about two hundred and fifty Chippewas and Ottawas was gathered at the north and, led by Charles Langlade, were reinforced at Detroit by M. St. Orr (St. Our ?) with a few French regulars and Canadians, and all passed rapidly across Lake Erie, up the Maumee and St. Mary, and across the portage to Pickawillany where they attacked the town and fort early in the morning of 21st June, 1752. Most of the Aborigines were distant, and after a sharp battle the town and fort were surrendered to the assailants. One Englishman was wounded, then stabbed and partly eaten. Five

---

* Francis Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Boston, 1898, volume i, page 82.

Commandant Raimond was, soon after this report, succeeded at Fort Miami by M. de Villiers. See Paris Document X, *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vol. x, page 246.

† The Miamis were afflicted with small-pox in the winter of 1751–52, but the writer has no definite evidence of it having been intentionally propagated among them. Chief Coldfoot and his son, and other chiefs, died at this time of this disease.

Englishmen were taken prisoners, and two, Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryer, escaped to tell the particulars. Fourteen Miamis were shot, including *la Demoiselle* (called by the British traders Old Britain and Piankeshaw King) whom they boiled and ate. 'Seventy years of missionaries had not weaned them from cannibalism.'*

Possibly the French soldiers stopped at Fort Miami, as one report mentions but two Frenchmen in the attack. But the French were responsible for it; and this may well be called the first prominent overt act in the last British–French war in America which was destined to result in the complete overthrow of the French. It awed the Miamis. They fled from the region and soon went again to the French, attracted by the spectacular display and presents of M. de Longueuil in the fall, not regarding treaties, including the recent one at Logstown a few miles below the present Pittsburg, and the visit and presents of Captain William Trent to Pickawillany one month after the attack of that place under French direction. Virginia, in effort to win back the Miamis, sent presents to their chiefs; and appropriations were made by the Legislature for their benefit. In May, 1753, the Legislature of Pennsylvania voted 'the sum of two hundred pounds as a present of condolence to the Twightwee [Miami] nation, on the melancholy occasion mentioned in the governor's message of the 16th of October last' it being their loss of lives at Pickawillany. The assembly also voted six hundred pounds for distribution among the Wyandots, Senecas, Shawnees, and other western tribes. These Aborigines were apprised of the appropriations and, upon invitation, were represented the following autumn in council at Winchester and at Carlisle, where they treacherously professed great 'love and affection' for the British. Their fealty to the French was determined, however, before the presents were delivered, and fortunately so on account of the designed presents consisting largely of powder and lead.

With the building of the French forts Presque Isle, Le Bœuf and Venango in 1752–54 by the water courses and portage from the present Erie, Pennsylvania, to the head of the Ohio River, and the bloodless surrender of Fort Duquesne 17th April, 1754, the British were practically shut out of Ohio, notwithstanding the favorable treaties before mentioned.

The breach was rapidly widening, however, between the British and French and the determination of both parties boded ill to the weaker when the impending general resort to arms should be sounded. Already greater secrecy had been enjoined from London, 30th March,

---

* Reports of Longueuil and Duquesne; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, v. 599; Captain William Trent to Governor Robert Dinwiddie; and Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

1752, to the Governors in America by the Earl of Holderness Secretary of State, in the following communication: 'Whereas it may happen that circumstances of a very high and important nature may arise which may require the utmost secrecy, it is the King's pleasure that if any such should occur within the district of your Government you should forthwith with the utmost diligence and exactitude, transmit an account thereof to one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State only. And you are in such case to follow all orders and Directions which His Majesty shall think proper to direct one of His principal Secretaries of State to transmit to you in consequence thereof.'

The British Colonies had been discordant. The people were poor and, generally having little or no interest in hunting or trading with the Aborigines for furs, had given their attention to clearing the land and cultivating it for their livelihood; but something more decisive must be done to destroy the embarrassing aggressiveness of the French who were continually inciting or abetting the Aborigines to resent the cultivation of the settlers' land.

For the purpose of formulating uniform action for winning the Aborigines against the French, the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, in London, requested the Colonies to send delegates to Albany, New York, in June, 1754. But little immediate good resulted from this meeting, further than it was educative for a union that eventually bore full fruit in confederation. Soon after this meeting Benjamin Franklin wrote for Thomas Pownall, member of the Colonial Congress, a description of the Ohio country and its desirability as a colony for Great Britain.*

Major George Washington's journey late in 1753 from Governor Dinwiddie to the French forts before mentioned to warn the French to desist in their aggressions, proving of no avail, he was sent in May, 1754, with a small force against Fort Duquesne at the head of the Ohio River, which was the French bar closing the Ohio country to the British. The moderate success of his effort at Great Meadows late in May, has been termed the first contest in the final British-French War (often called the French and Aborigine War) in America, regardless of the massacre at Pickawillany in 1752. Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity occurred 3rd July, 1754. Then followed a series of British defeats from unpreparedness, the slowness of the Colonies in getting properly into action from the dictations of, and the deferring to, the home government (Great Britain) and the sending of European officers and regular troops untrained, and unable, to cope with the French and their Aborigine allies in the wilderness. General Edward

---

* Papers of Benjamin Franklin, by Jared Sparks, volume iii.

Braddock's defeat in 1755 while attempting to break the French lines on the upper Ohio, is an illustration of the latter.

This, the first British-French War relating mostly to American affairs was formally declared by Great Britain in May, 1756, about two years after continued hostilities. It was but the natural culmination, as has been seen in the foregoing, of the increasing population and the continued aggressiveness of both nationalities. The result of this war was the fulfillment of the prophecy of Colonel Caleb Heathcote in his communication to Governor Robert Hunter of New York, 8 July, 1715, that 'it is impossible that the British and the French can both inhabit [rule] this Continent in peace but that one nation must at last give way to the other.' . .

At this time as heretofore the chief travel and events in the Maumee Basin occurred along the Maumee River, and the reader is referred to the chapter on this river in this book for many details. No great battle was fought in this Basin between the distinctively British and French troops. The contest here was between the British agents and traders among the Aborigines and the French agents who were often accompanied by French soldiers and distant Aborigines. Each in turn put forth strong efforts to reclaim the unstable Aborigines and to more closely ally them to the interest represented. Special inducements had also been offered by Captain de Céloron for French farmers to settle in this western country with Detroit as the more northern center, and it was hoped that about two hundred and fifty families from the lower settlements along the St. Lawrence would accept the terms, viz: Each family to receive free transportation at the King's expense; and every settler to receive as free gift one gun, hoe, axe, plowshare, scythe, sickle, two augurs large and small, a sow, six hens, a cock, six pounds of powder, twelve pounds of lead, and many other favors. Only about twelve families consented to remove.*

War parties were again formed by the French among the Aborigines and sent after British agents and disaffected tribes. Aborigines from this Basin were again frequently at Montreal. They were present at the capture of Fort William Henry in 1757, and at many other points in the East where their services were wanted by the French.

But the time had matured for a change in the 'home government' and a reversal of the series of British disasters. The great friend of the American Colonies, William Pitt 'the Great Commoner' was chosen Secretary of State and his change of leaders in America to those imbued with his vigorous and well-defined policy, brought honor and success to the British arms. French rule in Canada and around the Great Lakes vanished with the capitulation of Montreal 8th September, 1760; and British rule then established, was confirmed at Versailles 10th February, 1763, by the ratification of the Treaty of Paris. The nearly one hundred and fifty years of almost constant struggle between the Colonists of these two nations in America was ended at last, excepting in local and more clandestine ways through French influence with the Aborigines.

---

* Ordinance of 2nd January, 1750. The more permanent population of Detroit and vicinity in 1750 is recorded as four hundred and eighty-three persons. During the following two years a considerable number of young men came voluntarily, and Captain Céloron wrote to Montreal for girls to marry them. Compare Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, page 77.

THE BRITISH SUCCESSION.

Fort Detroit, to which this Basin had been immediately subject, was peaceably surrendered to the British Major Robert Rogers 29th November, 1760, with seventeen British prisoners held by the French. Soon thereafter Ensign Holmes with a detachment of British soldiers was sent to take possession of Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee River, and of the posts further to the southwest; and this fall and winter a few Colonists again turned their faces Ohioward.

Comparative quiet now pervaded this Basin for a period of two years. Mischief, however, was again germinating. The savages, from their nature and their sanguinary training by the French and British through five or six generations, could not for long remain quiet or free from maraudings and the shedding of blood. With the declaration of peace the great promises, the large quantities of presents, and the free flow of intoxicating beverages, formerly dealt out alternatingly by the contending parties, ceased. The Aborigines were at the close of the war sore of foot and weary of body from their continued long marchings, and cloyed of spirit from the long continued series of skirmishings and subsequent debauchings to which both the French and British had urged them. But they soon rallied. Their habitual revelings in carnage, like their habitual thirst for intoxicants, could not long be inwardly repressed. They were spoiled children under the adroit and politic management of the French; and now came the cooler headed, less versatile English who from conquest claimed their subjection as a right, and free from the expense of continued present-giving and from a continuous and liberal free flow of rum.

The Aborigines had been confirmed by the French in the belief that the territory between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, with an indefinite stretch eastward and westward, belonged irrevocably to them, and that they should resist the encroachments of the British who, differently from the French, would crowd them out and clear the land to make farms for themselves.

As Major Robert Rogers and his two hundred rangers were encamped for the night about midway on the southern shore of Lake Erie in

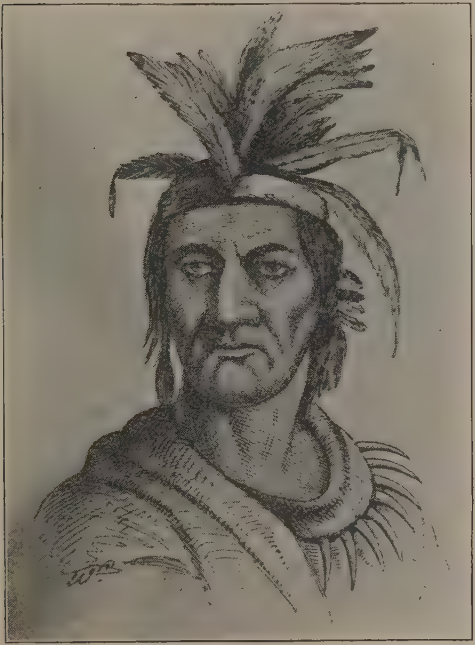
November, 1760, while making their way to receive the capitulation of Fort Detroit and this western country, a rising power among the Aborigines confronted them in the form of a band led by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, who demanded to know why they dared to enter his country without permission. Major Rogers tactfully appeased him, and Pontiac in turn allayed the belligerence of the Aborigines on the route, awaiting a more opportune time to make his demands. The British, and the Colonists, ere long saw the necessity of making more direct and serious overtures to the savages to quiet their increasing restlessness. They were becoming more and more displeased with the transfer of the western posts to the British who gave few presents, and at irregular intervals.

The disaffection spread and General Sir Jeffrey Amherst sent Colonel William Johnson the experienced Superintendent of the Six Nations to Detroit. He arrived there September 3, 1761, accompanied by Major Henry Gladwin and three hundred light infantry, and according to previous invitation about five hundred representatives of the different tribes of Aborigines were there (they never could resist such invitation) to attend a 'council' and to receive the customary presents with which the distinguished Sir William was now bountifully supplied. The feastings and the drinkings, were to their full satisfaction.

But hunger and thirst soon re-asserted themselves—and the liberal giver had departed, taking with him most of the troops. Further supplies were not immediately forthcoming; in fact the finances of Great Britain, and of the Colonies, were exhausted and the already great debts were increasing. Now a reversion to the hunt became a necessity; and soon new questions of supply and demand harrassed the thoughtless savages who could not understand why there should be any fluctuation in market prices. When competition was strongest between the British and French traders, the former advanced the price of furs and lowered the price of articles given in exchange. Now when external competition was ended the price of their furs was depreciated and the price of articles they received was appreciated. From their unbounded selfishness and their ignorance of business relations they could not understand the increased duties levied on trade for the war debts, and the changed relations making greater profits necessary to the dealers whose taxes were increased therefrom. And now, also, the question of claims to the land assumed new importance. The wild game, for meat and peltries, was becoming scarcer and the Aborigines felt therefrom more keenly the encroachments of British settlements on their hunting grounds.

THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC AGAINST THE BRITISH.

Pontiac schemed for freeing the Aborigines from all their increasing difficulties according to his desires. He had long been an interested observer of French operations, and his plans demonstrated his possession of a master mind among his people. His plan, first promulgated by the French, was nothing less than to confederate all the tribes, east and west, and to exterminate the British and their Colonists at least in all parts of the country which he desired for his people. They were to begin at a certain phase of the moon in May, 1763, against all the small and feebly garrisoned forts, then devastate the frontiers, and then concentrate against the more populous centers. Had it not been for the unstable and perfidious impulses then, as generally, actuating the savages, the result would have been generally disastrous to the Colonists.



PONTIAC.*
Born on the site of the present Defiance, Ohio, about the year 1712. Was assassinated at Cahokia, Illinois, in 1769.

Pontiac was born by the Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaize (according to the statement of the Miami chief Richardville) about the year 1712, of an Ottawa father and a Miami mother. He was unusually dark in complexion, of medium height, powerful frame, and of haughty bearing. He was further described as subtle, patient in planning, cruel in execution, and with much more than the ordinary mental and methodical ability of the Aborigines while possessing all of their few good qualities and most of their many bad ones. Previously he was but little known outside his tribe, the Ottawas. He aided the French against an attack of Detroit by Aborigines in 1746, and aided the Aborigines in the defeat of General Braddock in Pennsylvania in 1755.

---

* From *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History*, Copyright, 1901, by Harper & Brothers.

In his conspiracy against the British forts, Pontiac sought and obtained aid from the French. The authorities in New York did not obtain information regarding the great extent and full significance of the conspiracy until 16th February, 1764, and then by ship from New Orleans, where the French Governor D'Abbadie, who had early apprisement of it, gave Major Loftus a British officer, "A very bad account of the disposition of the Aborigines toward us. . . that Pontiac, the famous Chief of the Detroit, had declared his designs to commence hostilities, and had made a demand of supplies of ammunition from M. de Neyon [commandant at Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi ninety miles above the mouth of the Ohio River]. . . There is reason to judge of Pontiac not only as a Savage, possessed of the most refined cunning and treachery natural to the Aborigines, but as a person of extra abilities. He keeps two Secretaries, one to write for him, and the other to read the letters he receives, & he manages them so as to keep each of them ignorant of what is transacted by the other."* . .

The conspiracy had been many months in maturing. Near the close of the year 1762 Pontiac sent messengers to the different Aborigine tribes. "They visited the country of the Ohio and its tributaries, passed northward to the region of the upper lakes, and the borders of the River Ottawa; and far southward towards the mouth of the Mississippi. Bearing with them the war-belt of wampum, broad and long, as the importance of the message demanded, and the tomahawk stained red, in token of war, they went from camp to camp, and village to village. Wherever they appeared, the sachems and old men assembled to hear the words of the great Pontiac. Then the chief of the embassy flung down the tomahawk on the ground, and delivered, with vehement gesture, word for word, the speech with which he was charged. It was heard everywhere with approval; the belt was accepted, the hatchet snatched up, and the assembled chiefs stood pledged to take part in the war."† . .

This work was carried on with great secrecy to avoid its being communicated to the British. But early in March, 1763, Ensign Holmes, commandant of Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee, was informed by a friendly Miami that the Aborigine warriors in the near village had lately received a war-belt with urgent request that they destroy him and his garrison, and that they were preparing to do so.

---

* Letter of General Thomas Gage to the Earl of Halifax Secretary of State, London Document XXXVI, *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vol. vii, 619, 620. Tradition says that Pontiac issued as money, pieces of birch bark bearing rude sketches of his totem, the otter; and it further says that he faithfully redeemed them. There is no statement regarding his ways and means of redemption, however. This fiction is noticed here to illustrate the fabulous qualities ascribed to the Aborigines by some writers.

† *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, by Francis Parkman, volume ii, page 186.

This information Ensign Holmes communicated to his superior, Major Gladwin at Detroit. This was followed by another letter from him reading in part as follows:

> FORT MIAMIS, March 30th, 1763.
>
> SIR: Since my last Letter to You, wherein I Acquainted you of the Bloody Belt being in this Village, I have made all the search I could about it, and have found it out to be True; Whereupon I Assembled all the Chiefs of this Nation [the Miamis] & after a long and troublesome Spell with them, I Obtained the Belt, with a Speech, as you will Receive Enclosed; This Affair, is very timely Stopt, and I hope the News of a Peace[*] will put a Stop to any further Troubles with these Aborigines who are the Principal Ones of Setting Mischief on Foot. I send you the Belt with this Packet which I hope You will Forward to the General [Sir Jeffrey Amherst].[†] . .

Major Gladwin was incredulous regarding preparations of the savages for serious hostilities, and so he remained until Pontiac began the work of a determined siege of Fort Detroit, notwithstanding a general council of the savages held near Detroit 27th April, 1763, and the advice of friends who could appreciate the different indications of gathering mischief. He was aroused to preparation, however, by a Chippewa girl who called at the fort 6th May to deliver to the Major moccasins she had made for him, and who hesitatingly told him[‡] of the coming to the Fort the next day of Pontiac with sixty other chiefs, ostensibly for a friendly council, but each would carry under his blanket a gun filed off to the length of about one yard with which they were to shoot the officers at a given signal, and the outside hordes, variously estimated at from six hundred to two thousand, would thereupon assail the Fort. The next day the chiefs appeared as foretold, and Major Gladwin received them with the garrison ready for action. This display of preparedness disconcerted the visitors and the council passed without incident. The chiefs were permitted to depart without being searched for the shortened guns they carried. Early the next morning Pontiac again appeared at the fort with three chiefs and a calumet, or sacred pipe of peace[§] which was smoked as a sign of their love and loyalty; and to further allay the apprehensions of the garrison an exciting game of ball was played by the savages during that afternoon near the fort. The following day Pontiac with his chiefs again sought a council within the fort enclosure with their warriors at their heels, but entrance was denied them. Then began the murdering of Englishmen living without the enclosure, by marauding bands, followed by a general firing from a distance of muskets at the fort, whereby five members of the garrison were wounded.

---

[*] Treaty of Paris 10th February, 1763, formally closing the war of the British succession.

[†] Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, volume i, page 189. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.*

[‡] Compare the St. Aubin and Gouin MSS. accounts, quoted in Parkman's volume i, page 218 *et seq.*, with Rogers' Journal; the Gladwin MSS.; the Pontiac Diary in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, volume viii. Also for a good review of the evidence up to 1867, showing the Chippewa girl as a myth, see the late Colonel Charles Whittlesey's Conspiracy of Pontiac in the *Firelands Pioneer* volume viii, page 9 *et seq.*

[§] The savages claimed that the Calumet should be used only on occasions of peace-making. The bowl of this pipe was generally of the 'sacred' pipestone (Catlinite), the stem, from two to four feet in length in sections, was generally made from a young ash, the pith being worked out with a smoothed split of hard wood or, later, a wire. It was abundantly trimmed with quills and feathers from an eagle. It was generally kept disjointed and carefully wrapped, as an article of great value. See engraving.

Food supplies were becoming short and Major Gladwin, hoping to stop the firing and increase his supply from the near farms, sent friendly Frenchmen to enquire of Pontiac why they thus assailed him. The reply was that he desired Captain Donald Campbell, second in command, to visit and talk directly to him. This veteran officer who had heretofore possessed a peculiar influence over the Aborigines desired to go and do what he could to allay hostilities. Accompanied by Lieutenant George McDougall and some Frenchmen, he went to Pontiac's camp, where they were retained as prisoners. Lieutenant McDougall afterward escaped to the Fort; but Captain Campbell was murdered, with torture, and eaten.

The siege was continued from day to day, and the food supply dwindled with no hope of relief but from the arrival of supplies that had been sent from the East by the slow and uncertain small sloop. The 30th of May a sentinel discerned boats coming up the river, and soon the weary and hungry garrison was alert and joyous at the supposed arrival of relief. But this joy was of short duration. It was soon to be succeeded by a deeper gloom than had before settled over the fort, now apparently doomed to utter defeat. The boats and supplies were in the hands of the Aborigines who had captured at Point Pelée all of the convoy excepting two boats, after killing and capturing about sixty of the ninety men in charge. Yet another month was destined to pass before the suffering garrison at Detroit received any relief; and this month brought much of sadness and discouragement to the nearly exhausted garrison, and much of exultation to the besieging savages and the war-parties sent out by Pontiac.

May 16th Fort Sandusky was captured and burned by Wyandots; and Ensign Paully with the members of the garrison not killed outright, were taken prisoners to the Aborigine camp near Detroit where a worse fate awaited the most of them, Paully escaping. The 25th of May Fort St. Joseph was captured by Pottawotamis. Ten of the garrison were killed, and the other three including the commander Ensign Schlosser were taken to Detroit.

May 27th Ensign Holmes was decoyed from Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee by his mistress, a young Miami woman, ostensibly to render medical aid to a sick Aborigine nearby, when he was shot to death by two Miamis lying in ambush for that purpose. His sergeant unwisely stepped outside the gate to learn the cause of the firing, and was taken prisoner. The remaining four or five (the Gladwin MS. reads eight) men comprising the garrison, surrendered the fort to the savages at the demand of one Jacques Godefroy and other Frenchmen from Detroit who were in league with Pontiac. Five days later Fort Ouiotenon on the Wabash, near the present Lafayette, was captured; and the next day, June 2, the garrison of Fort Michillimackinac was also deceived and captured by the Chippewas who killed over twenty and took all others of the garrison prisoners. June 15th Fort Presqu'ile, at the present Erie, Pennsylvania, was assailed by about two hundred Aborigines from Detroit and its garrison of twenty-seven men surrendered the 17th. Within a few days Fort Le Bœuf and Fort Venango, also on the route from Lake Erie to the head of the Ohio River were also in the hands of these widespread conspirators.

The garrison at Detroit was generally apprised of the loss of these forts by the return of war-parties with scalps, prisoners and plunder from the British, and their reception with great uproar by the Aborigine women and childen generally within sight and hearing of the garrison. A few of these prisoners were offered at the fort in exchange for Aborigines there held, and a few captives held by them escaped; but by far the greater number were put to death in the most horrible manner.* Demands from Pontiac for surrender of Fort Detroit were refused.

Anchored in the river at the nearest point to Fort Detroit were, from the first of Pontiac's gathering of the enemy, two armed and manned schooners which did good service in aid of the garrison, and which successfully resisted all attempts of the savages to burn them by fire rafts and otherwise. When the Fort's supplies began to get low, the smaller schooner was ordered to hasten to Niagara for relief. She returned to the west end of Lake Erie near the last of June and, starting up the river, met attacks of the besiegers adroitly and bravely. She was manned by sixty men, and her cargo was composed of ammunition and provisions. There was also brought by this vessel an account of the signing of the Treaty of Paris which was soon communicated to the French by Major Gladwin; and forty of their number at Detroit under James Sterling volunteered to assist the fort. This should have put an end to the hopes, and of the stories to the Aborigines detailed by many Frenchmen, that armies of their countrymen were on their way to drive the British from America.

About the middle of July the Wyandots and Pottawotamis deceitfully made peace with Major Gladwin and surrendered their British prisoners. Still brighter days to be followed by many sad ones, were about to dawn on this brave garrison of one hundred and twenty-two soldiers, eight officers, forty fur traders and a few assistants. July 29th the long hoped-for relief came in the form of 'twenty-two barges, bearing two hundred and eighty men, several small cannon, and a fresh supply of provisions and ammunition.' These boats were fired upon by the same Ottawas and Pottawatomis who, two weeks before, sued for peace at the fort, and fifteen were killed and wounded by their guns.

---

* Compare Loss of the Posts MS. Diary of the Siege. Gladwin MSS. Parkman's *Conspiracy, and Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.*

Captain Dalzell, a former companion of Israel Putnam and more recently *aide-de-camp* to General Amherst, was in charge of these reinforcements, and he determined to 'strike an irremediable blow' at Pontiac's forces; and about two o'clock in the morning of July 31st a detachment of two hundred and fifty soldiers well-officered, including Major Robert Rogers, marched against the savages. Some Frenchmen within the palisades informed the enemy of this proposed attack, and they were ready in ambush at a narrow bridge over Parent Creek, later known as Bloody Run. Here, and near, the British force was repulsed and with difficulty they returned to the fort with a loss of fifty-nine men killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was estimated at but fifteen to twenty; and their exultation was unbounded. Runners were sent out 'for several hundred miles' to spread the news of British defeat; and additional Aborigines daily swelled the number of Pontiac's already large force. Many days, however, passed with comparatively few shots by the savages at the watchful garrison.

The smaller schooner, named the Gladwin in honor of the brave commandant of Fort Detroit, was again dispatched to the east end of Lake Erie with requisition for supplies. The night of September 3rd she entered the Detroit River on her return, having a crew of ten Americans beside Captain Horst and Mate Jacobs; also with six New York Iroquois supposed to be friendly to the British. At their request the Iroquois were set ashore the next morning; and probably they told the hostile savages of the small number in charge of the schooner. That night they were compelled to anchor about nine miles below the fort, and there they were attacked in the great darkness by about three hundred and fifty Aborigines who silently drifted to the schooner with the current, undiscovered until they were about to climb on board. One cannon was fired by the guard and crew, then a volley from their muskets when a hand-to-hand encounter became necessary. The crew was about to be overwhelmed by numbers when Mate Jacobs gave a loud command to explode the magazine. Fortunately this command was understood by some of the assailants who communicated it to the others, whereupon a panic ensued among the Aborigines and all instantly disappeared in the water, and were not again seen around the boat. The savages continued alert, however, on shore, their numbers making frequent changes and constant watchfulness of the fort a pastime for them, as also their shooting whenever a soldier was seen.

Meantime reports of Pontiac's Conspiracy, the general uprising of the Aborigines, the capture of the frontier posts, and the devastation of frontier settlements, were as soon as possible conveyed to the authorities in New York. Those most active for relief were Sir William Johnson Agent and Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs, Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden of New York, General Sir Jeffrey Amherst, and General Thomas Gage afterwards his successor; between all of whom and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with office at Whitehall, London, correspondence became more and more frequent and systematic.

As heretofore stated, the regular troops were largely withdrawn from America after the capitulation of the French in 1760, and the frontier posts, even Detroit from which Fort Miami and others drew their garrison and supplies, were left with a scarcity that was nothing less than criminal on the part of the authorities. The home government in London yet desired to dictate the conduct of everything while making it obligatory upon the Colonies to pay the expenses. The continuous efforts necessary to protect the centers of population, and to pay the officers of the government imposed upon the Colonies by the King, kept the Colonial treasuries drained. And, in addition, the easy-going British officials, some of whom knew little about the savages and often apparently cared less than they knew, were loth to believe that serious outbreak was threatened; and it required a long time for them to understand that the greatest of all Aborigine wars was being relentlessly waged. Some had become wearied by the former continuous demands of the savages for valuable presents; and now General Amherst felt particularly annoyed by the reports of their treachery. He called them a 'despicable enemy' and he wrote in July, 1763, asking Colonel Henry Bouquet "if it can not be contrived to send the Small Pox among those disaffected tribes of Aborigines? We must on this occasion use every stratagem in our power to reduce them. . . You will do well to try to inoculate them by means of blankets, as well as to try every other method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race." . .

The depredations had been so severe and oft repeated in western Pennsylvania and Virginia, and farther east, that the necessity for strong suppressive measures became imperative. With great efforts two armies were organized in the early summer of 1763, with a few regular soldiers, colonist volunteers and whilom friendly Aborigines, to make a decisive campaign against the hostiles of Ohio and Detroit. Colonel Henry Bouquet of Berne, Switzerland, who had been more than seven years in America in command of the 'Royal Americans' composed largely of Germans in Pennsylvania, was directed by General Amherst to cross the mountains and relieve Fort Pitt which was invested by the savages, and which with Fort Niagara and Fort Detroit were the only western posts remaining uncaptured by them. Colonel Bouquet's command increased on the march, and August 8, 1763, when nearing Bushy Run, about twenty-five miles from Fort Pitt now Pittsburg, this command was violently and persistently assailed by the savages who had been harassing the Fort, and only by well-conceived and well-executed strategy were they saved from destruction more complete than that of General Braddock's army eight years before. This Battle of Bushy Run has been termed one of the best contested battles ever fought between Europeans, Colonists and the Aborigines.* It depressed the great and increasing confidence of the Aborigines in their ability to exterminate the Colonists, and it revived the hopes of the latter. It also aided in gaining recruits for advance in the Ohio Country upon recommendation of rewards for savage scalps inasmuch as the Colonies refused regular pay to militiamen when outside their distinctive limits.

The other army of six hundred regulars and others under Major John Wilkins had been collected from different parts of the Colonies with great effort for the purpose of relieving Detroit; but it was doomed to disaster. Before getting out of the Niagara River they were driven back by the enemy with loss; and in September their boats were wrecked by a storm on Lake Erie about ninety miles from Detroit, where three officers and over seventy privates were drowned, and their cannon, ammunition and supplies were lost or spoiled; whereupon the others returned to Niagara.

The reports of the organization of these armies had depressing effect upon Pontiac as well as upon his followers. They had been encouraged by Frenchmen in different places telling them that French armies were on their way to America to drive the British out and, later, that one of these armies was already ascending the Mississippi River. M. de Neyon French Commandant of Fort Chartres had been instructed after the French surrender in 1760, to retain that post until relieved by a British garrison. To him Pontiac repeatedly appealed for soldiers and munitions of war. Finally, upon demand of the British General Amherst, M. Neyon sent letter September 27th to the Aborigine tribes requesting peace and informing them that no assist-

---

*Clarke's *Historical Series*, volume i; Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac* volume ii, etc.

ance could be expected by them from the French. Upon receiving this notification Pontiac's duplicity at once asserted itself, and he immediately sought the forgiveness of Major Gladwin and General Amherst, and their favor by telling the former that he would send requests to all Aborigines engaged in the war, to 'bury the hatchet.'

In regard to the armies forming for the war, the expression to 'bury the hatchet' was not sufficient for the British in power; but Major Gladwin wrote to General Amherst that

> It would be good policy to leave matters open until spring when the Aborigines would be so reduced in powder there would be no danger that they would break out again, provided some examples are made of our good friends, the French, who set them on. . . No advantage can be gained by prosecuting the war, owing to the difficulty of catching them [the Aborigines]. Add to this the expense of such war which, if continued, the ruins of our entire peltry trade must follow, and the loss of a prodigious consumption of our merchandize. It will be the means of their retiring, which will reinforce other nations on the Mississippi whom they will push against us and make them our enemies forever. Consequently it will render it extremely difficult to pass that country, and especially as the French have promised to supply them with everything they want. . . They [the Aborigines] have lost between eighty and ninety of their best warriors; but if your Excellency still intends to punish them for their barbarities, it may be easier done, without any expense to the crown, by permitting a free sale of rum which will destroy them more effectually than fire and sword. But on the contrary if you intend to accommodate matters in spring, which I hope you will for the above reasons, it may be necessary to send up Sir William Johnson.* . .

About the 1st November, 1763, Pontiac with a few tried followers removed their camp from Detroit to the Maumee River to nurse their disappointed expectations. Following their removal comparative quiet prevailed for several months.

This turn in affairs produced a favorable effect upon the ever wavering and dreaded Senecas of the Six Nations. Sir William Johnson took the opportunity of their mollified temper to yet further gain their friendship by offering them fifty dollars for each principal Delaware Aborigine chief captured by them, 'in which case they must either bring them alive, or their whole Heads.' . . They succeeded in surrounding and capturing alive a camp of about forty Delawares, embracing the dreaded chief 'Captain Bull.' These captives were taken to the common jail in New York City where they were kept until a time favorable for their release.

The fall and winter of 1763-64 was a time of turmoil in Pennsylvania, particularly, with strenuous efforts toward readjustment of communities and encampments holding antagonistic views regarding vital questions of conduct when life or death, government and possessions temporal and spiritual teachings, were involved. The sufferers and active participants in this mixed series of contests were primarily, the Aborigine marauders, murderers and burners of frontier settlements, the survivors of those settlements adherents of the Presbyterian church, the Friends (Quakers) and, to a less degree, the civil authorities.*

---

* Gladwin MSS. page 675, quoted in *The Northwest under Three Flags*, by Charles Moore, Harper and Brothers, 1900. Compare with Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac.*

The military authorities did not remain entirely idle. General Amherst was given leave of absence to visit England, but he was succeeded in the fall of 1763 by Major-General Thomas Gage next in command. Preparations were made to again send two armies against the Aborigines of the West the following spring. Sir William Johnson the Agent to the Aborigines, was also active in sending invitations to the savages for a general council to be held at Fort Niagara. To this invitation there was a favorable response, over two thousand warriors gathering at that fort in July, 1764. Here Colonel Johnson did his usual good service in receiving and effecting treaties with the different tribes individually, he undergoing much fatiguing routine and disagreeable work to that end. The more northern army, under command of Colonel John Bradstreet, numbering about eleven hundred regulars, volunteers and Aborigines, was present at this council to impress the various tribes with the power of the British.

About the 8th of August Colonel Bradstreet's command embarked upon Lake Erie against the yet hostile savages in northern Ohio and the southwest. He was accompanied by two hundred and fifty Aborigines† many or most of whom soon deserted with the presents that had been given them at Niagara. At Fort Presque Isle, site of the present Erie, that was captured and ruined the year before by Pontiac's warriors, the Colonel was deceived into a farcical treaty by members of the Delaware and Shawnee tribes which had been particularly aggressive and savage.

Colonel Bradstreet was also deceived by like Wyandots, Ottawas and Miamis at Sandusky. Here he took prisoner the Frenchman Jacques Godefroy who, in May, 1763, was the leader in the murder of Ensign Holmes and the capture of Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee in the interest of Pontiac. This man expected severe punishment, if not death, at the hands of Colonel Bradstreet; but just at this time Captain Thomas Morris was about to start from the encampment as an ambassador of peace to the Aborigines along the Maumee, Wabash and Illinois, and was offered Godefroy as a servant and interpreter by Colonel Bradstreet who enjoined the culprit to take good care of the Captain. Morris accepted the offer, and Godefroy, thinking that the Captain thus saved his life, accompanied him to save the life of his benefactor, as the sequel proved. They passed up the Maumee by boats to, probably, the site of the present Defiance. From an Ottawa chief they obtained three horses for the journey to Pontiac's camp situate five or six miles from the river, probably on the Defiance Moraine to the northeast. As they neared the camp, Captain Morris, Godefroy and another Canadian attendant riding the horses, and their escort of Aborigines carrying the British flag in advance, they were met by Pontiac's guard, several hundred in number, which surrounded them, crowded between to separate them, beat the horses and made other exhibitions of disrespect. Pontiac stood at the edge of the encampment and also showed signs of disfavor, beside refusing to shake hands. "Here, too, stood a man in the uniform of a French officer, holding his gun with the butt resting on the ground, and assuming an air of great importance; while two Pawnee slaves stood close behind him. He proved to be a French drummer, calling himself St. Vincent, one of those renegades of civilization to be found in almost every camp of Aborigines. He now took upon himself the office of a master of ceremonies. He desired Morris to dismount, and he seated himself at his side on a bearskin. Godefroy took his place near them; and a throng of savages, circle within circle, stood crowded around. Presently came Pontiac and squatted himself after his fashion opposite Morris. He opened the interview by observing that the English were liars, and demanding of the ambassador if he had come to lie to them, like the rest."*

---

* For a comprehensive view of this remarkable contest of readjustment between advancing civilization and savagery, the reader is referred to the publication of divers collections, sermons and documents, by the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

† London Document XXXVII, *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vii, page 657.

A letter directed to Pontiac and purporting to have been received by way of New Orleans, was shown. It read as though coming from the King of France, and its statements were well contrived to incite the savages to continue their hatred of the British. It read, further, that 'Your French Father is neither dead nor asleep; he is already on his way, with sixty great ships, to revenge himself on the English and drive them out of America.' On account of the excitement produced by this reading, St. Vincent adroitly escorted Captain Morris to his own wigwam.

A council was held next day at which Captain Morris' statement of the relations existing between Great Britain and France was received with ridicule. The chiefs would have killed him but for the influence of Pontiac who told them that the life of an ambassador should be considered sacred. 'His [Pontiac's] speech did him honor, and showed that he was acquainted with the law of nations.' Pontiac said quietly to Godefroy 'I will lead the nations to war no more. Let them be at peace if they choose; but I will never be a friend to the English. I shall be a wanderer in the woods; and, if they come there to seek me, I will shoot at them while I have an arrow left.' This was uttered with assumed despair, and with evidences of desire to be courted.

---

* From Captain Morris' *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* copied into Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, volume ii, page 187, Boston, 1897. Captain Morris' little book was reprinted by The Arthur Clarke Co. of Cleveland in 1904.

A Mohawk chief who accompanied Captain Morris' Company stole everything within his power, including the Captain's supply of rum, two barrels in quantity, which he sold to the Ottawas; and the next day he ran away. The drunken orgies that followed the distribution of the rum boded evil to the ambassador. An attack was made on him but Godefroy warded off the knife aimed at his heart, and he ran into a field of corn where he evaded his pursuers. After comparative quiet had been restored he returned to the camp where 'Little Chief' exchanged with him for gunpowder, a volume of Shakespeare, 'the spoil of some slaughtered officer.'

With Pontiac's consent, Captain Morris and his company resumed their journey up the Maumee. He had much to write about the difficulties of the journey on account of a low stage of water, and the pushing and drawing of their boat over the stony shallows. On the fifth day from Pontiac's camp they met a savage riding a handsome white horse which, they were told, belonged to the ill-fated General Braddock and was caught by the Aborigines at the field of his defeat in 1755.

Two days later they arrived at the head of the Maumee and the party started up the left bank of the River St. Joseph to Fort Miami, leaving Captain Morris seated in his canoe reading *Antony and Cleopatra* in the copy of Shakespeare he had obtained in Pontiac's camp. His men were met short of the fort by the savages with bows and arrows, hatchets, spears and sticks, to torture or kill 'the Englishman.' He not being immediately found in the party, and the chiefs exerting their influence for delay, their ire was somewhat abated. He was soon found, however, conducted with many indignities to the fort buildings, now for over a year without a garrison and tenanted by some Frenchmen and Aborigines, where he was forbidden to enter any of the Frenchmen's cabins situated within the stockaded area. Two warriors, carrying tomahawks in their hands, took him by the arms and led him through the shallow St. Joseph River, he at first fearing that they intended to drown and scalp him. When nearing the great Miami village, a little distance from the west shore, they endeavored to take off his clothing, but became impatient at the task when he 'in rage and despair tore off his clothes himself.' Using his own sash, they bound his arms behind him and drove him before them into the village where he was immediately surrounded by hundreds who began violent disputes as to what should be done with him. Godefroy, who had accompanied him and given words of cheer, induced a nephew of Pontiac to make a speech in the Captain's favor; and Godefroy told them if they killed him the English would kill the Miamis then held prisoners at Detroit. Chief Swan of the Miamis then actively took the part of Captain Morris by untying his arms, and giving him a pipe to smoke. Chief White Cat snatched the pipe away, and bound his neck to a post. Captain Morris afterward wrote "I had not the smallest hope of life, and I remember that I conceived myself as if going to plunge into a gulf, vast, immeasurable; and that, in a few moments after, the thought of torture occasioned a sort of torpor and insensibility. I looked at Godefroy, and, seeing him exceedingly distressed, I said what I could to encourage him; but he desired me not to speak (I suppose it gave offense to the savages) and therefore was silent. Then Pacanne, chief of the Miami nation, and just out of his minority, having mounted a horse and crossed the river, rode up to me. When I heard him calling to those about me, and felt his hand behind my neck, I thought he was going to strangle me out of pity; but he untied me saying, as it was afterwards interpreted to me, 'I give that man his life. If you want English meat, go to Detroit, or to the lake, and you'll find enough. What business have you with this man's flesh, who is come to speak with us?' I fixed my eyes steadfastly on this young man, and endeavored by looks to express my gratitude." Another pipe was given to Captain Morris, but he was soon thrust out of the village with blows. He was permitted to make his way back to the fort, receiving a stroke from a whip by a mounted Aborigine on the way. Godefroy and St. Vincent who had accompanied him from Pontiac's camp, did what they could to ward off dangers. A Frenchman at the fort, named l'Espérance, lodged him in his garret, and the other Canadians showed kindness; also two young sisters of Chief Pacanne, as he understood. But those who had bound him were yet watching to kill him; and a large band of Kickapoos, who arrived just before him and built their lodges near the fort, declared they would kill him if the Miamis did not.

Captain Morris learned from his Canadian friends that the severe treatment he received was due to Delaware and Shawnee messengers who arrived before him with fourteen war-belts of wampum to incite the Aborigines to renewed hostilities against the British. They told the Miamis of the Captain's coming and urged them to put him to death; and they had continued their journey southwestward down the Wabash and to the Illinois, the route laid out for him by Colonel Bradstreet. Notwithstanding all this he inclined to continue the journey, until convinced by the evidence of those friendly to him and by the demonstrations of the Aborigines that to attempt onward movement would surely result in his death. Reluctantly, he decided to return and, choosing a favorable hour, he started down the Maumee. Nor was this return journey to be free from danger. The remaining savages who accompanied him from Sandusky, finding him bereft of all luxuries and presents, exhibited great disrespect and forsook him when their services were needed in procuring food and propelling the canoe. Captain Morris described their chief as a 'Christian' Huron (Wyandot) from the Mission of Lorette near Quebec, and 'the greatest rascal I ever knew.' Godefroy remained constant, and with little other help they arrived at Detroit 17th September, 1764, suffering on the way greatly from want of food and from fatigue. Colonel Bradstreet and his command had visited Detroit while Captain Morris was up the Maumee, had left a fresh garrison there, and had returned to Sandusky to further parley and dally with the deceitful savages having occasional headquarters there.

From 'Colonel Bradstreet's thoughts on Aborigine Affairs' sent to General Gage December 4, 1764, the following is extracted:

> Here I must take notice, that from the Govern^t of Pennsylvania all the Shawanese and Delawar Aborigines are furnished with rifled barrel Guns of an excellent kind, and that the upper Nations are getting into them fast, by which they will be much less dependent upon us on account of the great saving of powder, this Gun taking much less and the shot much more certain than any other gun, and in their carrying on war, by far more prejudicial to us than any other sort. . .
>
> Of all the Savages upon the continent, the most knowing, the most intriguing, the less useful, and the greatest Villians, are those most conversant with the Europeans, and deserve most the attention of Govern^t by way of correction, and these are the Six Nations, Shawanese and Delawares; they are well acquainted with the defenseless state of the Inhabitants who live on the Frontiers, and they think they will ever have it in their power to distress and plunder them, and never cease raising the jealousy of the Upper Nations against us by propagating amongst them such stories as make them believe the English have nothing so much at heart as the extirpation of all Savages. The apparent design of the Six Nations is to keep us at war with all Savages but themselves, that they may be employed as mediators between us and them at a continuation of expence, too often and too heavily felt, the sweets of which they will never forget nor lose sight of if they can possibly avoid it. That [the design] of the Shawanese and Delawares is to live on killing, captivating [capturing] and plundering the people inhabiting the Frontiers; long experience having shown them they grow richer, and live better thereby than by hunting wild Beasts.*

The effect of Colonel Bradstreet's dealings with the savages during his expedition, was not to curb their maraudings but, rather, to increase their self-esteem and to stimulate their marauding propensities. He early wrote to Colonel Bouquet, who was advancing from Pennsylvania with the other army, that his treaties with the hostiles would make safe a disbandment of Colonel Bouquet's army of about six hundred men; but the latter was constantly seeing the deceitfulness of the promises of the savages to Colonel Bradstreet, and pressed forward into Ohio with a, to the savages, new style of warfare. He held hostages, sent others with letters to Detroit with positive commands that they feared to disobey, and marched to the haunts of the most hostile bands of Senecas, Delawares and Shawnees who had refused to attend the council at Niagara; declaring to them that his army should not leave them until they had given ample assurances of better behavior in the future; and "giving them twelve days in which to deliver into my hands all the prisoners in your possesssion; Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children, whether adopted into your tribes, married, or living among you under any denomination or pretense whatsoever. And you are to furnish these prisoners with clothing, provisions, and horses to carry them to Fort Pitt. When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for." As hostages for their compliance with this demand, he held the principal chiefs of each tribe. His ambassadors proceeded to Sandusky with his demands, now more strict since his should-be coadutor, Colonel Bradstreet, had started homeward leaving the impression among the savages that they had triumphed over him and could continue their savagery.

---

* London Document XXXVII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume vii, page 692.

A detachment of Colonel Bouquet's command also passed to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto River (which savages had been particularly active and atrocious) and to and along the right bank of the River St. Mary to Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee.* Soon thereafter, bands of Aborigines began to arrive at Colonel Bouquet's encampment which he had taken the precautions to fortify, bringing with them the captives of the white settlers to the number of thirty-two men and fifty-eight women and children from Virginia, and forty-nine men and sixty-seven women and children from Pennsylvania, which they had accumulated during their many raids. There were many with Bouquet's command who had been thus bereft, soldiers and women, and the emotional scenes witnessed at the meeting of the captives with their relatives has been described with much of sentiment and pathos by different writers,† some of whom have enlarged upon the professional wailings of the Aborigine women at the loss of their captives, fictitiously comparing their demonstrations to the grief of civilized people. Some of the younger women, who had been longest captives and were married to the Aborigines, escaped from the military lines and returned to their forest homes in preference to going back to their kinsfolk. This is in evidence of the fact that reversion to barbarism is strong in the lives of many persons in every civilized community; otherwise civilizing influences would make greater progress. The Aborigines were also made to understand that they must soon visit Sir William Johnson, agent of their affairs, and give him assurances of their future good behavior, as he, Colonel Bouquet, would not treat with them, informing them that his duty was to conquer them by force of arms. The 18th November, 1764, Colonel Bouquet's command, and his rescued captives, started on their return to their Pennsylvania and Virginia homes, by way of Fort Pitt.

---

* See map by Thomas Hutchins, assistant engineer. Reproduced for Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, volume ii.

† See Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, volume ii; *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, volume xxiii, October, 1861, pages 577-593; and *Pennsylvania Historical Collections*. Colonel Bouquet's Papers were deposited in the British Museum Library with the Haldimand Papers. Many of both of these Papers have been copied for the Dominion (or Parliament) Library at Ottawa, Canada. Parts of them may also be found in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*.

December 26, 1764, Sir William Johnson wrote to the Lords of Trade regarding the two military expeditions in part as follows:* "The result of this Expedition [by Colonel John Bradstreet] is, that after loosing near one half of the great boats [in a storm on Lake Erie on his return] the Troops are returned in a most shattered scituation, many have perished in the Woods, and above forty are now daily fed by the Senecas, 'till they become able to march, neither are all my Officers or Aborigines yet come in, haveing been turned a drift without any provision on Lake Erie, together with several hundred of the troops. . . . On the other hand Coll. Bouquet under all the disadvantages of a tedious & hazardous land march, with an Army little more than half that of the other has penetrated into the heart of the Country of the Delawares & Shawanese, obtained above 200 English Captives from amongst them, with 14 hostages for their coming here, and entering into a peace before me in due form, &ca & I daily expect their chiefs for that purpose." . . .

The 24th May, 1765, Sir William further reported his treaty of peace with nine hundred Aborigines of different tribes, including those obligated by Colonel Bouquet. He also reported renewed hostilities of the Miamis, they having captured a soldier who strayed a short distance from the garrison at Detroit, and maltreated some French persons sent along the Maumee by the commandant to secure his release. The Miamis, and the tribes to the westward, were yet imbued with Pontiac's ideas of resisting the British, which ideas were nourished in the continued report by Frenchmen in the southwest and along the Maumee, that French armies would soon come to their assistance. 'Several French Familys of the worst sort live at ye Miamis' . . . . wrote Sir William in his report. This influence was still objecting to the occupation of the Maumee, Wabash and Illinois countries by the British.

---

* London Document XXXVII, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume vii, page 686.

To pacify this opposition Sir William Johnson sent Colonel George Croghan among these western tribes in the spring of 1765. This sagacious ambassador left Fort Pitt May 15th and, visiting the lodges by the Scioto River, induced the Shawnees there to deliver to him the French traders in their midst seven in number who had been influencing them against the British. There were seven other such traders among the Delawares, all of whom were taken or sent to Vincennes to prevent their trading with and further influencing the Ohio Aborigines. Colonel Croghan and his escort of fourteeen men were fired upon June 8th near the mouth of the Wabash River by Kickapoo and 'Musquattamie' warriors. Three were killed and several were wounded, including the Colonel. They were taken prisoners to Post Vincent where there was a French village of eighty houses, and a Piankishaw village. Here Colonel Croghan met several Aborigines whom he had befriended in former years and whose influence on his captors was favorable to him. They were taken up the Wabash to Ouiotenon where other Aborigine friends of the past were met 'who were extremely civil to me & my party.'* . . .

At Ouiotenon a Frenchman arrived 'with a Pipe and Speech' from the Illinois through the Kickapoos and 'Musquattamies' to have Colonel Croghan put to death by fire; but his presents and personal address prevailed and after several conferences with all of these tribes he was fortunate enough, not only to influence them to save his own life, but "to reconcile these Nations to his Majesties Interest & obtain their Consent and Approbation to take Possession of any Posts in their country which the French formerly possessed, & an offer of their service should any Nation oppose our taking possession of it, all of which they confirmed by four large Pipes. . . On July 13th The Chiefs of the Twightwees [Miamis] came to me [Colonel Croghan at Ouiotenon] from the Miamis [Maumee River] and renewed their Antient Friendship with His Majesty & all His Subjects in America & confirmed it with a Pipe." . .

On the 18th July, 1765, this industrious and successful deputy agent of Aborigine affairs started for the Illinois country, accompanied by the chiefs of all the tribes with whom he had been treating. They soon met the renowned Pontiac with the deputies of the Six Nations of Iroquois, and Delawares and Shawnees who had accompanied the Colonel down the Ohio River on this mission, and from whom he had been separated. They returned to Ouiotenon where were delivered in general council the speeches sent from the 'four nations' or tribes of the Illinois country. Pontiac and the others accorded with the former agreement of the other chiefs, and all was confirmed by pipe-smoking and belts of wampum. Erroneous reports and misconceptions were corrected, prisoners held by them were surrendered and, accompanied by many of the chiefs, Colonel Croghan and party started up the Wabash and passed across the Portage to the head of the Maumee River. He wrote in his journal that

---

* London Document XXXVIII, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume vii, page 780.

> Within a mile of the Twightwee [Miami] Village I was met by the chiefs of that nation who received us very kindly. The most part of these Aborigines knew me and conducted me to their village, where they immediately hoisted an English flag that I had formerly given them at Fort Pitt. The next day they held a council after which they gave me up the English prisoners they had, then made several speeches in all of which they expressed the great pleasure it gave them to see the unhappy differences which embroiled the several nations in a war with their brethren (the English) were now so near a happy conclusion, and that peace was established in their country.
>
> The Twightwee village is situated on both sides of a river called St. Joseph. This river where it falls into the Miame [Maumee] River, about a quarter of a mile from this place, is one hundred yards wide, on the east side of which stands a stockade fort, somewhat ruinous. The Aborigine village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses—a runaway colony from Detroit during the late Aborigine [Pontiac] war. They were concerned in it, and being afraid of punishment, they came to this post where ever since they have spirited up the Aborigines against the English. All the French residing here are a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and spiriting up the Aborigines against the English, and should by no means be suffered to remain here. The country is pleasant, the soil rich and well watered.
>
> After several conferences with these Aborigines, and their delivering me up all the English prisoners they had, on the 25th July [6th August ?] we set off for Detroit down the Miamee [Maumee] River in canoes, having settled everything with these several Nations to the Westward, & was accompanied by several chiefs of those Nations which were going to Detroit to meet Colonel Bradstreet agreeable to his invitation to them last winter by Mr. Maisonville. As I passed by the Twightwee [Miami] and the Ottawa villages on the Miamis [Maumee] River, they delivered me all the English prisoners they had & I found as I passed by those towns that several of the Aborigines had set off for Detroit.*
>
> This river [the St. Mary] is not navigable till you come to the place where the St. Joseph joins it and makes a considerably large stream. Nevertheless we found a great deal of difficulty in getting our canoes over shoals, as the water at this season was very low. The banks of the river are high, and the country overgrown with lofty timber of various kinds ; and the land is level and the woods clear.
>
> About ninety miles from the Miamis of Twightwee [head of the Maumee] we came to where the large river [the Auglaize] that heads in a lick, falls [meets, debouches] into the Miami [Maumee] river. This they call the forks, The Ottawas claim this country, and hunt here where game is very plenty. From hence we proceded to the Ottawa village [site of the present Providence, Lucas County]. This nation formerly lived at Detroit, but is now settled here on account of the richness of the country, where game is always found to be plenty. Here we were obliged to get out of our canoes and drag them [occasionally] eighteen miles on account of the the rifts which interrupted navigation. At the end of these rifts we came to a village of the Wyandots who received us very kindly, and thence we proceeded to the mouth of the river where it falls [debouches ; there are neither falls nor rapids] into Lake Erie. From the Miamis [villages near the head of the Maumee] to the Lake it is computed one hundred and eighty miles [the distance is nearer

---

*London Doc. XXXVIII, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume vii, pages 779, 781. *Annals of the West*, pages 184-85, and Butler's *History of Kentucky*.

one hundred and sixty miles], and from the entrance of the river into the Lake to Detroit is sixty miles—that is forty-two miles up the Lake and eighteen miles up the Detroit River to the garrison [Fort] of that name.

On the 17th [August] in the morning we arrived at the Fort, which is a large stockade inclosing about eighty houses. It stands on the west side of the river on a high bank, commands a very pleasant prospect for nine miles above and nine miles below. The country is thickly settled with French. Their plantations are generally laid out about three or four acres in breadth on the river and eighty acres in depth. The soil is good, producing plenty of grain. All the people here are generally poor wretches, and consist of three or four hundred French families, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for subsistence. Though the land with little labor produces plenty of grain, they scarcely raise as much as will supply their wants, in imitation of the Aborigines whose manners and customs they have entirely adopted and cannot subsist without them.

Colonel Croghan and Colonel Campbell commandant of Fort Detroit, held repeated councils with the Aborigines there assembled, embracing those of the Miamis, Ottowas, Ouiotenons, Piankishaws, Pottawotomis, Kickapoos, 'Musquatomis' Chippewas, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees and Wyandots. And thus was cleared the way for the complete British occupation of the Maumee, Wabash and Illinois counties. Colonel Croghan so reported to Fort Pitt and a company of the 42nd Regiment of Highlanders under Captain Thomas Stirling proceeded thence down the Ohio River to, and 10th October, 1765, received welcome possession of, Fort Chartres from commandant St. Ange. These were the first British troops to enter the Illinois country. Major Arthur Loftus early in 1764, with four hundred regulars, ascended the Mississippi from New Orleans about four hundred miles when six of his men were killed and six wounded by Aborigines in ambush, whereupon he returned to Pensacola.*

Pontiac and other chiefs visited Sir William Johnson July 24, 1766, at Ontario, New York, according to invitation and promise given at Detroit the preceding year. They were laden with presents and returned to the Maumee apparently satisfied.

---

* *Narrative and Critical History of America*, volume vi, page 705. For account of George Croghan's journals, see *Ibid.* page 704; Hildreth's *Pioneer History; New York Colonial Documents;* Butler's *History of Kentucky*, etc.

THE CALUMET SACRED PIPE OF PEACE

CHAPTER V.

.Hostilities of British and Aborigines—Revolutionary War.
1766 to 1783.

The Aborigines had become convinced that no more reliance could be placed on the French, and that their wants would be best supplied by their becoming, and remaining, friendly to the British; and the British, through the Secretary of State the Earl of Halifax, the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and of Sir William Johnson of Johnstown, New York, the able Superintendent of Aborigine affairs for the Northern District of America, had broadly planned for the control of the Aborigines.* These plans and their firm application to the binding of the Aborigines to the dictation of the British, were destined to cost the American Colonists many hundreds of additional lives and an untold amount of suffering and treasure during their many years of struggle for independence from the other unjust impositions of the mother country.

Previous to this time the Colonies had lost thirty thousand of their citizens, and incurred an expense of sixteen million dollars in their efforts for protection against the French and their Aborigine allies. Of this sum the British parliament had re-imbursed them about one-third. A large indebtedness had accumulated, and the rates of taxation had become very burdensome. The British debt had increased during the French wars about one hundred and forty million pounds sterling. Parliament attempted to tax the struggling Colonists to help pay the home indebtedness. Attempts were also made to restrict the liberty of the Colonists in different ways which led to various expressions by them of disapproval. John Adams declared that American Independence was born at the time of the action and expressions of James Otis against the Writs of Assistance, in Boston as early as February, 1761.

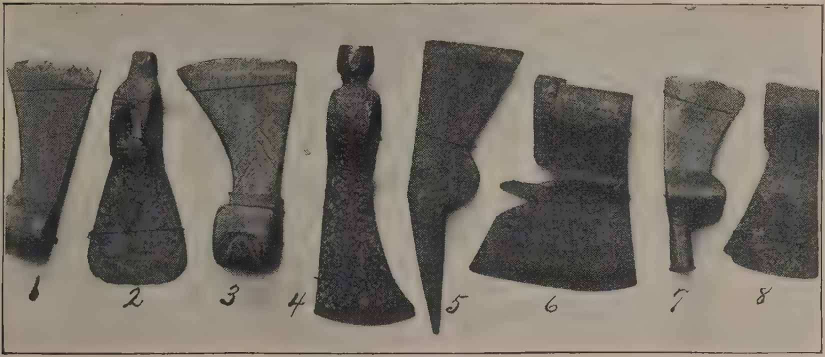
Following the Stamp Act Riots in New York, Sir William Johnson wrote to the Lords of Trade under date of 31st January 1766, that "The Disorders occasioned by our Riotous People here, it is not my business to enlarge upon, the Aborigines have heard of it, & desired to know the cause. I have given them an answer with the utmost caution, well knowing their Dispositions, & that they might incline to Interest themselves in the affair, or fall upon the Inhabitants in revenge for old frauds which they cannot easily forget." . . It yet required constant attention and no little diplomacy of Sir William, the Superintendent, to keep the restless spirit of the Aborigines constant to the British.* The French settlers in the Illinois Country again became aggressive in trade, and in sending belts and sentiments inimical to the British, to the different tribes.

---

* The Plan for the Future Management of Aborigine Affairs is given in full, in forty-three sections, in London Document XXXVII, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume vii, pages 637 to 641; also Sir William Johnson's recommendations for the modification of the same, on pages 661 to 666. These plans were prepared from much experience and consideration. They show but the beginnings and fairer outlines of the methods by which, with ever-increasing savagery, the British obtained, and maintained, their wonderful hold upon the savages within American borders until after the War of 1812.

The desire for lands also increased among the Colonists. The Superintendent wrote to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, London, with date 16th December, 1766, that

> The thirst after the lands of the Aborigines, is become almost universal, the people, who generally want them are either ignorant of or remote from the consequences of disobliging the Aborigines, many make a traffic of lands, and few or none will be at any pains or expence to get them settled, consequently they cannot be loosers by an Aborigine War, and should a Tribe be driven to despair, and abandon their country, they have their desire tho' at the expence of the lives of such ignorant [innocent] settlers as may be upon it. : . The majority of those who get lands, being persons of consequence [British] in the Capitals who can let them lye dead as a sure Estate hereafter, and are totally ignorant of the Aborigines, make use of some of the lowest and most selfish of the Country Inhabitants to seduce the Aborigines to their houses, where they are kept rioting in drunkenness till they have effected their bad purposes. . .



METAL TOMAHAWKS

Early traded to the Aborigines for peltry by the French and British. They were lost by the Aborigines, and many years afterward were found by American farmers. No. 1 was found in Allen county, Ohio; 2, 3 and 6 at Fort Wayne; No. 2 is a hoe, 'squaw-ax' or adz, a useful implement and dangerous weapon—the sharp pike of its head was coiled backward in later years; No. 3, is tempered copper. No. 4, found in Williams County, Ohio, has a pipebowl as head, the stem of the pipe passing along the handle. No. 5 was found in Paulding county, and Nos. 7 and 8, to the south and southwest. Part of the Author's collection.

Fraud was also practiced upon the Aborigines by certain British traders. The latter part of 1766 one of them was convicted before a court of inquiry of officers at Detroit, to which post this Basin was tributary, of being one-fifth short in his weights of powder and lead. And a more serious charge was brought, viz: 'Yet such is the conduct of several English and the greater part of the French, that they are endeavoring all in their power to make the Aborigines Quarrel' . . .

---

* Sir William Johnson remained considerate to the Colonists to the time of his death which occurred 11th July, 1774; and he was, also, a firm friend to the Aborigines.

This was in January, 1767; and in this communication to the Lords of Trade, a 'Post or Mart' was suggested for the Maumee River, also one by the Wabash, whereas three years before he thought the post at Detroit sufficient for this territory. In his report to the Secretary of State London in September, 1767, the Superintendent, Sir William Johnson, reported among other matters that . .

> Sandousky which has not been re-established [since its capture by Pontiacs savages] is not a place of much consequence of Trade, it is chiefly a post at which several Pennsylvania Traders embarked for Detroit. St. Joseph's [near Lake Michigan] and the Miamis [at the head of the Maumee River] have neither of them been yet re-established, the former is of less consequence for Trade than the latter which is a place of some importance. . . At the Miamis there may be always a sufficiency of provisions from its vicinity to Lake Erie, and its easiness of access by the River of that name at the proper season, to protect which the Fort there can at a small expence be rendered tenable agst any Coup du mains. . . this would greatly contribute to overcome the present excuse which draws the traders to rove at will and thereby exposes us to the utmost danger.* . .

Sir William Johnson again suggested December 3, 1767, that religious missionaries 'would have happy effects.' The question of supplying the Aborigines with missionaries had been suggested at different times, but no appropriation for this purpose was made further than for those formerly sent among the Six Nations to neutralize the influence favorable to France exerted by the French Jesuits.

The question of a boundary line to the Aborigine domain, beyond which European settlers for agriculture should not go, had been occasionally talked about, and from 1765 was mentioned by the Superintendent of such affairs as the Ohio River from Kittanning to near its mouth for this western region. This was practically in consonance with the former influence of the French who desired to shut out the British from Ohio; and this boundary question, although never definitely agreed upon by the British in their dealings with the savages, was made much of by them later to incite and to keep alive the savage antipathy of the Aborigines to the Colonists from the beginning of the Revolutionary War even down to the close of the War of 1812.

Early in 1768 the French to the southwest joined their brethren of New Orleans in revolt against the Spanish authority and formed a government of their own, which endured but a year or two; and this revival of the French national spirit at St. Louis and the Illinois country, at-

---

*London Document XL *New York Colonial Documents* volume vii, pages 974, 975. Over twenty volumes of the Sir William Johnson MSS. are in the New York State Library, Albany.

tracted the French and Aborigines of this Basin again to the detriment of the British. In June, 1769, this stir became sufficient to cause alarm, and the strengthening of the fortification at Detroit. Also the 14th August, 1770, Sir William Johnson wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State that

> The Aborigines of Ohio and the southwest are at present in a state of uncertainty as to what course they shall take. . . I have taken measures to be informed as early as possible with the proceedings & issues of the Congress which they are about this time to hold at the great plains of Sioto near the Ohio, where some are endeavouring to form Confederacys for very bad purposes, secretly countenanced and supported by French Traders, Renegadoes and all those Aborigines who have not hitherto been heartily attached to the English, but with wonderfull art have for a time past endeavoured to shake the fidelity of the Six Nations, thro the means of some of the Seneca Towns who are most dissatisfied with our conduct.* . . .

In further illustration of the state of affairs on the eve of the Revolutionary War, and of the very great power the Aborigine allies of the British exerted against the Colonists when fully marshalled for the work, the following excerpts are made from Sir William Johnson's letter to the Secretary of State 18th February, 1771, viz:

> The apprehensions which I long since communicated of an Union between the Northern & Southern Aborigines and which your Lordship makes particular mention of in Your letter No. 14 is really a matter of the most serious nature, for if a verry small part of these people have been capable of reducing us to such straits as we were in a few years since, what may we not expect from such a formidable alliance as we are threatened with, when at the same time it is well known that we are not at this time more capable of Defence, if so much, as at the former period. This is in some measure the consequence of their becoming better acquainted with their own strength and united capacity to preserve their importance & check our advances into their country.† . . .

Nothing seriously inimical to British interests, however, was consummated by the Aborigines at their large meeting at Scioto, nor resulted from the proposed alliance here mentioned. The frequent councils held with Sir William Johnson by the Six Nations during this and succeeding years, and the emissaries from these tribes in British employ, together with British deputies, kept the western tribes from actively warring against the British. Alexander M'Kee, who in later years exerted a cruel influence against Americans in this Basin and southward, was a Deputy Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs, and 'Resident on the Ohio' 8th March, 1774. At first he was active to keep peace between the Aborigines and the settlers; but after the commencement of the Revolutionary War he was as active in inciting the savages against the Americans. June 20, 1774, Sir William Johnson wrote to the Secretary of State, that

---

* London Document XLII, *New York Colonial Documents*, volume viii, page 227.

† The British dreaded the confederation of the savages against them by the French; but, early recognizing them as the best of allies for themselves, they used their best endeavors to federate them against the Americans, with much success in later years.

> For more than ten years past, the most dissolute fellows united with debtors, and persons of wandering disposition, have been removing from Pensilvania & Virginia &ca into the Aborigine Country, towards & on the Ohio, & a considerable number of settlemts were made as early as 1765 when my Deputy [George Croghan] was sent to the Illinois from whence he gave me a particular account of the uneasiness occasioned amongst the Aborigines. Many of these emigrants are idle fellows that are too lazy to cultivate lands, & invited by the plenty of game they found, have employed themselves in hunting, in which they interfere much more with the Aborigines than if they pursued agriculture alone, and the Aborigine hunters (who are composed of all the Warriors in each nation) already begin to feel the scarcity this has occasioned, which greatly increases their resentment. . .

The Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State, did not approve of this westward migration, and July 6th he wrote to the Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs as follows:

> I received a few days ago from Lord Dunmore [Governor of Virginia] that some persons, Inhabitants of Virginia, have purchased of the Illinois Aborigines a very large tract of land extending thirty leagues up the River, and I wish that this Transaction had met with such Discouragement from that Government as the nature of it deserved. There are many reasons urged by Lord Dunmore in favor of this measure, but they have no weight with me, and as I shall continue of opinion that such a proceeding cannot fail of being attended with the most dangerous and alarming consequences. . .

Loyal British subjects, however, were not to suffer such dire consequences as was feared by the Secretary. Such suffering was to come to pioneer Americans who sought homes in the West, and joined their countrymen in the East against unjust impositions of the mother country. Early in 1774 the Ohio Aborigines renewed their murderous raids upon the Virginia frontier. The settlers retaliated and, without full opportunity or desire for discrimination, they took the lives of some noncombatants. Some friends of the Seneca Chief Logan, of the Mingo band, were among this number and he thereupon entered upon a course of revenge with dire effect, particularly upon the innocent. Governor John Murray Earl of Dunmore was urged by his people to raise an army to suppress the savages.* Accordingly, late in the summer, he marched against them with an army of about three thousand men, starting in three divisions. Two of these soon came together to form the left under General Andrew Lewis; and this division was attacked at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River 10th October by one thousand to twelve hundred savages of the Western Confederacy led by the noted Shawnee Chief Cornstalk. In the fierce battle that ensued the Virginians lost fifty-two privates and half their commissoned officers killed, and one hundred and forty odd were wounded, while the Aborigine loss was probably about one hundred and thirty in both killed and wounded; but one writer at least gives the number as a full hundred more.

---

*See *American Archives IV*, volume i; Brantz Mayer's *Logan and Cresap; Magazine of American History*, volume i; and Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, volume i, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

This division proceeded to the Shawnee towns by the Scioto River, according to the orders of Governor Dunmore who was there in command of the right division, and who there arranged terms of peace with the savages.* These terms, however, were not to benefit the Americans, even of this army for long, as during the march homeward meetings of the subordinate officers, and of the privates, were held and resolutions were passed declaring that they would no longer submit to British domination.

The Revolutionary War.

Sir William Johnson died 11th July, 1774; and his chief deputy, and son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, immediately succeeded to the British office of Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs. He immediately adopted measures to assure the different tribes of Aborigines that there would not be any change in the relation of the British Government toward them. But the rapidly changing events, culminating in the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, made it necessary for him to flee from his country seat near Johnstown, New York, to Canada in May, 1775, where, in Montreal, he yet endeavored to preserve the friendship of the savages for the British. He went to London, was confirmed in the superintendency, and came to New York City where he co-operated with General William Howe. His last effective work in this office was done with the Six Nations at Niagara. He was succeeded 23rd March, 1782, by Sir John Johnson, son of the late Sir William. Meantime the active work with and by the western Aborigines was directed by the western military posts, Detroit being the principal one.

Under the French régime, and until after the Revolutionary War under the British, the commandant of the military post at Detroit, to which this Basin was subject, exercised the functions of both a civil and a military officer with absolute power. The 22nd June, 1774, under the Quebec Act† (which was so obnoxious to the Colonists as to be cited in the Declaration of Independence) a civil government was first provided for the territory which centered at or was subject to Fort Detroit — including all the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River at least. This Act vested the legislative power in the Governor, then Sir Guy Carleton who was afterward Lord Dorchester, in the Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief, and in a Council of not less than seventeen nor more than twenty-three persons to be appointed by the King. The criminal law of England was presumed to be the guide; but, generally, the law was but the will of the commandant, or of the

---

*For a description of these combatants, and of this most severe combat, see *The Winning of the West* by Theodore Roosevelt, volume i Chapter ix, based on the *American Archives*, 4th series volume i, and Whittlesey's *Fugitive Essays*.

† For copy of the Quebec Act see the *American Archives*, Fourth Series volume i, page 216.

notary or justice of the peace of his appointing. This was more particularly the case as the lines of war became more rigidly established. Governor Carleton proclaimed martial law June 9, 1775, and the cultivated savagery of the Aborigines was then systematically and forcefully directed against the American frontier settlements, the murdering parties being generally led by British officers.

The notorious tory Doctor John Connelly, who had been for about three years in collusion with Earl Dunmore against Pennsylvania and against the patriots generally, in July, 1777, endeavored to enlist volunteers among Americans in the western country to operate with the savages against loyal Americans. They were to be supplied with munitions from Detroit. Congress became apprised of such movements and instituted measures to prevent disaffection among the frontier people. Connelly was soon captured by the loyal Americans.

The Americans also desired the help of the Aborigines, or at least their neutrality. To obtain this result Congress appointed Judge James Wilson of Pennsylvania, General Lewis Morris of New York and Doctor Thomas Walker of Virginia, commissioners to treat with them. Arthur St. Clair, afterwards first Governor of the Northwest Territory, was their secretary; and he enlisted nearly five hundred volunteers to march against Detroit if the neutrality of the Aborigines could be secured. This neutrality could not be obtained, and the suggested march, like many other projects of these times, was not entered upon; nor did the efforts of the commissioners to the Aborigines result in much favor to the Americans.

The office of Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs was created by the British for Detroit, the Maumee region, Vincennes and Michilimackinac. Captain, afterwards Colonel, Henry Hamilton of the 15th Regiment of British troops, was appointed to this office for Detroit where he arrived 9th November, 1775; and he was deferred to regarding the other posts. He proved tactful, cruel and remorseless. It appears that the British had been preparing the Aborigines for war against the Americans on the former French plan against the British, previous to this date, and that councils had been held with different tribes at Detroit for this purpose. War belts of wampum were sent to every tribe with invitations to visit Detroit. There councils and feastings were repeatedly held in which rum flowed freely with every incitement calculated to inflame the savages against the Americans "who were endeavoring to crowd them from their lands, and now had rebelled against the good King, their father, who was distributing so many presents and kindnesses to his Aborigine children."

Early in September, 1776, Hamilton wrote to Lord George Germain "that the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandottes and Pottawatomies, with the Senecas would fall on the scattered settlers on the Ohio and its branches . . . whose arrogance, disloyalty and imprudence has justly drawn upon them this deplorable sort of war."*. . . Governor Carleton, who was a good disciplinarian and prompt to obey the orders of his superior officer, enjoined Hamilton 6th October, 1776, 'to keep the Aborigines in readiness to join me in the Spring, or march elsewhere as they may be most wanted.'† War parties of savages were thoroughly equipped and, commanded by British officers‡ were sent out from Detroit, first to the eastward and later to the south and southwest also, wherever they could find the most defenseless American settlements in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, to murder and plunder.

THE SAVAGE AND HIS VICTIM
(From Schoolcraft)

Fort Henry, at the site of the present Wheeling, was attacked by one of these parties which, though finally driven away, inflicted loss of life upon the small garrison. Harrodsburg, Kentucky, was assailed 15th March, 1777, but its brave and efficient defenders repulsed the savages, who met like successful opposition at Boonsboro 15th April and again 4th July. Four were wounded including Captain Boon. Logan's Station was also attacked and one man killed and two others mortally wounded while guarding women who were milking the cows outside the stockade.

---

* Secretary Germain had complained of Governor Carleton for hesitating to employ the savages against the Americans toward whom Germain was very vindictive; and he reproved every commander who showed signs of mercy in his conduct of this business. He found in Hamilton a ready agent in carrying out his cruel schemes — *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History* volume iv, page 64. Some writers date Hamilton's communication one year later than the above.

† Haldimand Papers. The Papers relating to the Revolutionary War preserved by General Sir Frederick Haldimand, of most interest to the histórian, number one hundred and sixty-four volumes. In 1857 they were presented to the British Museum Library by his nephew William Haldiman. They have been copied largely for the Parliament or Dominion Library at Ottawa, Canada. Other papers of great interest to the student of history may also be there found.

‡ The term British is applied by the writer to all those persons engaged in the interests of the British Government, whether English, Scotch, Irish, French or American born.

Governor Hamilton reported to Secretary Germain under date 27th July, 1777, that he had sent out fifteen war parties composed of two hundred and eighty-nine savage warriors with thirty British officers and rangers. The 26th September, Hamilton was given full control of this western country, he having passed the probationary period in his worse than barbarous work satisfactorily to the British Government. He reported to Governor Carleton 15th January, 1778, that "The parties sent from hence have been generally successful, though the Aborigines have lost men enough to sharpen their resentment; they have brought in 23 prisoners [Americans] alive, twenty of which they presented to me, and 129 scalps."*. . .

Daniel Boon, pioneer of Kentucky, with twenty-six companions were captured February 7, 1778. While making salt at the Blue Licks they were quietly surrounded by eighty or ninety Miamis of the Maumee led by two Frenchmen named Baubin and Lorimer. With his usual discretion Boon decided it best to surrender on condition of being well treated. They were taken to Chillicothe and then to Detroit where Hamilton offered the Aborigines one hundred pounds for Boon. They refused to sell him for this price. The 10th April they took him into Ohio where he further ingratiated himself in their favor, and they adopted him into the tribe. At Chillicothe in June he saw a war party on its way against Boonsboro, and he escaped thither. He made the journey of one hundred and sixty miles in four days, with not to exceed one meal of food on the way. He was tried by court-martial for surrendering at Blue Licks, was acquitted, and promoted to the rank of major.

August 8, 1778, between three and four hundred Shawnees and Miamis, led by their chiefs, Captain Daigniau de Quindre (written Duquesne by Major Boon) and eleven other Frenchmen, appeared before the stockade at Boonsboro with both the British and French flags, and demanded surrender in the name of his Britannic Majesty, George III. Upon request Major Boon was granted two days in which to decide, and he lost no opportunity meantime to gather the live stock and other necessaries within the palisades. There was further parleying, with dangerous deception on the part of the enemy, followed by the besieging of the place for nine days. The casualties to the Kentuck-

---

History of Detroit and Michigan, by Silas Farmer, volume i, 1889; From Michigan *Historical Collections.*

ians were two killed and four wounded; and the enemy suffered but little more.* August 20th the enemy withdrew, and Boonsboro was not again seriously attacked during the war. The marauding parties sent against the frontier settlements were usually much smaller than the one last mentioned. August 25th, fifteen Miamis were started; September 5th, thirty-one Miamis; September 9th, one Frenchman, five Chippewas, and fifteen Miamis, are the statements of a few of the individual reports. Hamilton reported 16th September that his parties "had taken thirty-four prisoners, 17 of which they delivered up, and eighty-one scalps." † . .

Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, at different times commandant of Detroit, reported a form of presentation to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton on return of the savages who had been sent on marauding expeditions, as follows: "Presenting sixteen scalps, one of the Delaware chiefs said, Listen to your children, the Delawares who are come in to see you at a time they have nothing to apprehend from the enemy, and to present you some dried meat, as we could not have the face to appear before our father empty." ‡

All scalps were paid for; and at the starting out of the savages for their raids, the governor, and sometimes the commandant, encouraged them by singing the war song, by the gift of some weapon, and by passing their weapons through his own hands, thus 'taking hold of the same tomahawk' to show full sympathy with them in their murderous work. On their return to Detroit they were sometimes welcomed by firing the fort's cannon. Hamilton was also charged with having standing prices for American scalps, but generally none for prisoners, thus inducing the savages to at once kill all weak or resisting prisoners reserving such as could carry the plunder for them to Detroit where it would be determined what disposition could best be made of them. These war parties went out, and returned, through this Basin; and many of them were recruited from this region.

It was at these trying times that Captain Alexander M'Kee, a native of Pennsylvania, his two negro servants, with Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty and a few others, deserted Pittsburg 28th March, 1778,

---

*See *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt, volume ii, page 20 *et seq.*

†The late Samuel Prescott Hildreth, M. D., communicated to *The American Pioneer* of July, 1842, volume i, pages 291, 292, the confession in the year 1798 of the noted savage 'Silver Heels' that he had taken the scalps of sixteen white people, among the number being Abel Sherman who resided near where he boasted of taking the scalp in large size, of dividing it carefully, and selling the parts as two scalps in Detroit for fifty dollars each.

Possibly many of the scalps and prisoners referred to above by Hamilton, were taken at the Massacre of Wyoming, Pennsylvania, as many of the savages who participated in that crime went from this western region, led by Captain Henry Bird of the 8th British Regiment.

‡ The enquiring reader can learn more of this horrible story by referring to General Lewis Cass' communication to the *North American Review*, and to Rev. David Zeisberger's *Diary*, volume i, page 37. Also to the Haldimand Papers, *passim*, and Farmer's *History of Detroit*.

and the Americans who had trusted them, and made their way to Detroit where they joined the British. Soon thereafter through their influence over twenty other persons deserted for Detroit. In Pittsburg, where the efficient number of patriots was small and the dangers great, these desertions caused alarm and anxiety. These traitors stopped with the Delaware Aborigines (Moravians) by the Tuscarawas River, a tributary of the Muskingum, and influenced them against the Americans. The reports carried to Detroit led to communications with these Aborigines by the British, which in turn led the Americans to the belief that they were in accord with the British. This belief, with the large number of Delawares known to be with the war parties, caused the sad massacre of a part of the Moravian band by Pennsylvanians, reference to which will be again made.

THE SCALP DANCE OF THE SAVAGES
(From Catlin)

M'Kee, Elliott and Girty were received at Detroit with great joy by Governor Hamilton* a man of their own type. M'Kee was commissioned Captain and interpreter in the British Aborigine Department and, later, was advanced to Colonel and to Commissary and Department Aborigine Agent. Simon Girty was retained as interpreter and sent to the Senecas (Mingoes) with whom he was to live, keep them friendly to the British, and to accompany them on their raids against the Americans. James and George Girty also deserted to Detroit, the former arriving there 15th August, 1778, and the latter 8th August, 1779.†

---

* Hamilton's letter of April 25, 1778, with Haldimand Papers.

†There were four brothers in this Girty, or Gerty, family. The father, Simon, was killed in 1751 while in a drunken bout with the Aborigines. He was Irish, and his wife was English. The names of

The resources of the Americans were fully employed for their protection against the British and their Aborigine allies in the East; but it was apparent that something more should be done to prevent or counteract the activities of these enemies from the West. Early in the spring of 1778 Virginia, or rather Governor Patrick Henry, for the purpose of drawing the enemy away from her borders and from Kentucky, gave the energetic Major George Rogers Clark (who had been aiding in the protection of Kentucky) authority to gather four companies of soldiers to make his bravely planned expedition for the capture of the British forts in the Illinois country. With great difficulty about one hundred and fifty men were gathered. They boated down the Ohio River to the Falls, and thence to Fort Massac whence they went overland. In the evening of July Fourth they surprised and captured without bloodshed the British post at Kaskaskia, and on the 8th the post and depository at Cahokia about sixty miles up the Mississippi River were captured in like manner; and the French soldiers and settlers of these places took the oath of allegiance to the United States with joy upon being informed by Major Clark of the recent alliance of France with the United States. Information of this alliance and of these surrenders was communicated to the French at Vincennes and they, being desirous of an opportunity to antagonize the British, conspired against them, and one night in August they expelled the British sentiment from the garrison and hoisted the American flag over the fort. Colonel Clark, Colonel by

---

their children were: 1. Thomas, born in 1739 by the Susquehanna River, Pennsylvania. He resided at Pittsburg loyal to the United States. 2. Simon, born in 1741 just above Harrisburg. He was appointed as interpreter for the Six Nations at Pittsburg 1st May, 1776, but was discharged 1st August 'for ill behavior.' The Patriots appointed him 2nd Lieutenant in 1777. There will be occasional reference on the following pages to his evil conduct while with the British. He died near Amherstburg, Canada, 18th February, 1818, after a savage course toward his countrymen, and several years blindness. 3. James, born in 1743, was of good stature, and not so much addicted to intoxication as Simon and George. He married a Shawnee and became a trader with the Aborigines in after years with posts at different times at St. Marys, Ohio; near the head of the Maumee, at Defiance; and on the left bank of the Maumee opposite Girty Island which took its name from him. He died 15th April, 1817, in Canada. 4. George Girty, born in 1745. He married a Delaware woman who bore him several children. He died while intoxicated at the trading post of his brother James at the Shawnee village by the Maumee two or three miles below Fort Wayne just before the War of 1812. His family remained with the Delawares.—Butterfield.

These three notorious brothers were captured by the Aborigines in August, 1756. Simon was taken by the Senecas, James by the Shawnees, and George by the Delawares. In 1759 they were all returned to their friends at Pittsburg. After their desertion to the British in 1778-79 they, with M'Kee, Elliott, and other deserters, were attainted of high treason by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The Girtys and Elliott went into the employ of the British on pay of two dollars a day, with one and a half rations, and were given one gun each, and three horses for riding and packing. The savage deeds of the Girtys, even those of Simon which were the worst, have been excused on account of their three years captivity with the savages in early life. Such excuse is not just to civilization. It is true, also, that all their early life was passed in the midst of alarms and bloodshed; but so was that of all the frontier children, some of whom suffered longer captivity, and nearly all of whom became patriots and conformed to the rules of legal warfare and were, later, exemplary citizens. The Girty brothers were incited to, and given opportunity for their horrible work by Governor Henry Hamilton's precepts, examples, and employment of them for such work. Such men were sought by the officers and agents of the British government to lead the savages, and the British thus became a party to and responsible for their acts.

recent promotion, having thus gained control of all of the British posts in the southwest, gave his attention to allaying the savagery of the Aborigines toward the Americans, and with good success in the Illinois country.

In October, 1778, the Legislature of Virginia, acting under the Colonial Charters of King James I, April 10, 1606, May 23, 1609, and March 12, 1611, organized the Northwestern Territory, or as much of it as could be controlled by Colonel Clark, into the County of Illinois* and appointed Colonel John Todd, junior, County Lieutenant or Military Commandant. The 15th June, 1779, this officer issued a proclamation from Kaskaskia regarding lands, those occupied by the French and others, and this same month a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction was instituted at Vincennes with Colonel J. M. Legras president.†

Colonel Clark's successes gave great joy in Virginia and throughout the East, and naturally the account of them was received at Detroit with alarm; they even frustrated Hamilton's projected attack on Fort Pitt early in 1778. The building by the Americans this year of Fort McIntosh by the upper Ohio, and Fort Laurens by the upper Tuscarawas, caused yet further apprehension among the British. They strengthened Fort Detroit; and Governor General Frederick Haldimand listened with more attention to the complaints of residents of Detroit against Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and his appointe Justice of the Peace, Philip Dejean, and they were indicted at Montreal 7th September, 1778, for "divers unjust and illegal, Terranical and felonious acts and things contrary to good Government and the safety of His Majesty's Liege subjects." These presentments were sent to Secretary Germain at London endorsed with the excuse that the condition of affairs justified stringent measures on the part of Hamilton.‡

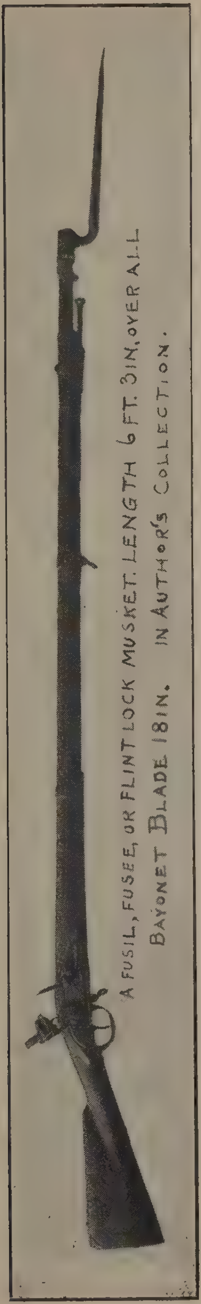
Governor Hamilton's continuance in office showed entire confidence and sympathy of the British Government in and with the savage work he was doing. To recover lost ground, and to continue in the favor of his Government, Hamilton renewed his efforts with the savages by messengers to the tribes, and to the commandants of the remaining British posts, along the western lakes, requesting them to

---

* This Territory was before nominally included in the County of Botetourt, Virginia, established by the House of Burgesses in 1769. Like the average early county, Botetourt has been divided to form new counties from time to time until the remaining part in Virginia is now only of ordinary size.

† See Virginia *Statutes at Large*, volume ix, page 557. Theodore Roosevelt writes, in his *Winning of the West*, that Colonel Todd's MS. 'Record Book' in the Library of Colonel Durrett of Louisville is the best authority for these years in the new County of Illinois. The material part of this record is embraced in Edward G. Mason's *Illinois in the 18th Century*. This also gives account of the financial troubles after the departure of General Clark's troops.

‡ Haldimand Papers. Also *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*.


A FUSIL, FUSEE, OR FLINT LOCK MUSKET. LENGTH 6 FT. 3 IN, OVER ALL.
BAYONET BLADE 18 IN. IN AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

This gun was carried in the Revolutionary War. General Wayne's army in 1794, and General Harrison's army in the War of 1812, mostly used this style of gun. The Aborigines seldom used a bayonet on their guns.

incite the Lake Aborigines against Colonel Clark and the American settlements in the southwest. Hamilton wrote to Governor Haldimand the 17th September that "next year there will be the greatest number of savages on the frontier that has ever been known, as the Six Nations [Iroquois of New York] have sent belts around to encourage those allies who have made a general alliance."

The turn in affairs was becoming so evident against the British that Colonel Hamilton decided to proceed to Vincennes against Colonel Clark, in person. The thought of getting away from Detroit for a time must have been a relief to him — and he was sure of success, for he wrote to Governor Haldimand "that the British were sure to succeed if they acted promptly, for the Aborigines were favorable to them, knowing they alone could give them supplies. . . The Spaniards [along the Mississippi River] are feeble and hated by the French; the French are fickle and have no man of capacity to advise or lead them; and the Rebels [Americans] are enterprising and brave, but want resources"—a just estimate.

After great preparations Hamilton's command left Detroit the 7th October, 1778, with fifteen large bateaux and numerous pirogues, each with carrying capacity of from 1800 to 3000 pounds; the largest ones being laden with food, clothing, tents, ammunition, and the inevitable rum and other presents for the savages. His force at the outset of his expedition consisted of one hundred and seventy-seven white soldiers as follows: Thirty-six British regulars with two lieutenants; seventy-nine Detroit militia under a major and two captains; forty-five volunteers, mostly Frenchmen, under Captain Lamothe; and seventeen members of the Aborigine Department including three captains and four lieutenants who led the sixty Aborigines that started with them from Detroit as well as the Miamis and others gathered to them along the Maumee and Wabash — the whole number accreting to about five hundred upon arrival at Vincennes. Oxen, carts and a six-pounder cannon were sent along on shore with the beef cattle, all to stop at the portages to aid in carrying the supplies and boats to the next river. Those in the boats had snow, a high wind and rough water to deal with across Lake Erie, and were nearly upset by the waves before they could be landed 'on an oozy flat close to the mouth of the Maumee.' The Maumee was at a low stage of water, and about sixteen days were required to take the boats from its mouth to its head (see chapter on the Maumee River). Most of the supplies were left under guard at the head of the Maumee during the winter. Here the savages, the Miamis principally, had remained friendly to the British, as had the Eel River and Wea bands of this tribe, and the warriors that were assembled readily fell in line for the march after the regular council, feasting and present giving were completed. The 16th December the advance of Hamilton's army appeared before the fort at Vincennes, and demanded its surrender. Captain Leonard Helm was in command and, notwithstanding the fact that his French militia garrison had deserted him to run to the British on their approach* leaving him with only one American, Moses Henry, the Captain refused to surrender the fort, and did not until the next day when Governor Hamilton, who had learned by the deserting French of his loneliness, came up with the army and promised him that he would be well treated.

The 7th February, 1779, Colonel Clark started from Kaskaskia through the floods for Vincennes and, after great hardships from the cold, from hunger, and the overflowed country, his command of one hundred and seventy men arrived at Vincennes the evening of the 23rd and invested Fort Sackville.† This strong fort, armed with cannon and swivels, was so thoroughly besieged by Clark's men who were armed only with rifles, that Hamilton surrendered it and its garrison the next afternoon, and the American flag was again, and permanently, hoisted.‡ Two days later twenty-seven of the prisoners of war, including Colonel Hamilton the other officers and regulars, were started under guard for Virginia where the officers were, after due trial, convicted of gross and most cruel atrocities enacted principally by their agents from Detroit under their incitements. These acts were so far outside the rules of warfare that in punishment . . "this Board has resolved that the Governor, the said Henry Hamilton, Philip Dejean, and William La Mothe [his officers and partners in savagery] prisoners of war, be put into irons, confined in the dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded all converse except with their keeper. And the Governor [Patrick Henry] orders accordingly."—*Virginia State Papers.*

---

* An officer of the French militia who had been commissioned by the British, and later by Colonel Clark (who carried blank commissions from Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia) was examined by Colonel Hamilton and both commissions were found in his pocket. Apparently it was of little importance to the French which of the contending parties came along—they could declare allegiance to either in a moment.

† Named in honor of the cruel British Colonial Secretary Lord George Germain. Viscount Sackville, a friend of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton whom Colonel Clark designated the Hair Buyer from his purchase of American scalps from his savage war-parties at Detroit.

‡ For description of Colonel George Rogers Clark's troops and their patriotic, energetic and successful work in the southwest, see *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt.

Hamilton was released on parole 10th October, 1780, and went to New York whence he sailed for England in March, 1781. The militia surrendered with Hamilton were paroled by Colonel Clark and they returned to Detroit, it being impracticable to maintain them at Vincennes, so far from the base of supplies.

A few days after the capture of Vincennes a detachment of fifty soldiers in boats with swivels, sent by Colonel Clark for this purpose, captured Colonel Hamilton's boats laden with $50,000 worth of supplies, and their British convoy, while on their way from winter quarters at the head of the Maumee, to and down the Wabash River for Hamilton's army.

Some savages, principally Shawnees, with headquarters at old Chillicothe on the east tributary of the Little Miami River, becoming particularly annoying to the frontier settlers, Colonel John Bowman County Lieutenant, with one hundred and sixty Kentuckians, cooperating with nearly as many others under Colonel Benjamin Logan, marched against them in May, 1779, destroyed their huts, captured about one hundred and sixty horses and other property, but were obliged to retire with a loss of eight or nine of their troops killed, without inflicting much other loss on the enemy. This expedition had a wholesome effect, however, for Captain Henry Bird had at this time marshalled a war party of two hundred savages who immediately deserted him upon learning of the Kentucky expedition.*

About this time Colonel Rogers and Captain Benham with a small command of Americans suffered defeat near the mouth of the Licking River, with a loss of forty-five or more of their men.†

The active series of murderous maraudings, instigated by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton at Detroit, lessened for a time after his departure for Vincennes; but after his capture by the Americans the

---

* Captain Bird's letter from 'Upper St. Duski' (Sandusky) June 9, 1779, to Captain Lernoult commandant of Fort Lernoult, Detroit—Canadian Archives.

†For account of this disaster, and a pathetic account of the resources of wounded woodsmen, see Marshall's and Butler's *History of Kentucky*, the *Annals of the West*, etc.

British redoubled their efforts in the West. Regular troops and militia were sent from Niagara to Detroit to strengthen Fort Lernoult, the new fort built there late in 1778 and early the following year, and named in honor of Captain Richard Beringer Lernoult the officer who drafted its plan and who succeeded to the command after the departure of Colonel Hamilton. The work of the savages in the spring of 1779 not proving satisfactory to the British, inquiries as to the cause were instituted. Governor Haldimand wrote to Captain Lernoult July 23rd, that "I observe with great concern the astonishing consumption of Rum at Detroit, amounting to 17,520 gallons per year." Such profuse flow of this intoxicant impaired the ability of the savages for constant activity. Only active persons were wanted; and the British organization and discipline pervaded every quarter. Governor William Tryon of New York wrote to Lord George Germain Secretary of State, London, under date of July 28, 1779, that . . . "My opinions remain unchangeable respecting the utility of depradatory excursions. I think Rebellion must soon totter if those exertions are reiterated and made to extremity." * . .

Captain Lernoult at Detroit did not prove himself equal to the demands of his more cruel superiors, and he was superseded in October by Major Arent Schuyler DePeyster, a New York tory of pronounced character. Efforts were renewed to establish war parties of savages. Some scalps were brought in, but the letters of the new commandant to Governor Haldimand under date of October 20, and November 20, show disgust at the great quantities of rum drank by the savages, and their inefficiency — they refusing to make further effective raids from fear of American retaliation.

The successes of the American troops in the West under Colonel Clark, and the placing of lands on the market, induced many families to remove west of the Allegheny Mountains in 1779. The winter began early and was of unusual severity from cold and depth of snow. Hunting was attended with great difficulties, and game, when found, was in poor condition. Many wild animals, as well as the domesticated ones, died from insufficient food and water, and from the cold. The bears, hibernating in hollow trees, were in the best condition and they were much sought. The wild turkeys and grouse were the next best game for food. The supply of corn (*Zea Mays*) which was the only breadstuff for most of the people, was early exhausted in many settlements, and great suffering was experienced particularly by those who came too late to raise a crop. With the opening of spring new settlers came in increased numbers. Three hundred large family boats arrived at the

---

*London Document XLVII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume viii, page 769.

Falls of the Ohio, near the present Louisville, with immigrants from the East during the spring of 1780.* It is but fair to ascribe their removal largely to the lauded fertility of the soil and the mild climate, while admitting that the desire to avoid conscription for the Revolutionary army was an additional incentive.

The citizens and garrison of Detroit had also suffered from the severity of the winter and the scarcity of food supplies. The savages relied almost wholly on that post for their supplies, and they were generally inactive during the cold weather. They were started out early in the spring, however, and Colonel DePeyster reported May 16, 1780, that . . "The prisoners daily brought in here are part of the thousand families who are flying from the oppression of Congress in order to add to the number already settled at Kentuck, the finest country for new settlers in America; but it happens, unfortunately for them, to be the best hunting ground of the Aborigines which they will never give up and, in fact, it is our interest not to let the Virginians, Marylanders, and Pennsylvanians get possession there, lest, in a short time, they become formidable to this post." . . . May 26th he wrote to Captain Patt. Sinclair, who succeeded him at Michillimackinac as nominal Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs, that . . "everything is quiet here [Detroit] except the constant noise of the war-drum. All the Seiginies [Saginaws?] are arrived at the instance of the Shawnees and Delawares. More Aborigines from all quarters than ever known before, and not a drop of rum!" . . He wrote to Governor Haldimand June 1st that he had already fitted out two thousand warriors and sent them along the Ohio and Wabash Rivers.

Great efforts, including an expenditure of near $300,000 had been made in the fitting out of a larger war-party than usual to wholly subdue the fast increasing numbers of Americans in southern Ohio and Kentucky. The first of June this party, composed of about six hundred savages and a number of Canadians led by Captain Henry Bird, started from Detroit. They were well equipped, including two (one writer says six) pieces of artillery, this being the first of such parties to take the heavier guns. They passed up the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers, their number being augmented by the savages along their route until, with a force of nearly one thousand men, they appeared June 22nd before Ruddell's Station on the south tributary of the Licking River in Kentucky. Captain Ruddell, having no heavy guns, decided to surrender on promise that the people gathered within the stockade should be prisoners of the Canadians alone; but the Aborigines made haste and at the first opportunity seized the men, women and children, many of

---

*Mann Butler's *History of Kentucky*, page 99.

whom they massacred and the others they carried into captivity. The Station was completely destroyed. Martin's Station was taken in the same way and its occupants suffered the same fate. Bryan's (or Bryant's) and Lexington Stations were assailed on this expedition only by savages without artillery, who were repulsed; but they took away some live-stock that was grazing without the stockades.

Possibly Captain Bird, and some other British companions of the Aborginies, endeavored to exercise some control over the Aborigines to prevent gross and indiscriminate butchery of captives. They well knew, however, before starting out with these 'war-parties' that the savages would have their way; that the savages permitted their company only for the help derived from them to further their savage desires; and, furthermore, that it was from their savage selfishness alone that they spared the life of any captive, hoping thereby to find a desirable helpmate, to have a keener enjoyment of savagery in the future torture, or more sensuous enjoyment from the rum to be purchased with the price of the ransom.

Colonel De Peyster wrote further, 6th July, 1780, that . . . "I am so hurried with warparties coming in from all quarters that I do not know which way to turn myself" . . . . The 4th August he reported to Colonel Bolton, his superior officer on the lakes that . . "I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Captain Bird arrived here this morning with about 150 prisoners, mostly Germans who speak English, the remainder coming in, for in spite of all his endeavors to prevent it the Aborigines broke into the forts and seized many. The whole will amount to about 350. . . Thirteen have entered into the Rangers,* and many more will enter, as the prisoners are greatly fatigued with traveling so far [from carrying the plunder, and from the scourgings imposed upon them] some sick and some wounded. P. S. Please excuse the hurry of this letter—the Aborigines engross my time. We have more here than enough. Were it not absolutely necessary to keep in with them, they would tire my patience." † . .

---

*Proclamations were issued from Detroit and elsewhere during the Revolutionary War in which great inducements were offered to the Americans to join the British army. These inducements to join, coupled with threats to all who refused, were scattered broadcast through every pioneer settlement, and many of the less patriotic, of the adventurous and bloodthirsty characters, were thereby led into the British ranks.

†The late General Lewis Cass, in a communication to the *North American Review*, thus quotes an eyewitness to the return of Captain Bird's Savages: . . "Hearing the usual signals of success [sounds indicating the number of scalps and prisoners given on the approach of a war-party to Detroit] I walked out of town and soon met the party. The squaws and young Aborigines had ranged themselves on the side of the road with sticks and clubs, and were whipping the prisoners with great severity. Among these were two young girls, thirteen or fourteen years old, who escaped from the party and ran for protection to me and a naval officer who was with me. With much trouble and some danger, and after knocking down two of the Aborigines, we succeeded in rescuing the girls, and fled with them to the Council House. Here they were safe, because this was the goal where the right of the Aborigines to beat them ceased. Next morning I received a message by an orderly-sergeant to wait upon Colonel De Peyster the com-

Colonel Clark had in mind an expedition against the savages in Ohio before Captain Bird's invasion of Kentucky; and now making haste to Kentucky with two companions, he so aroused the riflemen that nine hundred and seventy were on the march the 2nd of August, carrying a three-pounder cannon on a pack-horse. Their first objective point was Old Chillicothe, which they found deserted, and the huts of which they burned. They arrived before Old Piqua by the Miami River in the morning of 8th August. This town is described as laid out in the manner of the French villages, and substantially built. The strong log-houses stood far apart, fronting the stream and were surrounded by growing corn. A strong blockhouse with loopholed walls stood in the middle. Thick woods, broken by small prairies, covered the rolling country about the town. Colonel Benjamin Logan, second in command, became separated with a part of the Kentuckians from those with Colonel Clark who led his men across the river and finally routed the enemy before Logan came up. The Americans lost seventeen killed and a large number wounded. The enemy's loss was less. Colonel Clark burned the houses and destroyed the corn, at Piqua and at another village with storehouses of British and French traders.* He did not find Captain Bird's cannon which was left at one of the upper Miami towns on his return from Kentucky, and which his bombadier in charge buried on the approach of the Americans.

Detroit was developed by the British as their headquarters in the West from the time of their succeeding the French in 1760; and so it remained until the year 1796. It was the great rallying center of all the western tribes of savages during this time; and the Americans had, during the Revolutionary War, many projects for its capture on this account. General Lachlin M'Intosh, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, General George Rogers Clark, Colonel Le Balme, General William Irvine, and others proposed plans for this purpose.

The march of M'Intosh into Ohio with one thousand soldiers, and their building Fort Laurens on the west bank of the Tuscarawas River in the fall of 1778, was a good step toward Detroit and it had a repressing effect upon the savages for a time; but this fort soon ex-

---

manding officer. I found the naval officer, who was with me the preceding day, already there. The Colonel stated that a serious complaint had been preferred against us by M'Kee the agent for the Aborigines, for interfering with the Aborigines, and rescuing two of their prisoners. He said the Aborigines had a right to their mode of warfare, and that no one should interrupt them; and after continuing this reproof for some time he told me if I ever took such liberty again, he would send me to Montreal or Quebec. The naval officer was still more severely reprimanded, and threatened to have his uniform stripped from his back and to be dismissed from his Majesty's service if such an incident again occurred. And although I stated to the Colonel that we saved the lives of the girls at the peril of our own, he abated nothing of his threats or harshness." . .

*See Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* vol. ii, pages 104 to 111, for full description of this foray, based on the Durrett, Bradford, M'Afee and Haldimand MSS.

perienced so many losses of men and horses from the rallying foe that it was abandoned in August, 1779.

Colonel DePeyster commandant of Detroit reported to General Frederick Haldimand Governor of Canada on November 13, 1780, as follows:

> A body of Canadians, as the French are called, commanded by Colonel La Balm* were defeated on the 5th instant by the Miami Aborigines near that village [at the head of the Maumee River]. The Colonel and between thirty and forty of his men were killed, and Mons. Rhy, who styles himself aid-de-camp, taken prisoner. They relate that they left the Cahokias on the 3rd of October with 41 men; that a large body were to follow them to the Ouia [Ouiotenon] from whence Colonel La Balm proceeded to the Miamis [now Fort Wayne, Indiana,] with one hundred and three men and some Aborigines, without waiting for the junction of the troops expected, leaving orders for them to follow, as well as those he expected from Post Vincent. His design was to attempt a *coup-de-main* upon Detroit, but finding his troops, which were to consist of 400 Canadians [Frenchmen] and some Aborigines, did not arrive, after waiting twelve days they plundered the place [the Miami villages at the head of the Maumee] and were on their way back when the Aborigines assembled and attacked them. . .

Three days later, 16th November, Colonel De Peyster again reported that La Balme's command entered the Miami village, took the horses, destroyed the horned cattle, and plundered a store he (DePeyster) allowed to be kept there for the convenience of the Aborigines. This information was carried to Detroit by Miamis who, also, delivered to De Peyster Colonel La Balme's personal effects, including a watch set with diamonds, his double-barrel gun, regimentals, spurs and papers. Governor Haldimand acknowledged the receipt of the Colonel's 'Commission, etc.'†

General George Rogers Clark, recently promoted to Brigadier General, again revived his plan to capture Detroit. He wrote to President Washington who knew the full importance of such an expedition, but he replied that . . "It is out of my power to send any reinforcements to the westward. If the States would fill their Continental battalions we would be able to oppose a regular and permanent force to the enemy in every quarter. If they will not, they must certainly take measures to defend themselves by their militia, however expensive and ruinous the system." . . Clark went to Virginia and laid his plans before Governor Thomas Jefferson who favored them and, in 1780–81, about £500,000 depreciated currency was expended for this purpose. There was wanted, however, £300,000 more to complete contracts. This sum could not well be raised; nor were the troops forthcoming, for various questions arose to deter volunteers from enlisting in this expedition—objections to going so far from home; disputes regarding boundary lines; and the jealousies between Colonial and local officers, being those most prominent.

---

* Augustin Molton de la Balme reported that he came from France with General La Fayette; that he had served as a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in France, and as colonel in the American army. Richard Winston, Deputy, wrote to Colonel John Todd Lieutenant of Illinois County, 21 October, 1780, that . . There passed this way a Frenchman calling himself Colonel la Balme in the American service. I look upon him as a malcontent, much disgusted at the Virginians. Yet I must say he did some good—he pacified the Aborigines. He was received by the inhabitants [French] just as the Hebrews would receive the Messiah. He was conducted from the Post here [Kaskaskia] by a large detachment of the inhabitants, as well as different tribes of Aborigines. He went from here against Detroit, being well assured that the Aborigines were on his side. He got at this place and the Kahos [Cahokia] about fifty volunteers who are to rendezvous at Ouia [Ouiotenon]. Captain Duplaise from here went along with him on his way to Philadelphia, there to lay before the French ambassador all the grievances this country labors under by the Virginians, which is to be strongly backed by Monsieur de la Balme. 'Tis the general opinion that he will take Baubin, the general partisan at Miamis [head of the Maumee River] and from thence to Fort Pitt. . . He passed about one month here without seeing Colonel Montgomery, nor did Colonel Montgomery see him.—*Virginia State Papers,* vol. i, page 380.

†See Haldimand Papers; *Michigan Pioneer and Historial Collections,* and Farmer's *History of Detroit and Michigan,* volume i.

The various claims of the eastern States to the territory west of Pennsylvania and Virginia had been the cause of friction between these States for years. These claims were based on the Colonial Charters and treaties with the Aborigines, which were indefinite regarding boundary on account of the great extent of the unsurveyed regions. It was finally advocated that each State cede her claim to the Union. In October, 1780, Congress passed an Act providing that territory so ceded should be disposed of for the benefit of the United States in general; and that the States organized therein should be of good extent—not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square. This Act had a good effect and accordingly, 1st March, 1781, New York assigned her claims; but the other States did not act for three, four and five years.

The savages renewed their depredations during the spring of 1781, and raided far into Kentucky, and to the eastward. Colonel Archibald Lochrey (or Loughry) Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, with about one hundred men who went west two years before with Colonel Clark, started to rejoin him by the Ohio below the mouth of the Miami River for the projected expedition against Detroit. They were assailed by savages 24th August, 1781, about forty were killed and the others taken prisoners to Detroit, including the Colonel. The savages were soon thereafter reinforced by one hundred white men, and they then raided south of the Ohio River.

These and other serious disasters caused fresh and increased terror among all the frontier settlements. Governor Jefferson appealed to President Washington for aid and received reply, written from New Windsor 28th December, 1781, that . . "I have ever been of the opinion that the reduction of the post of Detroit would be the only certain means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier, and I have constantly kept my eyes upon that object; but such has been the reduced state of our Continental force, and such the low ebb of our funds, especially of late, that I have never had it in my power to make the attempt." . . General Clark was meantime kept busy on the defensive against the savages.

General William Irvine of Fort Pitt also investigated the condition of affairs at Detroit with regard to an attack on that fort. He reported to President Washington that . . "the British there had made treaties in November, 1781, with thirteen nations [tribes] of Aborigines; and at the conclusion they were directed to keep themselves compact and ready to assemble on short notice. Secondly, the Moravians [Delaware Aborigines who were instructed to neutrality by the missionaries] are carried into captivity [to or near Detroit] and strictly watched and threatened with severe punishment if they should attempt to give us [Americans] information of their movements. Thirdly, part of the Five [Six] Nations [the Senecas] are assembled at Sandusky." . .

At this time, 7th February, 1782, the information was gathered that the forces at Detroit were composed of three hundred regular troops, from seven hundred to one thousand Canada militia, and about one thousand Aborigine warriors who could be assembled within a few days time.* It was also estimated at this time that an American army to successfully attempt an expedition against Detroit should consist of at least one thousand regular soldiers and one thousand militia, with cannon, and supplies for at least three months. But it was impossible for the Americans to gather such an army for this purpose and, consequently, the well-prepared savage allies of the British continued to inflict great havoc along the extensive frontier.

The savages becoming more aggressive, the Americans determined on more positive defensive and offensive measures. A marauding party of savages murdered a woman and child near the Ohio River and mutilated their bodies. These savages were pursued by about one hundred and sixty militia from Washington County, Pennsylvania, under Colonel David Williamson, to Gnadenhuetten a settlement of Moravian (United Brethren) missionaries by the Tuscarawas River a tributary of the Muskingum. These missionaries and their Delaware Aborigine followers had been taken to Detroit by forces under British command to answer to Commandant DePeyster regarding charges of being friendly to Americans. They were there exonerated of the charge and taken to Sandusky. Being here short of provisions, a number returned to Gnadenhuetten for supplies; and these Christian Aborigines Colonel Williamson's command assailed the 8th March, 1782, killed and scalped sixty-two adults and thirty-four children. It appears that the savages who committed the recent murders made good their escape after warning the mission Delawares to do likewise or they would surely all be killed. Only two, youths, of the mission Delawares at Gnadenhuetten and Salem escaped to find their way to Sandusky and tell the fate of the others.* These Delawares were suspected of aiding, if not participating in, the marauding incursions with the warriors of their tribe and others—see *ante* page 134. They had been several times warned of the danger of their position, and even invited by Colonel Brodhead in 1781 to remove to Fort Pitt, without effect. The mission Delawares at Schoenbrunn, a few miles distant, escaped Colonel Williamson's soldiers and went to Sandusky, to the Maumee, and later suffered several other removals. Their huts, with the others, were destroyed.

---

* A review, or rough census of all the tribes of Aborigines tributary to Detroit in 1782, gave the total number as 11,402 — Haldimand Papers.

This slaughter has an ugly look on the page of history. It has been a favorite subject of comment adverse to the Americans by many persons, particularly those who seek every opportunity to condemn all disciplinary dealings with the savages; and of those who overlook the desperation to which the Americans were driven by them. It was the action of men, or at that time was looked upon with favor by men who saw at that moment no other course to pursue for the protection of their own lives and the lives of their families. The Delawares had for many years the reputation, even among their fellow Aborigines of other tribes, of being particularly deceitful, treacherous and bloodthirsty, and this onslaught was the reaping of but a part of the whirlwind which many of the tribe had sown in past years.

An unfortunate American expedition against Sandusky occurred early in June, 1782, with defeat and great loss of life, including that of its commander, Colonel William Crawford, who was taken prisoner and tortured to death with fire and woundings by the Delawares in the most horrible manner.† Emboldened by this success against Americans, savage war-parties again increased in number and daring. Captains M'Kee and Caldwell reported to the commandant at Detroit the latter part of August, that they had . . . "the greatest body of Aborigines collected on an advantageous piece of ground near the Picawee village that has been assembled in this quarter since the commencement of the war . . . eleven hundred on the ground and three hundred more within a days march." . . This great gathering was to oppose the (reported) coming of General Clark. Scouts soon reported that Clark was giving attention in another direction and the savages divided, mostly into small bands.

---

* *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Aborigines in North America*, by Henry Loskiel, London, 1794, Part iii, pages 180, 181. For many details of this massacre see, also, Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*; Heckewelder's *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren*; Zeisberger's *Diary*; *The Pennsylvania Packet*; U. S. Department MSS. No. 41, volume iii; Hale's *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, and the Haldimand Papers.

† For a full account of Crawford's unfortunate campaign see *Expedition Against Sandusky*, by Consul W. Butterfield, Cincinnati, 1873.

Somewhat over three hundred of these savages led by Captains William Caldwell, M'Kee and perhaps Elliott, and one or more of the Girtys and other renegades, passed southward across the Ohio River, avoiding the gunboat and riflemen patrols that had been guarding the border, and attacked Bryan's Station in Kentucky the 16th August. They were repulsed with a loss of five killed and several wounded, while the loss by the garrison was four killed and three wounded. They retreated, and were followed by the rallying Kentuckians who were unwisely led against their superior number the 19th at the Blue Licks, and defeated with a loss of seventy killed, twelve wounded, and seven captured. As was often the case, the enemy suffered loss of a much less number — only one Frenchman and six Aborigines being here killed and ten Aborigines wounded.* The loss of Americans amounted to nearly one-half the number present, and nearly one-tenth of the available force in central Kentucky. It was the last severe raid, however, suffered by this region, for General George Rogers Clark was soon afield again, from his station at the Falls of the Ohio, and led the hastily gathered one thousand and fifty mounted riflemen into Ohio. They passed rapidly to the headquarters of the savages, principally Shawnees, by the headwaters of the Miami Rivers where, the 10th November, they overtook and killed ten of the fleeing enemy, took seven prisoners, and released two Americans. All the cabins and huts were burned, also a great quantity of corn and provisions which destruction reacted directly against the British inasmuch as they, from motives of economy to themselves, encouraged the planting of corn by Aborigine women, and every bushel destroyed meant so much the more to be supplied by them for the feeding of their savage allies. The dislodged savages found refuge by the Auglaise and Maumee Rivers. They were followed as far as the British trading post at the beginning of the portage to the Auglaise River by Colonel Benjamin Logan of Clark's command with one hundred and fifty men who destroyed the trading post there.

May 23, 1782, the British Cabinet agreed to propose independence to the United States. Armistice was declared to the armies as soon as practicable thereafter, but months were necessary to control the savage allies of Great Britain to acquiescence in the terms of peace. A projected expedition into northwestern Ohio by Colonel Williamson from Fort M'Intosh was stopped by this armistice. November 30th the preliminary treaty was signed at Paris, closing the Revolutionary War.

---

* For details of this severe battle, see account in Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, here based on Levi Todd's (Colonel John Todd was among the killed) Boon's and Logan's letters given in the *Virginia State Papers* vol. iii, pages 276, 280, 300 and 333, which show some other writers inaccurate.

CONTINUED BRITISH AGGRESSIONS. THE ABORIGINES.

The Treaty of Paris was concluded at Versailles 3rd September, 1783, about ten months after the preliminary agreement closing the Revolutionary War. This Treaty distinctly set forth that the territory southward of the middle of the Great Lakes and their connecting waters, and eastward of the middle of the upper Mississippi River, should belong to the United States, and that Great Britain should withdraw her troops from Detroit and other parts of this territory.

As with the British on their succeeding the French in 1760, the Aborigines were willing to go with the nation which extended to them the most presents, and which most freely indulged their sensualities. In May, 1783, Benjamin Lincoln the American Secretary of War sent Ephraim Douglas to the Aborigines of Ohio, and the west, to win and encourage their friendliness to the United States. He arrived at Sandusky the 7th June and passed some days with the Delawares there, and the Wyandots, Ottawas and Miamis along the lower Maumee. The 4th July he arrived at Detroit and Colonel De Peyster there called a council at which the following named tribes were represented, viz: Chippewa, Delaware, Kickapoo, Miami, Ottawa, 'Oweochtanos' Piankeshaw, Pottawotami, Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandot; and, reported Mr. Douglas, . . "Most of them gave evident marks of their satisfaction at seeing a subject of the United States in the country. They carried their civilities so far that my lodging was all day surrounded with crowds of them when at home, and the streets lined with them to attend my going abroad, that they might have an opportunity of seeing and saluting me, which they did not fail to do in their best manner with every demonstration of joy." . . Mr. Douglas returned to Niagara the 11th July, and his further reports lead to the inference that he did not comprehend the full cause of the adherence of the savages to the British during the war, nor the mercenary cause of their dogging his steps during his visit; and that he had no foreboding of the many bloody years that were to follow. The British allowances had largely ceased at the close of the war. The savages were therefrom now short of rum and provisions; and they hoped to find in the new régime fresh and more liberal supplies.*

---

*The cause of the popularity and continued successes of the British with the savages during the Revolutionary War is plain. They outbid the Americans in their lavish giving of intoxicants and articles that delighted the savage palates and eyes, and in the general aid extended them for the free indulgence of their bloodthirsty natures. The British expenditures for this purpose during the Revolutionary War grew apace, and in the view of the central office the amounts became 'enormous' and 'amazing,' aggregating millions of dollars. From 25th December, 1777, to 31st August, 1778, there were received at Detroit 371,460 barrels flour; 42,176 lbs. fresh beef; 16,473 lbs. salt beef; 203,932 lbs. salt pork; 19,756 lbs. butter; and great quantities of mutton, corn, peas, oatmeal, rice, and rum. In the summer of 1778 fifty-eight-and-a-half tons of gunpowder was sent to Detroit from Niagara of which the savages received the largest share, as there were in Detroit 30th August, 1778, but four hundred and eighty-two militia with

The British Government was fully apprised of the difficulties and the improper aggressiveness of their conduct toward the American Aborigines before and after the close of the war. Colonel DePeyster early saw the danger of the course prescribed for him and wrote to Governor Haldimand that

> I have a very difficult card to play at this post [Detroit] which differs widely from the situation of affairs at Michilimackinac, Niagara, and others in the upper district of Canada. It is evident that the back settlers [southward from Detroit] will continue to make war upon the Shawanese, Delawares and Wyandots, even after a truce shall be agreed to betwixt Great Britain and her revolted Colonies. In which case, while we continue to support the Aborigines with troops (which they are calling aloud for) or only with arms, ammunition, and necessaries we shall incur the odium of encouraging incursions into the back settlements — for it is evident that when the Aborigines are on foot, occasioned by the constant alarms they receive from the enemies entering their country, they will occasionally enter the settlements and bring off prisoners and scalps — so that while in alliance with a people we are bound to support, a defensive war will, in spite of human prudence, almost always terminate in an offensive one. . .

Immediately after the Treaty of Paris the British began to experience the embarrassment of their desired relation to the Aborigines —

---

little use for ammunition in and near the fort. David Zeisberger, the Moravian Missionary, compelled by the British to remove to Detroit, wrote in his *Diary*, volume i, page 32, under date 31st October, 1781, that . . . "We met to day [just east of the mouth of the Maumee River] as indeed every day as far as Detroit, a multitude of Aborigines of various Nations, who were all bringing from Detroit horse-loads of wares and gifts, and in such number that one would think they must have emptied all Detroit." . .

The following list shows the character and quantity of some of the articles estimated by the British as wanting for the Aborigines at Detroit for the year ending 20th August, 1783, before the treaty of peace, viz: 230 pieces Blue strouds; 20 pieces Red strouds; 10 pieces Crimson strouds; 10 pieces Scarlet strouds; 20 pieces Scarlet cloth 8s, 6d Sterling; 4,000 Pr. 2½ Pt. Blankets; 300 3 Pt. Blankets; 500 Pr. 2 Pt. Blankets; 500 Pr. 1½ Pt. Blankets; 1000 fine 2½ Pt. Blankets; 1000 pieces 4-4 linen, sorted; 100 pieces striped calimancs; 100 pieces striped cotton; 2,000 lbs. Vermillion in 1 lb. bags; 50 pieces coarse muslin; 20 pieces Russia Sheeting; 100 Doz. Blk silk handkerchiefs; 20 Doz. Colored silk handkerchiefs; 30 Doz. Cotton handkerchiefs; 250 pieces ribbon assorted; 200 Gross Bed lace; 200 Gross gartering; 30 pieces embossed serge; 500 felt Hats ½ laced; 100 Castor Hats ½ laced; 50 Beaver Hats ½ laced; 500 Pieces White Melton; 20 Pieces Coating, blue and brown; 20 Pieces Brown Melton; 30 Pieces Ratteen, Blue and Brown; 100 Common Saddles; 400 Bridles; 500 Powder Horns; 20 Doz. Tobacco Boxes; 30 Doz. Snuff Boxes; 80 Gross Pipes; 300 large feathers, red, blue, green; 300 Black ostrich feathers; 200 Pairs shoes; 250 Pairs Buckles; 100 Pieces Hambro lines; 10 Doz. Mackerel lines; '0 Doz. Spurs; 50 Gro. Morris Bells; 50 Gro. Brass Thimbles; 6 Pieces Red serge; 10 Pieces White serge; 6 Pieces Blue serge; 10 Gross Jews harps; 500 Fusils [Flintlock Muskets]; 200 Rifled Guns small bore; 50 Pair Pistols; 5 Doz. Couteaux de Chasse [hunting knives]; 50,000 Gun Flints; 60 Gro Scalping Knives; [The books of one jobber in Detroit also show 'sixteen gross red handled scalping knives at 100s per gross,' and, again, 'twenty four dozen red handled scalping knives,' sold to one retailer within a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1783]; 10 Gross Clasp Knives; 20 Gross Scissors; 20 Gross Looking Glasses; 10 Doz. Razors; 300 lbs. Thread assorted; 20 pieces spotted swan skin; 12,000 lbs. Gunpowder; 36,000 lbs Ball and shot; 1 Gro Gun locks; 500 Tomahawks; 500 Half axes; 300 Hoes; 30 Gross fire steel; 10,000 Needles; 400 Pieces calico; 80 pounds Rose Pink; 1500 lbs Tobacco; 600 lbs. Beads assorted; 40 Gross Awl Blades; 40 Gross Gun Worms; 30 Gross Box combs; 6 Gross Ivory combs; 20 Nests Brass Kettles; 20 Nests Copper Kettles; 20 Nests Tin Kettles; 60 Nests Hair Trunks; 300 lbs. Pewter Basins; 100 Beaver Traps; 20 Gross Brass finger rings; 5,000 lbs. iron; 1000 lbs steel; 500 lbs Soap; 6 barrels White Wine; 5 Barrels Shrub; 400,000 Black Wampum; 100,000 White Wampum.

SILVER WORKS :

13,000 large Brooches; 7000 Small Brooches; 300 Large Gorgets; 300 Large Moons; 550 Ear Wheels; 550 Arm Bands; 1500 Prs. large Ear bobs; 1500 Prs. Small Ear bobs; Some medals chiefly large; A large assortment Smith and Armorers files. — [Signed] *A. S. DePeyster, Major King's Regt. Detroit and its Dependencies.*

of the difficulties in retaining their influence with them while lessening expenditures on their behalf. Colonel DePeyster reported from Detroit to Governor Haldimand's secretary 18th June, 1783, before the arrival of Ambassador Douglas, that . . . "We are all in expectation of news. Everything that is bad is spread through the Aborigines' country but, as I have nothing more than the King's proclamation from authority, I evade answering impertinent questions. Heavens! if goods do not arrive soon, what will become of me? I have lost several stone weight* of flesh within these twenty days. I hope Sir John [Sir John Johnson British Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs] is to make us a visit." . . .

To prevent complications and consequent quarrels, Congress in 1783 forbade the purchase of land from the Aborigines by individuals or companies. Agent Ephraim Douglas reported February 2, 1784, that early in the fall of 1783 Sir John Johnson assembled the different western tribes of Aborigines at Sandusky (American territory) and, having prepared them with lavish distribution of presents, addressed them in a speech to this purport, Simon Girty being the interpreter, viz: . . . "That the King his and their common father had made peace with the Americans, and had given them the land possessed by the British on this continent; but that the report of his having given them any part of the Aborigines' lands was false, and fabricated by the Americans for the purpose of provoking the Aborigines against their father; that they should, therefore, shut their ears against it. So far the contrary was proved that the great river Ohio was to be the line between the Aborigines in this quarter and the Americans, over which the latter ought not to pass and return in safety." . . .

The impartial and unreserved historian must attribute a large proportion of the trouble the United States has had with the savages, including their many savage butcheries, to the perfidy and arrogant meddlesomeness of the British from the first. They were repeatedly importuned to withdraw from this territory according to the terms of the Treaty at Paris, and to let the savages in American territory alone. President Washington sent Baron de Steuben of the United States Army to Governor Haldimand 12th July, 1783, to ask that orders be issued for the withdrawal of British troops from Detroit and other posts in American territory whence they persisted in dominating the savages throughout Ohio and the southwest.† The request was refused, and statements made that the treaty was provisional, and that no orders had been received to surrender the posts. Governor George Clinton of New

---

* An English stone weight in the sense here used is fourteen pounds avoirdupois.

† See letter on the the subject of an Established Militia and Military Arrangements, addressed to the Inhabitants of the United States by Baron de Steuben New York, 1784, in which is a suggested treatment of the British at this time.

York was refused the surrender of Fort Niagara May 10, 1784. Another unsuccessful demand for their surrender was made July 12, 1784, through (the then) Lieutenant Colonel William Hull. * The British continued to hold the posts of Detroit, Michillimackinac, Niagara and Oswego until the year 1796; and in 1794 they built Fort Miami by the lower Maumee; whence they were a menace to the peace, and lives, of American settlers in this Northwest Territory, as shown on subsequent pages.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ABORIGINES—ORGANIZATIONS—HOSTILITIES—DEFEATS.

1784 TO 1791.

The Aborigines continued unsettled and threatening, and the United States Government continued a pacific policy. The Legislature of New York for some time after the close of the Revolutionary War favored the expulsion from American territory of the Six Nations (Iroquois of New York) on account of their instability and treachery; but it was finally decided by Congress to bear with them, to keep them as fully as possible from British influence and try to civilize them through treaty and confining them to narrower limits, by gradually and nominally purchasing their claims to territory unnecessary to them. Accordingly the 22nd October, 1784, a treaty was effected at Fort Stanwix, on the site of the present Rome, New York, when the Six Nations relinquished all claim to the western country. These claims were based on their, and the British, idea of right of conquest from the western tribes, but they did not want to accord the Americans any such right.

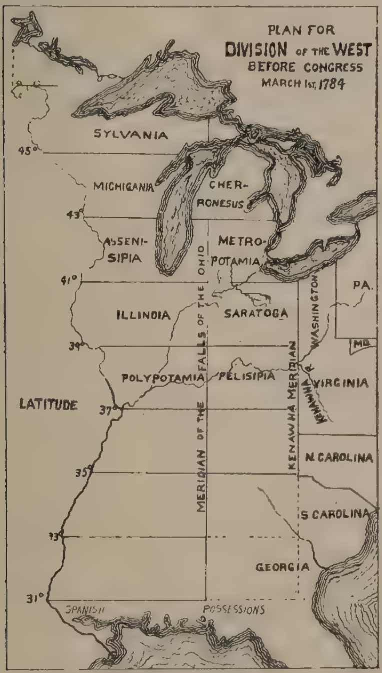
Virginia ceded to the United States all her right, title and claim to the country northwest of the Ohio River March 1, 1784.† Congress was prepared for this act and the committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was Chairman, reported the same day a plan for its temporary government. The names proposed for the divisions of this Territory (see engraving) not meeting with approval, they were erased from the plan the 23rd April; and later this suggested plan for division was rejected.

---

* *American State Papers,* Foreign Relations volume i, page 181 *et sequentia.*

† For account of the claims of the States to the Northwest Territory, see Hinsdale's *The Old Northwest;* Donaldson's *Public Domain;* Hildreth's *History of Washington County;* Smith's *The St. Clair Papers;* Cutler's *Life, Journal and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler,* etc. These claims were not altogether valid. The Territory belonged to the United States from conquest.

Continuing its humane policy towards the Aborigines, the United States, by commissioners George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, met the chiefs of the Chippewa, Delaware, Ottawa and Wyandot tribes at Fort M'Intosh on the right bank of the Ohio River at the mouth of Beaver Creek about twenty-nine miles below Pittsburg and 21st January, 1785, effected a treaty in which the limits of their territory were agreed upon as the Maumee and Cuyahoga Rivers, and from Lake Erie to a line running westward from Fort Laurens by the Tuscarawas to the portage on the headwaters of the Miami River. Reservations were made by the United States of tracts six miles square at this portage, at the mouth of the Maumee, and two miles square at Lower Sandusky. Three chiefs were to remain hostages until all American prisoners were surrendered by them.



Overtures for treaty and peace were also made to the Miami, Pottawotami, Piankeshaw, and other western tribes but, through the influence of the British and French with whom they associated and who were in opposition to the American system of government, land surveys, and definite land titles, the desired treaty could not be effected. But a large council of these tribes was held at Ouiotenon the next August where savage raids on American frontier settlements were incited.

The 19th April, 1785, the Legislature of Massachusetts released to the General Government her claims in the Northwestern Territory, excepting Detroit and vicinity which were released 30th May, 1800.

The desire for western lands for settlement by immigrants from the East being so great following the Treaty at Fort M'Intosh, with the desire for action to adjust titles, that Congress, 20th May, 1785, passed 'An Ordinance for Ascertaining the Mode of Disposing of Lands in the Western Territory' which provided for the survey and marking of lines, townships, water power sites, etc. On account of 'several disorderly persons having crossed the River Ohio and settled upon unappropriated lands' Congress passed an Act June 15th prohibiting such intrusions, and commanding the intruders 'to depart with their families and effects without loss of time, as they shall answer the same at their peril.' This action was taken to protect the lives of the would-be settlers as two members of the four families who settled near the mouth of the Scioto River were killed by savages in April; also to allay the antipathy of the savages while preparing the country for formal settlement. It was during this summer that the extensive purchases of land by the Ohio Company of Associates, and by John Cleves Symmes, were negotiated.

Great Britain, with her usual selfish arrogance, continued to hold all the Great Lake forts. John Adams, United States Minister to Great Britain, reported to Congress 30th November, 1785, that he had demanded that the British withdraw their forts and posts from American territory, and that they objected with the statement that some of the States had violated the Treaty of Paris in regard to the payment of their debts to Great Britain.*

A few regular troops occasionally passed along the Ohio River from Fort Pitt to and from Vincennes and Kaskaskia, escorting officers, carrying dispatches and convoying supplies. The 22nd October, 1785, Fort Finney was built by Major Finney's command on the bank of the big Miami River about one mile above its mouth; and here the 31st January, 1786, commissioners effected a treaty with the Shawnees, with Wyandots and Delawares as witnesses, wherein land was allotted to them southwest of that allotted at the Treaty of Fort M'Intosh, and extending to the Wabash River, with like conditions. Hostages were retained for the return of American captives, as at the other treaties; but they escaped, and very few captives were returned. The Miami and western Aborigines were urged to participate in these treaties, but they again declined, being yet under British influence.† There continued a great removal of settlers from the East to the Ohio Valley; and depredations on them by these savages became so frequent and exasperating that a thousand Kentuckians under General Clark marched to Vincennes against the Wabash tribes in the fall of 1786; but poor supplies and disaffection among the volunteers caused a return of the army without punishing the enemy. An expedition of nearly eight hundred mounted riflemen under Colonel Benjamin Logan was also fitted out against the hostile Shawnees. This expedition detourred the headwaters of Mad River, in the present Clark and Champaign counties, Ohio, burned eight large towns, destroyed many fields of corn, killed about ten warriors including the head chief, and captured thirty-two prisoners.*

---

* The British armies impressed into their service and took away some of the negro slaves of Americans; and these States desired to offset the value of these slaves against the levies of the British. See Benjamin Franklin's articles on 'Sending Felons to America,' and his 'Retort Courteous' for some just sarcasm regarding the urgent haste of the British to be paid by the people whose property they had destroyed. Compare *The Laws of Virginia* regarding these claims. Also the several Letters of Henry Knox Secretary of War, No. 150, volume i.

† See the United States State Department MSS. No. 56, pages 345, 395; and No. 150. Also the Haldimand Papers during 1784 to 1786.

The 14th September, 1786, Connecticut released her claims to lands in the Northwestern Territory in favor of the United States excepting her 'Western Reserve' from the forty-first degree of latitude to that of forty-two degrees and two minutes, and from the western line of Pennsylvania to a north and south line one hundred and twenty miles to the west; and that State opened an office for the disposal of that part of the Reserve east of the Cuyahoga River, the eastern boundary of the territory allotted the Aborigines. This cession cleared this Basin of claims by individual States.

With the increasing population west of the Allegheny Mountains the free navigation of the Mississippi became a paramount question, and some misconceptions regarding Secretary John Jay's efforts toward a treaty with Spain caused some commotion in the Ohio Valley to the increase there of even the spirit of independence from the East.† General George Rogers Clark, whose commission had been withdrawn 2nd July, 1783, on account of his services not being necessary and to curtail expenses, acting with others at Vincennes decided to garrison the abandoned Post Vincennes. A company of men was enlisted early in October, 1786, and the goods of Spanish merchants at Vincennes and along the Ohio were seized with a 'determination that they should not trade up the river if they would not let the Americans trade down the Mississippi.' The Council of Virginia decided positively against these measures 28th February, 1787, and, by resolution of Congress 24th April, the United States troops on the Ohio were directed to take immediate and efficient measures 'for dispossessing a body of men who had, in a lawless and unauthorized manner, taken possession of Post Vincennes in defiance of the proclamation and authority of the United States'; and the recently brevetted Brigadier General Josiah Harmar with a small force of United States soldiers took possession of the post, allowing Clark and his followers to return to their homes. Thus was narrowly averted a war between the United States and Spain and France combined. The Americans engaged in these overt acts wrote to their friends that 'Great Britain stands ready with open arms to receive and support us. They have already offered to open their resources for our supplies.'‡

---

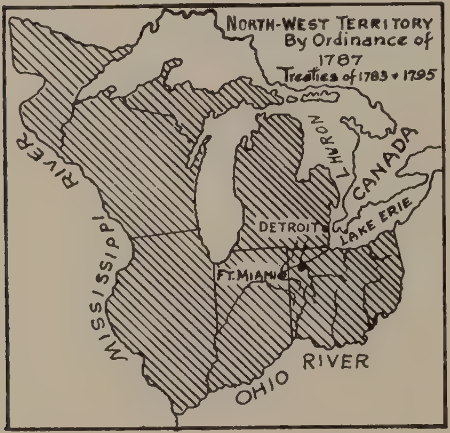
* M'Donald's *Western Sketches;* Dillon's *History of Indiana.* For full description of the temper of the savages and of the settlers, and of efforts of the general government for peace, see U. S. State Department MSS. Nos. 30, 56, 60 and 150. Also Draper MSS. Wisconsin Historical Society Library.

† See Reports of Secretary John Jay; State Department MSS. No. 81, volume ii; Thomas M. Green's *The Spanish Conspiracy,* page 31, etc.

‡ See Draper MSS. Wisconsin State Historical Society Library; and State Dept. MSS. Washington.

The animus of Great Britain at this time is further shown by a letter of 22nd March, 1787, from Sir John Johnson to Joseph Brant, the most prominent Aborigine Chief in the Six Nations, regarding the military posts still held by the British in American territory as follows: "It is for your sake, chiefly, that we hold them. If you become indifferent about them they may, perhaps, be given up . . . whereas, by supporting them you encourage us to hold them, and encourage the new settlements . . . every day increased by numbers coming in who find they cannot live in the States." . . Arthur St. Clair, Representative from Pennsylvania, also reported 13th April, 1787, to Congress the continued infraction of the Treaty regarding these posts by Great Britain.[*]

The many different schemes calculated to embarrass the struggling young Republic, to deprive it of its rights, and even to disrupt it altogether, were apparently aided if not initiated by the British. The noted Virginia loyalist Doctor John Connolly, before mentioned, a full British subject and resident in Canada, again became active, traversing the Maumee in his journeyings in 1787-88-89 between Detroit and Kentucky with efforts to alienate the Kentuckians from the East and to ally them with the British for the purpose of capturing the Spanish territory on the Mississippi and controlling the Mississippi Basin. General James Wilkinson charged that Connolly was an emissary direct from Lord Dorchester then Governor of Canada — and Wilkinson himself was not free from suspicion of being engaged in similar schemes, even for the secession of Kentucky from the United States. The probability of the correctness of Wilkinson's charge, however, was strengthened by the fact that in June of this year the British garrison at Detroit was largely reinforced by soldiers from lower Canada, and the next year the fortifications were rebuilt and strengthened by order of Lord Dorchester who was then there. These warlike preparations continued for some length of time, and similar preparations were occasionally made for several years.[†] Benedict Arnold



---

[*] *Journals of Congress*, volume iv, pages 735, 739.

[†] See James Wilkinson's *Memoirs* vol. ii; Charles E. A. Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, vol. iii; State Dept. MSS.; *Virginia State Papers*, vol. iv; Draper MSS.; Gardoqui MSS., etc. For accounts of the treachery and savagery of the Aborigines of these years see U. S. State Department MSS. vol. iii, No. 150; and Draper MSS.

was reported as being in Detroit about the 1st June, 1790, inspecting the troops; and the 25th August President Washington took official notice of these British preparations which were evidently for a Mississippi campaign.

The Congressional Committee on the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River reported, 7th July, 1786, a plan for its division on the lines existing to day, excepting that a line running due east and west from the southernmost shore of Lake Michigan was drawn as the north line of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the Straits of Mackinaw were the northern line of Michigan. The map then used showed the south end of Lake Michigan too far north, as will be described on later page.

The full Ordinance for the government of this Territory was made a law the 13th July, 1787. This 'Ordinance of 1787' marks an era in legislative history, and it has received large attention by many writers. The principal officers of the Northwestern Territory under this Ordinance were appointed on the 5th October, 1787, to enter upon their duties 1st February, 1788, as follows: Governor, Major General Arthur St. Clair; Judges, Samuel H. Parsons, James M. Varnum, and John Armstrong; Secretary, Winthrop Sargent. John Cleves Symmes was subsequently appointed to the place declined by John Armstrong. It has been estimated that within a year after the organization of this Territory twenty thousand men, women and children from the eastern States passed down the Ohio River to settle in this Territory or in Kentucky.

The renewal of military preparations by the British had an exciting effect upon the Aborigines who had long been impatient of their enforced quiet. The increasing settlements in southern Ohio, and south of that river, on lands relinquished by the Aborigines in treaty, and the completion of the organization of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, were eagerly accepted as incentives for repeating their murderous raids upon the settlements.

To allay the restlessness known to exist among the Aborigines Congress, the 21st July, 1787, directed the Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs for the Northern Department, or if he was unable to attend to it then General Josiah Harmar, to proceed to the most convenient place and make treaty with the Aborigines of the Wabash River country and the Shawnees of the Southern part of this Basin and of the Scioto, and to grant them all assurances consistent with the honor and dignity of the United States. These and repeated like efforts for peace were unavailing. Thereupon the first instructions by Congress to Governor St. Clair in 1788 were: 1. Examine carefully into the real temper of the Aborigines. 2. Remove if possible all causes of controversy, so that peace and harmony may be established between the United States and the Aborigine tribes. 3. Regulate trade among the Aborigines. 4. Neglect no opportunity that offers for extinguishing the Aborigine claims to lands westward as far as the Mississippi River, and northward as far as the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude. 5. Use every possible endeavor to ascertain the names of the real head men and warriors of the several tribes, and to attach these men to the United States by every possible means. 6. Make every exertion to defeat all confederations and combinations among the tribes; and conciliate the white people inhabiting the frontiers, toward the Aborigines.

The County of Washington in the Northwest Territory was organized in 1788 within the present limits of Ohio; and Governor St. Clair and the Judges adopted and published laws, both civil and criminal, for the government and protection of the Territory. These laws, however, were not operative in the Maumee River Basin for many years on account of the Aborigine and British dominance.

Governor St. Clair succeeded in effecting another treaty 9th January, 1789, this time at Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum River, with the Six Nations, also with the Chippewas, Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawotamis, Sacs, and Wyandots; all confirming the boundary of the Aborigine claims to be limited between the Cuyahoga and Maumee Rivers, and Lake Erie and a line extending from Fort Laurens to Loramie, with the reservations to the United States and other agreements embraced in the treaties of Forts M'Intosh and Finney. These Aborigines at this treaty received from the United States an additional sum of six thousand dollars. But a few weeks, however, sufficed to again demonstrate their insincerity, and treachery —their maraudings being resumed with the opening of spring.*

General Henry Knox Secretary of War reported to President Washington 13th June, 1789, that murders by savages were still being committed on both sides of the Ohio River and that the inhabitants were exceedingly alarmed through the extent of six or seven hundred miles, that the settlers had been in constant warfare with the savages for many years; that

> The injuries and murders have been so reciprocal that it would be a point of critical investigation to know on which side they have been the greatest. Some of the inhabitants of Kentucky during the past year, roused by recent injuries, made an incursion into the Wabash country and, possessing an equal aversion to all bearing the name Aborigines, they destroyed a number of peaceable Piankeshaws who prided themselves in their attachment to the United States. . . By the best and latest information it appears that on the Wabash and its communications there are from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors. An expedition with a view of extirpating them, or

---

* See State Department MSS. Nos. 56, 71, 151; Draper MSS.; and *Virginia State Papers*, vol. iv, page 149.

destroying their towns, could not be undertaken with a probability of success with less than an army of two thousand five hundred men. The regular troops of the United States on the frontiers are less than six hundred, of which number not more than four hundred could be collected from the posts.

The posts referred to were Forts Pitt, Harmar, Steuben at the Falls of the Ohio, and Vincennes. The Kentuckians again decided to avenge some wrongs they had recently suffered and, 26th August, 1789, Colonel John Hardin led two hundred volunteer cavalrymen across the Ohio River at the Falls to the Wabash. They killed six Aborigines, burned one deserted town, and destroyed the corn found, returning the 28th September without the loss of a man.

President Washington addressed Governor St. Clair the 6th October desiring full information regarding the Wabash and Illinois Aborigines and requesting that war with them be averted if possible; but authorizing him to call not to exceed one thousand militiamen from Virginia and five hundred from Pennsylvania, if necessary, to cooperate with the Federal troops. The Governor was also directed to proceed to execute the orders of the late Congress regarding French and other land titles at Vincennes and the Illinois country and other matters of organization. A little later in the autumn of 1789 Major Doughty's troops built Fort Washington, within the site of the present City of Cincinnati, which fort served a useful purpose for several years. Governor St. Clair and the judges started from Marietta about the 1st January, 1790, by boat and stopped at Fort Washington where they organized the county of Hamilton, and changed the name of the settlement about Fort Washington from that of Losantiville to Cincinnati. Proceeding down the river, they arrived at Clarksville 8th January, and thence to the Illinois country where they organized St. Clair County to embrace all the Territory west of Hamilton County.

In consonance with President Washington's instructions, a prominent French merchant of Vincennes, Antoine Gamelin, who well understood the temper of the savages and by whom he was favorably known, was commissioned by Major John F. Hamtramck to visit and conciliate those Aborigines along the Wabash and Maumee Rivers. He started on the 5th April, 1790, and his report evidenced a desire of the older men of the weaker tribes for peace; but they could not stop their young men who 'were being constantly encouraged and invited to war by the British' and they were dominated by the stronger tribes who, in turn were dominated by the British from whom they received their supplies. All reproached him for coming to them without presents of intoxicants and other supplies. The 23rd April Mr. Gamelin arrived at the Miami town, at the head of the Maumee River, where the Miamis, Delawares, Pottawotamis and Shawnees united in telling him they could not give reply until they consulted the British commandant of the fort at

Detroit; and they desired, and obtained, a copy of the message of the United States to them for the purpose of showing it to him. The British traders at this village were present at the meetings. The Aborigines promised to send to Major Hamtramck at Vincennes, in writing, their answer within thirty days, which was their way of getting rid of him.

Commissioner Gamelin, being unable to accomplish more with the savages, started from the Miami village on his return the 2nd May; and on the 11th reports were received at Vincennes that three days after his departure an American captive was roasted and eaten by the cannibals at the head of the Maumee River; and that all the tribes had sent out war-parties, in addition to those already operating along the Ohio River, who ambuscaded many new immigrants.

With hope to check the more active savages, the latter half of April Brigadier General Josiah Harmar, United States Agent to the Aborigines, with one hundred regular troops, seconded by General Charles Scott with two hundred and thirty Kentucky volunteers, made a detour of the Scioto River. They destroyed the food supplies and huts of the hostile savages but shot only four of them—reporting that 'wolves might as well have been pursued.'

Early in July, 1790, Judge Henry Inness of Danville, Kentucky, wrote to the Secretary of War that

> I have been intimately acquainted with this district from 1783, and I can with truth say that in this period the Aborigines have always been the aggressors—that any incursions made into their country have been produced by reiterated injuries committed by them—that the predatory mode of warfare they have carried on renders it difficult, and indeed impossible, to discriminate, or to ascertain to what tribe the offenders belong. Since my first visit to the district in November, 1783, I can venture to say that more than fifteen hundred persons have been killed and taken prisoners by the Aborigines; and upwards of twenty thousand horses have been taken away, with other property consisting of money, merchandise, household goods, wearing apparel, etc., of great value. The government has been repeatedly informed of those injuries, and that they continued to be perpetrated daily, notwithstanding which the people have received no satisfactory information whether the government intended to afford them relief or not. . . . I will, sir, be candid on this subject, not only as an inhabitant of Kentucky but as a friend to society who wishes to see order and regularity preserved in the Government under which he lives. The people say they have groaned under their misfortunes—they see no prospect of relief—they constitute the strength and the wealth of the western country, and yet all measures heretofore attempted have been committed for execution to the hands of strangers who have no interest in common with the West. They are the great sufferers and yet have no voice in the matters which so vitally affect them. They are even accused of being the aggressors, and have no representative to state or to justify their conduct. These are the general sentiments of the western people who are beginning to want faith in the Government, and appear determined to avenge themselves. For this purpose a meeting was lately held in this place by a number of respectable characters, to determine on the propriety of carrying on their expeditions this fall.

Early in June, 1790, when yet at Kaskaskia, Governor St. Clair received from Major Hamtramck report of the failure of his and Gamelin's mission to the hostile savages, and of the hopelessness of being able to make a treaty for peace. Committing the Resolutions of Congress relative to lands and settlers along the Wabash River to Winthrop Sargeant Secretary, who then proceeded to organize the County of Knox, Governor St. Clair returned by way of the rivers to Fort Washington where he arrived the 11th July. Here General Harmar reported to him many raids and murders by the savages, and "it was agreed and determined that General Harmar should conduct an expedition against the Maumee towns, the residence of all the renegade Aborigines, from whence issued all the parties who infest our frontiers. The Governor remained with us but three days. One thousand militia were ordered from Kentucky, and the Governor on his way to New York the seat of the general government, was to order five hundred from the back counties of Pennsylvania. The 15th September was the time appointed for the militia to assemble at Fort Washington." * . . Active preparations were instituted by General Harmar for this campaign the object of which was not alone the present chastisement of the savages, but also for the building of one or more forts by the Maumee, and the establishing of a connecting line of refuge posts for supplies and from which sorties could be made to intercept the savages.†

In a spirit of deference that appears not only undesirable but servile at this distance, Governor St. Clair sent on the 19th September from Marietta 'by a private gentleman' a letter to Major Patrick Murray, Commandant at Detroit, reading that "this is to give you the fullest assurance of the pacific disposition entertained towards Great Britain and all her possessions; and to inform you explicitly that the expedition about to be undertaken, is not intended against the post you have the honor to command." . . The only redeeming feature of this letter is this sentence: "After this candid explanation, sir, there is every reason to expect, both from your own personal character, and from the regard you have for that of your nation, that those tribes will meet with neither countenance nor assistance from any under your command, and that you will do what in your power lies to restrain the trading people from whose instigations, there is too good reasons to believe, much of the injuries committed by the savages has proceeded." . .

The command under General Josiah Harmar Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States marched northward from near Fort Washington, 4th October, 1790. It was composed of fourteen hundred and fifty-three soldiers, viz: three hundred and twenty regulars (including one artillery company with three light brass cannon, the largest

---

* Ebenezer Denny's *Military Journal* page 343. Published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

† Interesting details regarding this proposed forward movement may be found in the *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 100 *et sequentia*.

a six pounder) in two battalions; eleven hundred and thirty-three militia from Kentucky in four battalions, three of infantry and one of mounted riflemen; and one battalion of infantry from Pennsylvania. Some of the Kentucky militia were 'raw and unused to the gun or the woods; indeed many were without guns [when they reported at Fort Washington] and many of those they have want repairing. Our artificers were employed in putting to right the militia arms. General Harmar was much disheartened at the kind of people from Kentucky. One-half certainly serve no other purpose than to swell the number. . . The colonels disputed about the command. . . There was much trouble in keeping the officers, with their commands in their proper order, and the pack horses, etc., compact.' . . —Denny's *Military Journal.*

The following account of the experiences of General Harmar's army on the march to and within the Maumee River Basin is taken from the diary of Captain John Armstrong of the United States troops, when not otherwise noted, viz: *

October 11, 1790. The Army moved at half past nine o'clock; marched a northwest course seven miles to a branch where French traders formerly had a number of trading houses — thence a north course four miles to a small branch and encamped at five o'clock. The country we passed over is very rich and level. Eleven miles.

October 12th. The Army moved at half past nine o'clock; our course a little west of northwest — crossed a stream at seven miles and a half running to the northeast on which there are several old camps, much deadened timber which continues to the River Auglaize [River St. Mary] about a mile. Here has been a considerable village — some houses still standing. This stream is a branch [tributary] of the Omi [Maumee] River, and is about twenty yards wide. From this village to our encampment our course was a little to the north of west. Rich level land. Fourteen miles.†

October 13th. The Army moved at ten o'clock; just before they marched, a prisoner [a Shawnee] was brought in, and Mr. Morgan from Fort Washington joined us. We marched to the W. of N. W. four miles to a small stream through low swampy land — then a course a little to the N. of W. passing through several small prairies and open woods to an Aborigine village on a pretty stream. Here we were joined by a detachment from Fort Washington, with ammunition. Ten miles.‡

October 14th. At half past ten in the morning Colonel Hardin was detached for the Miami village [at head of Maumee River]‖ with one company of Regulars and six hundred militia — and the Army took up its line of march at eleven o'clock; a N. W. course; four miles a small branch — the country level — many places drowned lands in the winter season. Ten miles.

---

* See Dillon's *History of Indiana* page 267, and Draper MSS. in Wisconsin Historical Society's Library.

† . . Half pound powder and one pound lead served out to each rifleman, and twenty-four rounds cartridges to the musketry. Commanding officers of battalions to see that their men's arms are in good order and loaded. . . Denny's *Military Journal* page 347.

‡ Marched through a thick brushy country. Encamped on great branch [tributary] of the Miami or Omee [Maumee] River [the River St. Mary] near the ruins of La Source's old house, about one hundred and thirty-five miles from Fort Washington — Denny, page 347.

‖ In consequence of intelligence gained of the prisoner that the Aborigines were clearing out as fast as possible, and that the towns would be evacuated before our arrival . . . it was impossible for the army to hasten much, . . Marched over beech and white oak land generally, and no running

October 15th. The army moved at eight o'clock, N. W. course, two miles, a small branch; then north a little west, crossing a stream, three miles, N. W. course—the Army halted at half past one o'clock on a branch running west. Eight miles.*

October 16th. The Army moved at forty-five minutes after eight o'clock; marched nine miles and halted fifteen minutes after one o'clock. Passed over a level country, not very rich. Colonel Hardin with his command took possession of the Miami town [head of Maumee River] yesterday at four o'clock—the Aborigines having left just before. Nine miles (over beech and swamp oak land—Denny). Colonel Hardin found that the Aborigines had left behind them some cows, and large quantities of corn and vegetables; and the militia, in parties of thirty or forty regardless of discipline, strolled about in search of plunder.

October 17th. The Army moved at fifteen minutes after eight o'clock; and at one o'clock crossed the Maumee River to the village (several tolerably good log houses, said to have been occupied by British traders; a few pretty good gardens with some fruit trees, and vast fields of corn in almost every direction—Denny).† The river is about seventy yards wide—a fine, transparent stream. The River St. Joseph, which forms the point on which the [main] village stood, is about twenty yards wide [low stage of water] and, when the waters are high, navigable a great way up it. Major M'Mullen and others reported that the tracks of women and children had been discovered on an Aborigine path leading from the village, a northwest course, towards the Kickapoo towns [on Eel River]. General Harmar, supposing that the Aborigines, with their families and baggage, had encamped at some point not far from the Miami village, determined to make an effort to discover the place of their encampment, and to bring them to battle. Accordingly on the morning of the 18th, he detached Colonel Trotter, Major Hall, Major Ray, and Major M'Mullen, with a force amounting to three hundred men, and composed of thirty regular troops [under command of Captain John Armstrong the writer of this record] forty of Major Fontaine's light horse, and two hundred and thirty active riflemen. The detachment was furnished with three days' provision, and ordered to examine the country around the Miami village. After these troops under the command of Colonel Trotter had moved about one mile from the encampment, the light

---

water. Country very flat and appears as if at particular seasons it was altogether under water. . . This night the horses were ordered to be tied up, that the army might start by daylight, with a view of keeping as near to Colonel Hardin as possible. The distance to the Aborigine towns [head of Maumee River] this morning [14th October] when the detachment went ahead, supposed to be about thirty-five miles—Denny, 347.

* Every exertion made to get forward the main body. Difficult march this day [October 15th] over beech roots and brush. Encamped on the [tributary] waters of the Omee [Maumee] about one hundred and fifty-three miles from Fort Washington. Horses were again tied, grass cut and brought to them that the army might not be detained next morning, as had frequently been the case; for although repeated orders were given to the horse-masters to hopple well their horses, and directions to the officers and men not to suffer them to pass through the lines, many of them, owing to the scarcity of food, broke loose and passed the chain of sentries and were lost. Patrols of horsemen are ordered out every morning at daylight to scour the neighboring woods and bring in any horses that might have passed the lines; and the pickets turned out small parties for the same purpose. The cattle, also, every pains taken to secure them. At evening when the army halts the cattle guard, which is composed of an officer and thirty men, build a yard always within the chain of sentries, sometimes in the square of the encampment and place themselves round the inclosure, which secures them—Denny, page 348.

† There were seven or more Aborigine villages near the three rivers within a few miles, at the time of General Harmar's visit, or later, approximately as follows: Two of the Miamis, the principal one situate on the east bank of the St. Joseph River at its mouth, and the other of thirty cabins was on the west bank a little above. The Delawares had two towns of forty cabins about three miles above the mouth of the River St. Mary. The Pottawotamis had one town of thirty cabins on the east bank of the St. Joseph about three miles above its mouth; and the Shawnees had two towns three miles below the head of the Maumee, one on the north bank called Chillicothe having fifty-eight cabins, and one on the south bank with sixteen cabins. See Map *ante* page 97.

horsemen discovered, pursued, and killed an Aborigine on horseback. Before this party returned to the columns, a second Aborigine was discovered, when the four field officers left their commands and pursued the Aborigine—leaving the troops for the space of about half an hour without any directions whatever. The flight of the second Aborigine was intercepted by the light horsemen, who despatched him after he had wounded one of their party. Colonel Trotter then changed the route of his detachment and marched in various directions until night, when he returned to the camp at the Miami village.*

The return of Colonel Trotter to camp, on the evening of the 18th, was unexpected by General Harmar, and did not receive his approbation. Colonel Hardin asked for the command of the same detachment for the remaining two days [first allotted Trotter] and his request was granted. On the morning of the 19th the detachment under command of Colonel Hardin marched a northwest course on the Aborigine path† which led towards the Kickapoo towns; and after passing a morass about five miles distant from the Miami village, the troops came to a place where, on the preceding day, a party of Aborigines had encamped. At this spot the detachment made a short halt, and the commanding officer stationed the companies at points several rods apart. After the lapse of about half an hour the companies in front were ordered to move on; and Captain Faulkner's company was left on the ground, the Colonel having neglected to give him orders to march. The troops moved forward about three miles, when they discoverd two Aborigines on foot, who threw off their packs and, the brush being thick, made their escape. About this time Colonel Hardin despatched Major Fontaine with part of the cavalry in search of Captain Faulkner, supposing him to be lost; and soon afterwards Captain Armstrong, who commanded the regulars, informed Colonel Hardin that a gun had been fired in front which might be considered as an alarm gun, and that he had seen the tracks of a horse that had come down the road and returned. The Colonel, however, moved on without giving any orders or making any arrangements for an attack; and when Captain Armstrong discovered the fires of the Aborigines at a distance, and informed Colonel Hardin of the circumstance that officer, saying that the Aborigines would not fight, rode in front of the advanced columns until the detachment was fired on from behind the fires. The militia, with the exception of nine who remained with the regulars and were killed, immediately gave way and commenced an irregular retreat, which they continued until they reached the main army.‡ Hardin, who retreated with them, made several ineffectual attempts to rally them. The small band of regulars, obstinately brave, maintained their ground until twenty-two [of the thirty] were killed, when Captain Armstrong, Ensign Hartshorne, and five or six privates, escaped from the carnage, eluded the pursuit of the Aborigines, and arrived at the camp of General Harmar. The number of Aborigines who were engaged on this occasion cannot be ascertained.‖ They were led by a distinguished Miami chief whose name was Mish-e-ken-o-quoh, which signifies the Little Turtle. The ground on which the action took place, lies about eleven miles from Fort Wayne, and near the point at which the Goshen State road crosses Eel River.

---

* The 18th October General Harmar issued a general order prohibiting the straggling of soldiers from the camp which had been extreme; also for an equal distribution of the 'plunder.'

† I saw that the men moved off with great reluctance, and am satisfied that when three miles from camp he had not more than two-thirds of his command; they dropped out of the ranks and returned to camp. . . —Denny's *Military Journal*, page 349.

‡ Of the militia forty are missing, but it is well known that very few of these were forward in the fight. The conjecture is that most of them ran back from the rear and have pushed for the Ohio River. . . Last night Captains M'Clure and M'Quircy of the militia took a notion to trap some of the Aborigines who were suspected of lurking about after night to carry off straggling horses. A short distance outside the sentries they close hoppled a horse with a bell on, and took their station in a hazel thicket but a few yards off. It was not long until an Aborigine stalked up and seized the horse. The captains rushed upon him, cut off his head and brought it into camp, and claimed at least the price of a wolf's scalp. . . —Denny's *Militiary Journal*, page 350.

‖ Captain Armstrong, under oath at the court of investigation, estimated the number at one hundred warriors. Colonel Hardin in a deposition which he made in 1791 estimated the number at about one

On the morning of the 19th the main body of the army under Harmar, having destroyed the Miami village, moved about two miles [down the north side of the Maumee] to a Shawnee village which was called Chillicothe, where was published the following orders:

> *Camp at Chillicothe*, one of the Shawnee towns, on the Omee [Maumee] River, October 20th, 1790.
>
> The party under command of Captain Strong is ordered to burn and destroy every house and wigwam in this village, together with all the corn, &c. which he can collect. A party of one hundred men (militia) properly officered, under the command of Colonel Hardin is to burn and destroy effectually, this afternoon, the Pickaway town [of the Delawares by the River St. Mary] with all the corn, &c. which he can find in it and its vicinity.
>
> The cause of the detachment being worsted yesterday was entirely owing to the shameful cowardly conduct of the militia who ran away and threw down their arms, without firing scarcely a gun. In returning to Fort Washington if any officer or man shall presume to quit the ranks, or not to march in the form that they are ordered, the General will most assuredly order the artillery to fire on them. He hopes the check they received yesterday will make them in future obedient to orders.
>
> JOSIAH HARMAR, Brig. General.

At ten o'clock, A. M., on the 21st the army moved from the ruins of the Chillicothe village, marched about seven miles on the route to Fort Washington, and encamped.* The night being very clear, Colonel Hardin informed General Harmar that he thought it would be a good opportunity to steal a march on the Aborigines, as he had reason to believe that they had returned to the towns as soon as the army left them. Harmar did not seem willing to send a party back; but Hardin urged the matter, informing the General that, as he had been unfortunate the other day, he wished to have it in his power to pick the militia and try it again; and at the same time endeavored to account for the men's not fighting; and desired an opportunity to retrieve the credit of the militia [deposition of Colonel John Hardin 14th September, 1791]. In order to satisfy the request of Hardin, and to give the Aborigines a check and thus prevent their harassing the army on its return to Fort Washington, General Harmar determined to send back a detachment of four hundred men. Accordingly, late in the night of the 21st a corps of three hundred and forty militia, and sixty regular troops under the command of Major Wyllys, were detached, that they might gain the vicinity of the Miami village before day-break and surprise any Aborigines who might be found there. The detachment marched in three columns. The regular troops were in the center, at the head of which Captain Joseph Ashton† was posted, with Major Wyllys and Colonel Hardin in his front. The militia formed the columns to the right and left [see map *ante* page 97]. Owing to some delay occasioned by the halting of the militia, the detachment did not reach the bank of the Maumee till some time after sunrise. The spies then discovered some Aborigines and reported to Major Wyllys who halted the regular troops, and moved the militia on some distance in front where he gave his orders and plan of attack to the several commanding officers of corps. Major Wyllys reserved to himself the command of the regular troops. Major Hall with his battalion was directed to take a circuitous route around the bend of the Omee [Maumee] River, cross the Pickaway fork [the River St. Mary] and there, in the rear of the Aborigines, wait until the attack should be

---

hundred and fifty men. Some writers, on questionable authority, have given the number at seven hundred. Captain Armstrong wrote that 'many of the Aborigines must have been killed, as I saw my men bayonet many of them. They fought and died hard.'

* The army having burned five villages, besides the capitol town, and consumed and destroyed twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears, took up their line of march back to Fort Washington and encamped eight miles from the ruins — Denny.

† Captain Asheton's testimony before the Court of Inquiry. See *Am. State Papers* vol xii, page 28.

brought on by Major M'Mullen's battalion, Major Fontaine's cavalry, and the regular troops under Major Wyllys, who were all ordered to cross the Omee [Maumee] at and near the common fording place. After the attack commenced the troops were by no means to separate, but were to embody, or the battalions to support each other as circumstances required. From this disposition it appeared evident that it was the intention of Hardin and Wyllys to surround the Aborigine encampment; but Major Hall, who had gained his position undiscovered, disobeyed his orders by firing at a single Aborigine before the commencement of the action. Several small parties of Aborigines were soon seen running in different directions, and the militia under M'Mullen and the cavalry under Fontaine pursued them in disobedience to orders, and left Major Wyllys unsupported. The consequence was that the regulars, after crossing the Maumee, were attacked by a superior force of Aborigines and compelled to retreat with the loss of Major Wyllys and the greater part of their corps. Major Fontaine, at the head of the mounted militia, fell, with a number of his followers, in making a charge against a small party of Aborigines; and on his fall the remainder of his troops dispersed, leaving the federal troops unsupported to become an easy sacrifice to much the largest party of savages that had been seen that day. While the main body of the Aborigines, led by the Little Turtle, were engaged with the regulars near the banks of the Maumee, some skirmishing took place near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph between detached parties of Aborigines and the militia under Hall and M'Mullen. After the defeat of the regulars, however, the militia retreated on the route to the main army; and the Aborigines having suffered a severe loss, did not pursue them.*

About eleven o'clock A. M. a single horseman reached the camp of Harmar with [very imperfect] news of the defeat of the detachment. The General immediately ordered Major Ray to march with his battalion to the assistance of the retreating parties; but so great was the panic which prevailed among the militia that only thirty men could be induced to leave the main army. With this small number Major Ray proceeded a short distance towards the scene of action, when he met Colonel Hardin on his retreat. On reaching the encampment of Harmar, Colonel Hardin requested the General to march back to the Miami village with the whole army; but Harmar said to him, 'you see the situation of the army; we are now scarcely able to move our baggage; it would take up three days to go, and return to this place; we have no more forage for our horses; the Aborigines have got a very good scourging; and I will keep the army in perfect readiness to receive them if they think proper to follow.' † The General at this time had lost all confidence in the militia. The bounds of the camp were made less and, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 23rd October, the army took up the line of march for Fort Washington and reached that place on the 4th of November, having lost in the expedition one hundred and eighty-three killed, and thirty-one wounded.* Among the killed were Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Ebenezer Frothingham of the regular troops; and Major Fontaine, Captains Thorp, M'Murtrey and Scott, Lieutenants Clark and Rogers, and Ensigns Bridges, Sweet, Higgins and Thielkeld, of the militia. The Aborigines, whose loss was about equal to that of ours, did not annoy the army after the action of the 22nd of October.

---

* It was my opinion that the misfortunes of that day were owing to the separation of the troops, and disobeyance of orders. After the federal troops were defeated, and the firing in all quarters nearly ceased, Majors Hall and M'Mullen with their battalions met in the [site of the] town and, after discharging, cleaning and fresh loading their arms, which took up about half an hour, proceeded to join the army unmolested. I am convinced that the detachment, if it had been embodied, was sufficient to have answered the fullest expectations of the General. . . — Testimony of Captain Joseph Ashton, *Am. State Papers* vol. xii, page 28.

The wings commanded by Majors Hall and M'Millen came upon a few Aborigines immediately after crossing the Omee [Maumee] put them to flight and, contrary to orders, pursued up the St. Joseph for several miles. The center division, composed chiefly of the regular troops, were left unsupported. It would seem as if the enemy designed to draw the principal part of the force after a few of their people, while their main body attacked Major Wyllys. The center division sustained a very unequal fight for some time. They were obliged at length to give way. The few that escaped fled in the direction that the militia had gone, and met them returning from the pursuit of the scattering Aborigines. The enemy followed and were met by the militia several miles up the St. Joseph; this narrow river was between the parties; a smart fire commenced and was kept up. The Aborigines attempted to force their way across but were repulsed, and at length withdrew. Our parties collected their wounded, and returned slowly to camp — Denny's *Military Journal* pages 351, 352.

† Deposition of Colonel John Hardin September 14, 1791 *American State Papers.*

The causes of the serious disasters attending General Harmar' expedition to the head of the Maumee, in addition to those stated above were the alleged incompetency of some officers, insufficient discipline of the militia, and the bickerings among some of their officers, causing distrust, disorder and panic at the first attack of the enemy. General Harmar, annoyed by adverse criticism of his conduct of this expedition, asked President Washington 28th March, 1791, for a board of officers to act as a Court of Inquiry. This request was granted and, after considering the evidence, he was acquitted. Nothing was said about his failure to build the forts that had been thought desirable at first. Some of the officials, however, had objections to the suggested forts in the wilderness, such as the cost of their maintenance from garrisons and supplies snd their narrow influence. But General Harmar's command was prepared for such work, and not prepared for aggressive war as the sequel proved. Had he built a strong fort at the head of the Maumee immediately upon his arrival there, and garnered, instead of burning, the extensive products of the fields and, on his return, left a chain of such forts, they would have been rallying points for soldiers to keep the savages in check; for the commissioners of peace to these savages, and for those of the savages who would gradually, one by one and tribe by tribe, have been won to peace. The moral as well as physical effects of such forts were demonstrated by General Wayne, as is shown in a later chapter. General Harmer resigned his commission the following January, was made Adjutant General of Pennsylvania in 1793, and rendered good service in furnishing troops for General Wayne's campaign along the Maumee in 1794.†

The savages reported their loss as only fifteen to twenty.‡ They were greatly elated at their success in defeating General Harmar's army. Like the Ancient Romans who returned home to celebrate their great victories in triumphal processions, these savages went to Detroit the headquarters of their masters and allies the British, where they daily paraded the streets uttering their demoniac scalp-yells while bearing long poles strung with the scalps of the many American soldiers they had killed.* Additional savage war-parties were started for the frontier settlements. The British, also, were elated at the success of the savages, exhibiting their pleasure by words condemnatory of the American policy, and by their continued acts in supplying the savages for further atrocities.

---

* The whole number of the killed and missing of the army amounts to one hundred and eighty-three, but it is verily believed that a number of the militia who are missing have deserted, and are on their way to Kentucky — Denny's *Military Journal* page 354.

† General Harmar was addicted to the use of intoxicating beverages like many others of his time. See letter of General Knox of September 3, 1790, to him remonstrating against this practice in Knox Papers in Library of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, Boston, vol. xxiii, page 169.

‡ This report was probably of only one tribe or squad. Savages did not aggregate their losses.

It must be admitted that the conduct of the Americans coming in contact with the savages from the beginning in governmental, soldiery, and pioneer settler relations, had not always exhibited that thoughtfulness, dignity and unity of action that commands the full respect, particularly of those at a distance; and much of their later conduct, for two years at least, was open to severe criticism. But the extenuating circumstances, individual and general, were many and great, and such as not to be fully appreciated by persons foreign to them.†

The anxiety, always present with the frontier settlers, now increased to a panic. The officers, local and general, whose duty it was to guard and protect the legitimate settlers, had often been remiss in their duties. While their physical resources were narrow, they had been wanting in that broad comprehension of requirements that would have begotten from the first more of a union of effort and strength of resistance to the treacherous savages while accumulating means for that complete subjection of them that was necessary. Now they became even more disconcerted than before and their spasmodic efforts to protect the settlements with soldiers — to send embassies to placate the savages at this inopportune time, while gathering an army, meantime, sufficient to overcome them and build forts throughout the forests, which forests the savages had been taught by the French and British never to give up, and in which determination they were yet being sustained by the British — all were again pointed to by the British and savages as evidences of American insincerity and duplicity. Such was the fruit of the long-continued pacific policy of the American officials, if any policy could be said to have existed. Their efforts had only occasionally been awakened, with mere temporizing effect on the enemies, to react unfavorably upon the settlements.

The Legislature of Virginia 20th December, 1790, authorized Governor Beverly Randolph to provide for the enlistment of several companies of rangers before the first of March for the protection of the frontier; and Charles Scott was appointed Brigadier General of Kentucky militia. Early in January, 1791, Congress named General Scott, Henry Inness, John Brown, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby a local Board of War for the District of Kentucky, with discretionary powers. The third of March Congress also provided another regiment of Federal Troops, and for raising two thousand militia for six months, for the further protection of the frontiers; and President Washington immediately appointed Governor Arthur St. Clair Commander in Chief of this Army of the Northwest. Colonel Thomas Proctor was sent 12th March, 1791, to the Senecas in New York to gather an embassy from them to the western tribes, but the British at Niagara would not permit a boat to take them across Lake Erie in the American interest; and through the British and Colonel Brant false reports were circulated—that the United States were endeavoring to involve the Six Nations in war with the western savages. Further illustration of the continued British policy to dominate all the savages is given in the communications of their officers to the savages, and the savages deferring to their request that all questions of moment should be referred to the British.

---

* Compare *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, and Farmer's *His. of Detroit.*

† For many details regarding the different questions and annoyances of these troublous times, the inquirer is referred to the *American State Papers*, volumes relating to Aborigine, and Military Affairs; also to the many MSS. that have already been referred to.

Radical operations against the savage retreats appearing necessary, and the result of Colonel Proctor's mission for intercession of the Six Nations for peace having been awaited as long as practicable, General Scott crossed the Ohio River 23rd May, 1791, at the mouth of the Kentucky with eight hundred cavalry, and started for the historic Ouiotenon on the Wabash River near the present City of Lafayette. Rain fell in torrents with much high wind, but he arrived at Ouiotenon the first of June after an estimated march of one hundred and sixty miles across the forested country with only trails for road. The last of the savages were just leaving the proximal town when General, now acting as Lieutenant Colonel-Commander, James Wilkinson pressed forward with the First Battalion and 'destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded.' There was a Kickapoo town on the north bank of the river from which a brisk firing was directed at the troops. The river was high and soldiers were sent above and below to effect a crossing, which was done by some swimming, and the savages were dislodged. Meantime Colonel Hardin's command had discovered a stronger village to the left which was surprised and six savages were killed and fifty-two taken prisoners. The next evening General Wilkinson started with three hundred and sixty men on foot, and early the next morning assailed and destroyed the important town of Kethtipecanunk at the mouth of Eel River eighteen miles above Ouiotenon, returning from this thirty-six miles walk and work in twelve hours. All the villages and supplies were destroyed. General Scott reported that "Many of the inhabitants of this village [Ouiotenon] were French and lived in a state of civilization. By the books, letters, and other documents found here it is evident that the place was in close connection with and dependent on Detroit. A large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles were burned with this village which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished."* The 4th June General Scott discharged sixteen of his prisoners who were less able to withstand the march, giving to their care a well-worded letter, addressed to all the tribes of savages along the Wabash, requesting peace and informing where his retained prisoners could be found. The severe rains and the swollen condition of the streams, with his forced marches through the trackless forest had disabled his horses and, his supplies being depleted, he reluctantly directed the march southward instead of to the Maumee, and arrived at the Rapids of the Ohio River 14th June. He reported no death in his command and only five wounded, while of the savages thirty-two were killed and fifty-eight taken prisoners, of which the forty-one not liberated were given to the care of Captain Asheton of the First United States Regiment at Fort Steuben, on the site of the present Jeffersonville, Indiana. His troops did not take any scalps.

General St. Clair recommended another expedition to the Eel River to weaken those tribes which would join the Miamis against his army then forming for the purpose of laying waste the strongholds, and establishing a series of forts in the Maumee country. Acordingly Colonel Wilkinson with five hundred and twenty-five cavalry started from the vicinity of Fort Washington (site of the present Cincinnati) northward 'feinting boldly at the Miami villages' and then turning northwestward to the Wabash near the mouth of Eel River. The evening of the sixth day out he captured the savages' most important town known by the French name *L'Anguille* — the Eel. This expedition then ranged near the Wabash, passed through Ouiotenon, thence along General Scott's route, and arrived at the Rapids of the Ohio 21st August, having traveled four hundred and fifty miles, destroyed several villages and over four hundred acres of corn 'chiefly in the milk' stage of growth; captured thirty-four or more savage prisoners and killed ten or more others. One American prisoner was released. Two soldiers were killed and one wounded. Colonel Wilkinson also left behind some infirm Aborigines unharmed, to whom he gave a letter addressed to the different tribes urging them to accept the favorable terms of peace that were offered them. These letters were taken to the British who gave their own desired renderings of them to the Aborigines.

General Harmar predicted defeat for General St. Clair's army which was being gathered with great difficulties to operate along the Maumee River.† This army was not ready to advance until 17th Sep-

---

[*] *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 129.

[†] Denny's *Military Journal* page 357. *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 118.

tember, 1791, when about twenty-three hundred soldiers, mostly regulars, moved from the vicinity of Fort Washington and built Fort Hamilton on the west bank of the Miami River at the site of the present City of Hamilton, Ohio. Again advancing under command of General St. Clair, they began to build Fort Jefferson, six miles south of the present Greenville, the 12th of October. Twelve days later the march again began, but the progress was very slow. The evening of the 3rd of November the army encamped by the Wabash River about one mile and a half east of the present Ohio-Indiana State line. During the night there were many savages near the pickets, and much firing of guns by the pickets. About ten o'clock at night General Butler, who commanded the right wing, was desired to send out an intelligent officer with detachment of soldiers to make discoveries. He chose Captain Slough, two subalterns and thirty men for this purpose, but nothing alarming was discovered.

Early the next morning the army, then numbering about fourteen hundred regular and militia soldiers, and eighty-six officers, was furiously assailed by about the same number of savages, and it went down to the most disastrous defeat ever suffered by such large numbers from such foe. General St. Clair's Adjutant Ebenezer Denny thus describes the scene:*

> The troops paraded this morning [4th November, 1791] at the usual time, and had been dismissed from the lines but a few minutes, the sun not yet up, when the woods in front rung with the yells and fire of the savages. The poor militia, who were but three hundred yards in front, had scarcely time to return a shot—they fled into our camp. The troops were under arms in an instant, and a smart fire from the front line met the enemy. It was but a few minutes, however, until the men were engaged in every quarter. The enemy from the front filed off to the right and left, and completely surrounded the camp, killed and cut off nearly all the guards, and approached close to the lines. They advanced from one tree, log, or stump to another, under cover of the smoke of our fire. The [our] artillery and musketry made a tremendous noise [huddled together as they were] but did little execution. The Aborigines seemed to brave everything, and when fairly fixed around us they made no noise other than their fire [guns] which they kept up very constant and which seldom failed to tell, although scarcely heard.
>
> Our left flank, probably from the nature of the ground, gave way first; the enemy got possession of that part of the encampment but, it being pretty clear ground, they were too much exposed and were soon repulsed. I was at this time with the General [St. Clair] engaged toward the right; he was on foot [he had been sick some days] and led the party himself that drove the enemy and regained our ground on the left. The battalions in the rear charged several times and forced the savages from their shelter, but they always turned with the battalions and fired upon their back; indeed they seemed not to fear anything we could do. They could skip out of reach of the bayonet and return, as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge.
>
> The ground was literally covered with the dead. The wounded were taken to the center, where it was thought most safe, and where a great many who had quit their

---

* Denny's *Military Journal*, page 369, *et seq.* See, also, *American Pioneer*, volume ii, page 150.

posts unhurt had crowded together. The General, with other officers, endeavored to rally these men, and twice they were taken out to the lines. It appeared as if the officers had been singled out; a very great proportion fell, or were wounded and obliged to retire from the lines early in the action. [Major] General [Richard] Butler was among the latter, as well as several other of the most experienced officers. The men, being thus left with few officers, became fearful, despaired of success, gave up the fight, and to save themselves for the moment, abandoned entirely their duty and ground, and crowded in toward the center of the field, and no exertions could put them in any order even for defense; [they became] perfectly ungovernable. The enemy at length got possession of the artillery, though not until the officers were all killed but one and he badly wounded, and the men [gunners] almost all cut off, and not until the pieces were spiked.

As our lines were deserted the Aborigines contracted theirs until their shot centered from all points, and now meeting with little opposition, took more deliberate aim and did great execution. Exposed to a cross fire, men and officers were seen falling in every direction; the distress, too, of the wounded made the scene such as can scarcely be conceived—a few minutes longer, and a retreat would have been impossible—the only hope left was, that perhaps the savages would be so taken up with the camp as not to follow. Delay was death; no preparation could be made; numbers of brave men must be left a sacrifice, there was no alternative. It was past nine o'clock when repeated orders were given to charge toward the road. The action had continued between two and three hours. Both officers and men seemed confounded, incapable of doing anything; they could not move until it was told that a retreat was intended. A few officers put themselves in front, the men followed, the enemy gave way, and perhaps not being aware of the design, we were for a few minutes left undisturbed. The stoutest and most active now took the lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the enemy's line were soon left behind.

At the moment of the retreat one of the few horses saved had been procured for the General; he was on foot until then; I kept by him, and he delayed to see the rear. The enemy soon discovered the movement and pursued, though not more than four or five miles, and but few so far; they turned to share the spoil. Soon after the firing ceased I was directed to endeavor to gain the front and, if possible, to cause a short halt that the rear might get up. I had been on horseback from the first alarm, and well mounted; [and now] pushed forward, but met with so many difficulties and interruptions from the people that I was two hours at least laboring to reach the front. With the assistance of two or three officers I caused a short halt; but the men grew impatient and would move on. I got Lieutenants Sedam and Morgan, with half a dozen stout men, to fill up the road and to move slowly; I halted myself until the General came up. By this time the remains of the army had got somewhat compact, but in the most miserable and defenseless state. The wounded who came off left their arms in the field, and one half of the others threw theirs away on the retreat. The road for miles was covered with firelocks [flintlock guns] cartridge boxes and regimentals. How fortunate that the pursuit was discontinued; a single Aborigine might have followed with safety upon either flank. Such a panic had seized the men that I believe it would not have been possible to have brought any of them to engage again.

In the afternoon Lieutenant Kersey with a detachment of the first regiment met us. This regiment, the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army, had been ordered back upon the road on the 31st October. They were thirty miles from the battle ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon, were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia who informed Major Hamtramck, the commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The Major judged it best to send on a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of things, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. He had made some arrangements, and as we arrived in the evening, found him preparing again to meet us. Stragglers continued to come in for hours after we reached the fort.

The remnant of the army, with the first regiment, were now at Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the field of action, without provisions, and the former without having eaten anything for twenty-four hours. A convoy was known to be upon the road, and within a day's march. The General determined to move with the First Regiment and all the levies [militia] able to march. Those of the wounded and others unable to go on were lodged as comfortably as possible within the fort. Accordingly we set out a little after ten and continued our route until within an hour of daylight, then halted and waited for day and until the rear came up. Moved on again about nine o'clock; the morning of the 5th we met the convoy; stopped a sufficiency to subsist us to Fort Hamilton; sent the remainder on to Jefferson under an additional escort of a captain and sixty men; proceeded, and at the first water halted, partly cooked and eat for the first time since the night preceding the action. At one o'clock moved on, and continued our route until nine at night when we halted and made fires within fifteen miles of Fort Hamilton. Marched again just before day, the General soon after rode on to the fort. Troops reached [there] in the afternoon.

November 7, 1791. Fort Hamilton command was ordered off with a small supply for the wounded, &c. About twelve same day continued our march, and halted before night within fifteen miles of Fort Washington, which place we reached the afternoon of the 8th.

The prediction of [defeat by] General Harmar before the army set out on the campaign was founded upon his experience and particular knowledge of things. He saw with what material the bulk of the army was composed; men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried out into the enemy's country, and with the officers commanding them totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged, it was utterly impossible they could be otherwise [than defeated]. Besides, not any one department was sufficiently prepared; both quarter-master and the contractors extremely deficient. It was a matter of astonishment to him [General Harmar] that the commanding general [St. Clair] who was acknowledged to be perfectly competent, should think of hazarding with such people and under such circumstances, his reputation and life, and the lives of so many others, knowing too, as both did, the enemy with whom he was going to contend; an enemy brought up from infancy to war, and perhaps superior to an equal number of the best men that could be taken against them. It is a truth, I had hopes that the noise and show which the army made on their march might possibly deter the enemy from attempting a serious and general attack. It was unfortunate that *both* the general officers were, and had been, disabled by sickness; in such situation it is possible that some essential matters might be overlooked. The Adjutant-General Colonel Winthrop Sargent, an old Revolutionary officer, was, however, constantly on the alert; he took upon himself the burden of everything, and a very serious and troublesome task he had. But one most important object was wanting, can't say neglected, but more might have been done toward obtaining it; this was *a knowledge of the collected force and situation of the enemy; of this we were perfectly ignorant.* Some few scouts out but to no great distance.*

---

* See also, Lieutenant Colonel William Darke's letter to President Washington describing this defeat; in the Henry Knox (Secretary of War) Papers vol. xxx, page 12, Library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston. And Benjamin Van Cleve's Memoranda in *The American Pioneer* volume ii, 1843, page 150 *et seq.*

In this overwhelming defeat General St. Clair's army lost five hundred and ninety-three privates killed and missing. Thirty-nine officers were killed, including Major General Richard Butler, one Lieutenant Colonel, three Majors, twelve Captains, ten Lieutenants, eight Ensigns, two Quartermasters, one Adjutant, and Surgeon Grasson. Thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates were wounded. The artillery and all supplies including clothing, two hundred tents, three hundred horses, one hundred and thirty beef cattle and food in the wagons, with muskets and other equipment thrown away by many stricken soldiers, all valued at $32,810.75, were left to be gathered by the highly elated savages who took to their lodges by the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers all that could be readily transported.*

On account of necessary delays, the cold weather and bad roads, it required six weeks for St. Clair's Aide, Lieutenant Denny, to convey on horseback the news of this crushing defeat to the office of Secretary Knox in Philadelphia.† General St. Clair requested the appointment of a Court of Inquiry. This was done by the War Department, and the Court exonerated him. He resigned his commission March 5, 1792. The principal causes of the failure of the campaign were, 1st. The deficient number of good troops, according to the expectation in the early part of the year. 2nd. Their want of sufficient discipline, according to the nature of the service. 3rd. The lateness of the season.‡ The wet and cold condition of the weather which covered the country with thin ice and snow, certainly added much to the inefficiency of the volunteers who were unused to such campaigning, and added greatly to their sufferings in defeat. But such condition cannot be urged to account for the incompetency of the commanders. Nor should the illness of General St. Clair be an excuse for the laxity in the fortifying and reconnoitering by his subordinates. There were other unwise features of this campaign beside undisciplined men and incompetent officers. The wives and women of many soldiers were with the army. They were favored as much as practicable, but many of them were killed by the savages.||

---

* A Delaware Aborigine named Whingwy Pooshies, of prominence in his tribe, took from this battlefield to his cabin by the Auglaise River near its mouth, two good horses, four tents — one a good markee (marquee) in which his family lived for several years — a great quantity of clothing from the dead soldiers and their wives; also axes, guns, and everything necessary to make an Aborigine rich. 'There was much joy among them' — From the Narrative of John Brickell who was then a captive living with this family, in *The American Pioneer* volume i, page 50.

† For accounts of the reception by the President of the account of St. Clair's Defeat, see George W. P. Custis' *Personal Recollections of Washington;* Henry C. Lodge's *Life of Washington*, etc.

‡ Statement of Henry Knox Secretary of War, *Am. State Papers* Aborigine Affairs vol. i, page 98.

|| Caleb Atwater writes in his *History of the State of Ohio*, 1838, page 142, that there were in this army at the commencement of the action about two hundred and fifty women of whom fifty-six were killed in the battle. But few escaped death and captivity.

General Wilkinson visited this battle-field about the last of January, 1792, with one hundred and fifty volunteer cavalrymen some of whom were frost bitten on the way from Fort Jefferson. When within four miles of the battle field they found scattered along the way the remains of Americans who had been pursued and killed or who had died of their wounds while endeavoring to escape. The field was thickly strewn with remnants showing horrible mutilations by the savages. Sand and clay were found packed into the eyes and throats, done probably while the wounded were yet alive; limbs were separated from bodies; and stakes the size of arms were found driven through the bodies of women. The flesh had been stripped from many bones, but the relative part done by the savage cannibals and the wolves could not be determined. The latter were yet at work. As many of these remains as practicable on account of the cold and snow, were gathered and buried in a shallow trench* dug into the frozen ground with difficulty by the benumbed soldiers. Three whole cannon carriages were found and removed to Fort Jefferson; the other five were in damaged condition. All the cannon were missing.

---

* General Wayne's army gathered and buried all bones that could be found at this battle field Christmas week, 1793, previous to the building of Fort Recovery. Six hundred skulls were counted. *American Pioneer*, 1842, volume i, page 294.

Pistol found in the Maumee River, at the mouth of the Auglaise off Fort Defiance Park, in low water of the summer of 1895. Without mark to indicate date or place of its manufacture. Length nine inches. Rifled bore. Cocked and ready for firing. In the Author's collection.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUED EFFORTS TO PLACATE THE ABORIGINES PROVE FUTILE — GENERAL WAYNE'S SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM.

1792 TO 1794.

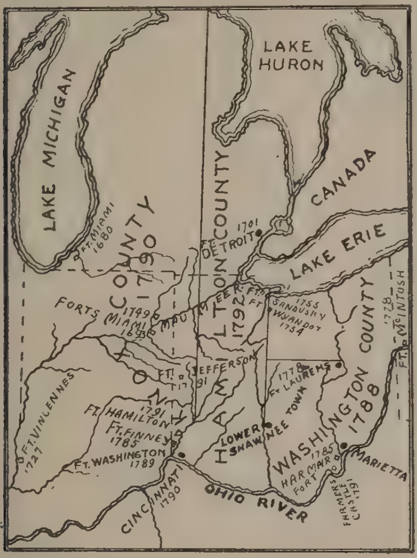
The savages did not want peace with the Americans previous to their defeat of General Harmar's army; much less would they comply with the proclamation of Governor St. Clair or respond to various other overtures made to them for peace after that disaster. They rallied all the available warriors of the different tribes nearby — the Miamis under Chief Little Turtle, the Delawares under Buckongehelas, the Shawnees under Blue Jacket, the Ottawas, Wyandots, Pottawotamis, Kickapoos, and bands of lesser significance against the on-coming of General St. Clair, and their easy overwhelming of this the second large army, commanded by the Governor — the, to them, great American chieftain — was to them the cause of excessive joy. This, with the largely increased number of scalps and other rich spoils gathered from their victims were looked upon as license for a continuance of their raids on the settlements, and as omens of their ultimate success in driving the Americans from the country on the plan of Pontiac in 1763.

The American frontier settlements, with increased apprehension, sent more urgent petitions to the authorities for protection. Some of these petitions represented that not less than fifteen hundred Kentuckians — men, women and children — had been slain or carried into captivity by the savages within seven years, and that the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia had suffered nearly as much; and that the prospect was now more gloomy than ever as the enemy was more aggressive and savage.

On the other hand, the British were becoming more apprehensive regarding their fur trade and the loss of their allies from the organization of American armies. The defeat of two armies was sure to be followed by another army, stronger and more destructive. The Montreal merchants whose lucrative traffic with these savages had lessened during the more active hostilities, petitioned 9th December, 1791, Colonel John Graves Simcoe Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada for protection; and suggested closer union with the savages and a continued holding of the forts yet occupied by the British in American territory.

Secretary Knox 'in obedience to the command' of President Washington, made the 26th December an interesting statement relative to the frontiers northwest of the Ohio River, which included this paragraph, viz: Hence it would appear that the principles of justice as well as policy and, it may be added, the principles of economy, all combine to dictate that an adequate military force should be raised as soon as possible, placed upon the frontiers, and disciplined according to the nature of the service, in order to meet with the prospect of success against the greatest probable combination of the Aborigine enemy.* Messages and overtures for peace were again sent to the various tribes, including the Iroquois Six Nations; and preparations for the proposed army were also entered upon.

To advance the civil jurisdiction as much as possible, Hamilton County was extended 11th February, 1792, by Governor St. Clair eastward to the Scioto River and northward to the territorial limits, thus including the eastern part of this Basin although it was yet held by the savages.



Civil Divisions existing in the eastern part of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River in the year 1792.

President Washington, having been greatly disappointed in the result of the expedition of General St. Clair who was a former member of his staff, made choice of the commander for the proposed campaign with great circumspection. Generals Anthony Wayne, Henry Lee, Daniel Morgan, Andrew Pickens, Rufus Putnam, Charles Scott, James Wilkinson and Alexander M'Gillivray, were those of most prominence from whom to choose; and Anthony Wayne was selected early in 1792. The result showed the wisdom of the choice notwithstanding the statement of General Lee that this appointment caused extreme disgust among all orders in the Old Dominion.

Soon after this appointment General Wayne issued a proclamation to acquaint the anxious frontiersmen with the efforts in progress to secure peace by treaty, and to request all persons to avoid all action that would further anger the Aborigines. The governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania issued similar proclamations.

Major John F. Hamtramck effected treaties at Vincennes in March, 1792, with small bands of the Wabash and Eel River tribes, and he also sent peace messages to those of the Maumee. About fifty chiefs of the Six Nations also visited Philadelphia by invitation and accepted the overtures for peace.

---

* *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs, volume i, page 198.

The 7th April General Wilkinson sent two messengers, Freeman and Girard, with peace message to the Miamis of the Maumee; and the 20th May Colonel John Hardin and Major Alexander Truman started northward on a like mission—but not one of the four returned to tell of the savage treatment, and death, they suffered.

General Putnam succeeded the 27th September in closing terms of peace with thirty-one Aborigines of the Wabash and Illinois tribes at Vincennes. Each of the parties to these peace negotiations carried copies of the Treaties of 1784-85-86-89, and many expressions and assurances by the Americans to turn the savages from their work of carnage; but all availed nothing with those more directly under the influence of the British. The raidings by the savages continued unabated.

Of the secret efforts to learn more regarding the relations between the British and the savages, to be the better able therefrom to appease the latter, but one succeeded on account of the vigilance of both the British and savages. William May was started from Fort Hamilton the 13th May, 1792, to follow on the trail of Major Truman. He was captured by the savages, as expected, and after escaping many dangers was taken along the Maumee, and sold to Matthew Elliott then British Assistant Agent to the Aborigines from whose service he finally escaped and gave sworn testimony before General Wayne at Pittsburg 11th October, 1792.* This evidence detailed some items of interest, among which are the following: There were gathered in the summer of 1792 by the Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaise then the headquarters of nearby tribes, three thousand and six hundred warriors of many tribes, and more were often arriving at the time of William May's sojourn there, all of whom received daily rations from the British at Detroit.

This was the largest council of Aborigines held in America, and it appeared to the British as the culmination of their hopes and efforts for their confederation. The Seneca Chief Cornplanter and forty-eight other chiefs of the Six Nations of New York were there for the Americans in the interest of peace; and Chief Cornplanter reported to General Wayne† that . . . 'we cannot tell the names of the nations present. There were present three men from the Gora‡ nations;

---

* *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs, volume i, page 243.

† *Idem* page 337.

‡ Gora, or Gorah, was one of the names formerly given by the Six Nations (Iroquois) of New York to Sir William Johnson and to Colonel Guy Johnson; and these Gora Aborigines were probably of the Iroquois of Canada who were at this time under the control of Sir John Johnson British Superintendent of Aborigines.

it took them a whole season to come; and twenty-seven nations [tribes] from beyond Canada. The whole of them know that we, the Six Nations, have General Washington by the hand.' . . This reference was to their recent visit to Philadelphia by invitation, and the peace treaty there effected. Other tribes were expected at this Grand Council at the mouth of the Auglaise River, and they came later. A like council was called for the next year, 1793, and runners were sent with invitations to the most distant tribes in all directions, including the Creeks and Cherokees of the south, urging their attendance.

William May, having been a sailor, was kept by his purchaser three months in the transportation service on board a schooner that carried about one hundred and sixty barrels as a load between Detroit and the foot of the lowest Maumee Rapids, where was situated the great supply house of the British Aborigine agent Alexander M'Kee, from whom the savages received their supplies of firearms and ammunition with which to raid and murder Americans wherever possible.

A number of small forts were built along the frontier as bases of supplies and protection and places of refuge for the remaining American settlers. In addition to the attacks on individuals and families along the borders, a company of mounted Kentucky riflemen under Major John Adair was suddenly attacked November 6, 1792, near Post St. Clair about twenty-five miles north of Fort Hamilton, by a party of savages who exhibited 'a degree of courage that bespoke them warriors indeed' reads the report of the Major; and six Americans were killed, five wounded, and four were missing. The savages also killed a number of packhorses and captured others. Their loss of men was thought to be about the same as that of the Kentuckians. At this time the army being formed by General Wayne was rendezvoused twenty-two miles below Pittsburg for discipline, and to protect the Virginia frontier.

For the purpose of continuing the efforts to secure peace with the savages by further treaty, President Washington the 2nd March, 1793, appointed General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, Beverly Randolph of Virginia and Timothy Pickering of Pennsylvania, Commissioners to attend the great council to be held at the foot of the lowest Rapids of the Maumee, or at Sandusky the 1st of June. The 17th May Messrs. Randolph and Pickering arrived at Fort Niagara and there received a note from Lieutenant Governor and Colonel John Graves Simcoe to be guests at his home, Navy Hall nearly a mile from the fort; and there being no other suitable place for them to stop the invitation was accepted. General Lincoln arrived 25th May. Meantime a letter was received from Colonel M'Kee, British Aborigine Agent, stating that the tribal councils would probably not end by the

Maumee before the latter part of June, and the Commissioners would best remain at Niagara until he notified them that the Aborigines were ready to receive them.

Colonel John Butler, a leader in the Wyoming Massacre in July, 1778, now British Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs, and Captain Joseph Brant of like notoriety, with a picked company of fifty savages, arrived at Niagara July 5th from the large collection of Aborigines then at the British distributing house at the foot of the Maumee Rapids (now the Village of Maumee) and requested explanation of the 'unfair and unwarrantable' warlike preparations of General Wayne; and they desired to know the authority for the trespassing of the Americans north of the Ohio River, all of which they claimed as territory belonging to the Aborigines. The Commissioners in reply cited the several treaties of previous years and the subsequent maraudings of the savages in explanation, and expressed desire for peace; and agreement was made to meet in full council at Sandusky.

The Commissioners left Niagara the 10th July and, awaiting a favorable wind, the British sloop sailed from Fort Erie opposite the present City of Buffalo the 14th, and arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River the 21st where they were received, and entertained during their enforced stay there of nearly four weeks, by Captain Matthew Elliott British Assistant Agent to the Aborigines. They frequently urged an early meeting of the Council at Sandusky, the place named by the British.

The 29th July, a deputation of over twenty Aborigines arrived at Captain Elliott's from the grand council that had for weeks been in progress at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, with the notorious Simon Girty as interpreter. After a brief preliminary they presented to the Commissioners a short written communication from the council, the principal sentence being that 'If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river' [the Ohio]. The Commissioners delivered to them in writing a long and carefully prepared reply in which the treaties of 1768, 1784-85-86 and 1789 were referred to in justification of the advance of American immigrants into the territory north of the Ohio, and with reasons why it was impossible at this late date to make this river the boundary; that the United States Government was willing to make liberal concessions to the Aborigines, as the treaty with Great Britain declared the middle of the Great Lakes and the waters which unite them to be the boundary of the United States; and they closed with the desire to soon meet the general council in treaty.

The 8th and 9th of August the Commissioners received reports that all the tribes represented at the Maumee Council were for peace excepting the Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis and Delawares, and that they were yielding; that many Aborigines were tired of the long delays and were departing for their respective villages. The Commissioners desired to go directly to the Maumee Council, but this action the British would not permit.

The 14th they wrote to the chiefs of the council again urging a meeting for a treaty; also to Colonel M'Kee that his aid to this result would be gratefully acknowledged. The 16th August a long and carefully written reply was received at Captain Elliott's by the Commissioners closing with the assertion that if the Commissioners would not agree to the Ohio River being the boundary 'a meeting would be altogether unnecessary.' Appended to this paper was written the following names of 'Nations' represented, viz: Wyandots, Seven Nations of Canada, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Ottawas, Chippewas, Senecas of the Glaise [Auglaise River], Pottawotamis, Connoys, Munsees, Nantakokias, Mohicans, Messasagoes, Creeks, Cherokees.

This communication was, undoubtedly, fully conceived and written by the British authorities; it was certainly approved by their censors. This general council, as well as the one the year before by the Maumee at the mouth of the Auglaise, was the result of British efforts for many years to federate all the savages that their dictated decision in council, and united action in war, might become irresistable to the Americans. Joseph Brant, leader in the Six Nations and generally a stanch friend of the British, declared that such united action 'caused the defeat of two American armies [Harmar's and St. Clair's] . . . But to our surprise, when upon the point of entering upon a treaty with the [American] Commissioners, we found that it was opposed by those acting under the British government.'* . . In reply the American Commissioners sent to the chiefs and to the British Colonel M'Kee, regretfully, the statement that their efforts for negotiations were at an end; including with the letters copies of the former treaties.† The 23rd August the Commissioners on their return arrived opposite Fort Erie where they dispatched, by different runners, letters to General Wayne and to General Knox Secretary of War announcing their failure to secure terms for peace.

General Wayne believed further delay would be an undue exposure of the frontier to the savage incursions and, 5th October, 1793, he reported to the Secretary of War from near Fort Washington that his available army remained small from Kentucky disappointments, from fevers among his enlisted men, and from "the influenza [later called in America by the French name LaGrippe] which has pervaded the whole line in a most alarming and rapid degree. . . This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately to save the frontiers from impending savage fury. I will therefore advance to-morrow with the force I have in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front [north] of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check.". . The 23rd October he reported, from this 'strong position' which he named Fort Greenville in honor of his friend of the Revolutionary War, General Nathaniel Greene, that

---

* William L. Stone's *Life of Brant*, volume ii, page 358.

† *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, pages 340, 360.

> We have recently experienced a little check to one of our convoys which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame before this reaches you; the following is, however, the fact, viz: Lieutenant Lowry, of the 2nd sub-legion and Ensign Boyd of the 1st with a command consisting of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons belonging to the quartermaster general's department loaded with grain and one of the contractor's loaded with stores, were attacked early in the morning of the 17th instant about seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair [twenty-nine miles above Fort Hamilton] by a party of Aborigines; those two gallant young gentlemen (who promised at a future day to be ornaments to their profession) together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge. The savages killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the road which have been all brought to this camp without any other loss or damage except some trifling articles. . . It is reported that the Aborigines at Au Glaize [present Defiance] have sent their women and children into some secret recess or recesses from their towns; and that the whole of the warriors are collected or collecting in force. . . A great number of men as well as officers have been left sick and debilitated at the respective garrisons, from a malady called the influenza; among others General Wilkinson has been dangerously ill; he is now at Fort Jefferson and on the recovery. . .

The character of General Wayne, including his determination is further illustrated in the following sentence, excerpted from the same letter, viz: "The safety of the Western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation, all forbid a retrograde manœuvre, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, until the enemy are compelled to sue for peace."* His encampment at Greenville was fortified and part of the army passed the winter there.

Major Henry Burbeck was ordered 23rd December, with eight companies of infantry and artillery, to proceed to the battle-field of General St. Clair's defeat and there erect a fortification. This stockade enclosure with blockhouses was given the name Fort Recovery.

The Aborigines, observing this steady advance toward their principal retreats, with fortifications, made a movement for peace; and probably a treaty of peace could, also, at this time have been effected but for the continued adverse influence of the British. Their desires and continued efforts to 'unite the American Aborigines' which Governor Simcoe expressed at Niagara to the American Peace Commissioners as 'the principle of the British government' was for their own better control of them; and these efforts were continued also with the Creeks, Cherokees, and other tribes along the American frontiers south of the Ohio River, thus costing the United States many lives and much expense there, also. In fact much of the open as well as of the secret conduct of the British was not only reprehensible, but criminal. It was they who kept alive the boundary question in its virulence, seeking to extend their own boundary thereby while professing to favor the Aborigines. The British desire for the traffic of the Aborigines had something to do with this conduct; but they could not have been actuated to their course by any complicity of the American authorities in any other act inimical to their interest.*

---

* *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 361.

These were troublous years to the Americans generally, they being beset on all sides, by the British and Aborigines, and by the machinations of the French and Spanish to involve them in complications with Great Britain and, further, to again incite the inhabitants west of the Allegheny Mountains to a separation from the East. The natural outlet for the products of the Ohio Basin down the Mississippi River had much to do with the continuation of the disaffection of the settlers with the East; but the statesmen of the East were largely responsible for its beginning, by their arguments against the extension of the United States domain which they thought already too large to be governed from one center. The Spanish and French emissaries took advantage of these complicities at different times, and circulated their schemes among the settlers of the West from Detroit to Kentucky and the Illinois country. General Wayne well styled this complicity of enemies to the United States an hydra.†

The Aborigine chiefs kept in close communication with the British officials — not only with Elliott and M'Kee, but with Detroit, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe of Niagara and with the Governor General Lord Dorchester. In an address of welcome to the chiefs 10th February, 1794, Lord Dorchester spoke in part as follows: "Children, since my return I find no appearance of a [boundary] line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the United States push on and act [evidently referring to the advance of General Wayne] and talk . . . I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so a line must then be drawn by the warriors. . . . We have acted in the most peaceable manner and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience; but I believe our patience is almost exhausted."[*] . . .

---

* See President Washington's proclamation of neutrality, and Secretary Jefferson's remonstrance regarding the overtures of the Spanish of the Mississippi to the Kentuckians, and also against the incitings of the French Minister Edmund Charles Genest (often written Genet) to beget sympathy for the French revolutionists against the British and Spanish. Also the American order to occupy Fort Massac, situate on the north bank of the Ohio River eight miles below the mouth of the Tennessee, to intercept all illegal transit — *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations vol. i, page 172 *et seq.*

†Compare *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs and Foreign Relations. Also for a brief connected account of these complicities, see *The Winning of the West* by Theodore Roosevelt.

This address was characteristic of the unlimited selfishness and arrogance of the British; and the assertion of impending war—in which they were again to actively champion the savages in their most horrid work—was not idle words. Lieutenant Governor Simcoe was immediately sent to Detroit, he being there the 18th February; and the 17th April a letter from Detroit reads that "we have lately had a visit from Governor Simcoe; he came from Niagara through the woods . . . he has gone to the foot of the [Maumee] Rapids, and three companies of Colonel [Richard] England's regiment have followed him to assist in building a fort there."[†]

This fort was a veritable stronghold. It was named Fort Miami, and situated on the left bank of the Maumee River near the lower limits of the present Village of Maumee, which was then as now, a great advance into United States territory. M'Kee's Agency house was one mile and a half above this fort and near the foot of the lowest rapids.[‡] The reinforcement of General Wayne's command by Kentucky troops and all their movements were regularly reported at Forts Miami and Lernoult at Detroit; and at the advance of his army Fort Miami was strengthened and further garrisoned, and Major William Campbell succeeded Captain Caldwell its first commandant. President Washington, through Edmund Randolph Secretary of State, complained to the British Government regarding Lord Dorchester's address to the savages, which had been widely circulated among them and the Americans; and he also protested against Fort Miami. The reply showed that the London Government instigated the aggressions, and it offered no relief.[||]

General Wayne reported 7th July, 1794, from his headquarters at Greenville that

> At seven o'clock in the morning of the 30th ultimo one of our escorts consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons commanded by Major McMahon, was attacked by a numerous body of Aborigines under the walls of Fort Recovery, followed by a general assault upon that post and garrison [of about two hundred men] in every direction. The enemy were soon repulsed with great slaughter, but immediately rallied and reiterated the attack keeping up a very heavy and constant fire at a more respectable distance for

---

[*] A verified copy from the Archives of the London Foreign Office. See Rives' *Life and Times of James Madison* volume iii, page 418. Also Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, volume iv, page 57.

[†] *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 480.

[‡] See M'Kee's letter to Chew of 8th May, 1794. In Canadian Archives at Ottawa.

[||] *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations volume i.

> the remainder of the day, which was answered with spirit and effect by the garrison and a part of Major McMahon's command that had regained the post. The savages were employed during the night (which was dark and foggy) in carrying off their dead by torch light, which occasionally drew a fire from the garrison. They, nevertheless, succeeded so well that there were but eight or ten bodies left upon the field, and those close under the range of the guns of the fort.
>
> The enemy again renewed the attack on the morning of the 1st instant, but were ultimately compelled to retreat with loss and disgrace from that very field where they had upon a former occasion been proudly victorious. . . .

It was apparent that 'there were a considerable number of the British and the militia of Detroit[*] mixed with the savages in the assault' and they expected to find the cannon lost by General St. Clair; but these had been found by the Americans[†] who used them against the assailants. The American loss by the assault on Fort Recovery was twenty-two killed, thirty wounded and three missing. Of the horses fifty-nine were killed, twenty-two wounded, and two hundred and twenty-one were missing; but the General reported that their loss would not in the least retard the advance of the legion after the arrival of the expected mounted volunteers from Kentucky.

The British had, also, been again holding communication with the Spanish of the Mississippi who promised to help them against the Americans; and M'Kee was supplying the savages with the best of firearms (rifles) and other articles of war. These were used in the attack at Fort Recovery; and a party of Delawares and Shawnees afterward presented six American scalps before M'Kee and addressed him as follows: "We had two actions with Wayne's troops in which a great many of our enemies were killed. Part of their flesh we have brought here with us to convince our friend of the truth of their being now in great force on their march against us; therefore, Father, we desire you to be strong and bid your children make haste to our assistance as was promised by them."[‡]

In further confirmation of the reprehensible action of the British, and their fears that the Americans would retaliate, the following letters from Colonel Alexander M'Kee British Agent to these Aborigines, written to Colonel Richard England Commandant at Detroit, are given, they being endorsed 'On His Majesty's Service' viz:[||]

---

[*] *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, pages 488-89.

[†] All of these cannon, but one, were early found hidden under old trees and debris. The missing one was reported by a Shawnee, by way of Little Turtle, to Colonel Hamtramck 9th December, 1795, as buried at the confluence of the water courses near St. Clair's Battle Field.

[‡] M'Kee's letters 7th, 8th, 25th and 30th, May, 1794, in Canadian Archives. See, also, letter of Carondelet 9th July, 1794, in the Draper Spanish Documents Madison, Wisconsin. Quoted in Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899, volume iv.

[||] *National Intelligencer*, Washington, District of Columbia, 26th July, 1814.

[MAUMEE] RAPIDS, July 5, 1794.

SIR: I send this by a party of Saganas [Saginaw Aborigines] who returned yesterday from Fort Recovery where the whole body of Aborigines, except the Delawares who had gone another route, imprudently attacked the fort on Monday the 30th of last month, and lost 16 or 17 men besides a good many wounded.

Everything had been settled prior to their leaving the fallen timber, and it had been agreed upon to confine themselves to taking convoys and attacking at a distance from the forts, if they should have the address to entice the enemy [Americans] out; but the impetuosity of the Mackinac Aborigines and their eagerness to begin with the nearest, prevailed with the others to alter their system, the consequences of which from the present appearance of things may most materially injure the interests of these people. Both the Mackina and Lake Aborigines seemed resolved on going home again, having completed the belts they carried with scalps and prisoners, and having no provisions there at the Glaize [the present Defiance] to subsist upon, so that His Majesty's posts will derive no security from the late great influx of Aborigines into this part of the country, should they persist in their resolution of returning so soon.

The immediate object of the attack was three hundred pack horses going from this fort [Recovery] to Fort Greenville, in which the Aborigines completely succeeded, taking and killing all of them. But the commanding officer, Captain Gibson, sending out a troop of cavalry, and bringing his infantry out in the front of his post, the Aborigines attacked him and killed about fifty, among whom is Captain Gibson and two other officers. On the near approach of the Aborigines to the fort, the remains of his garrison retired into it, and from their loopholes killed and wounded as already mentioned. Captain Elliott writes that they are immediately to hold a council at the Glaize [Auglaise or Grand Glaise, site of the present Defiance, Ohio] in order to try if they can prevail upon the Lake Aborigines to remain; but without provisions, ammunition, &c., being sent to that place, I conceive it will be extremely difficult to keep them together.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Your obedient and humble servant,

A. McKEE.

Another letter from the same to the same one week before the Battle of Fallen Timber, reads as follows:

[MAUMEE] RAPIDS, August 13, 1794.

SIR: I was honored last night with your letter of the 11th, and was extremely glad to find you are making such exertions to supply the Aborigines with provisions.

Captain Elliott arrived yesterday; what he has brought will greatly relieve us, having been obliged yesterday to take all the corn and flour which the traders had here.

A scouting party from the Americans carried off a man and a woman yesterday morning between this place and Roche de Bout, and afterwards attacked a small party of Delawares in their camp; but they were repulsed with the loss of a man, whom they either hid or threw into the river. They killed a Delaware woman.* Scouts are sent

---

*Captain John McDonald, in a small book of *Biographical Sketches* published in Cincinnati in 1838, gives the following account of the doings of some of the most daring men of those savage times in this Maumee Basin where savagery had then focused. Captain McDonald was a member of Captain Ephraim Kibby's Company of Rangers with General Wayne's army and was well informed regarding what he wrote. Some of these daring acts are recounted here in as near his own words as space will admit, as the best possible glimpses of Americans who met savagery in its lair and contributed largely to the success of a most important and daring military campaign:

Captain William Wells commanded an effective division of spies with General Wayne's army. Wells was captured by the Miamis when about twelve years of age and grew to manhood with them and could speak the language of several tribes. He left the Aborigines (particulars not known) in spring of up to view the situation of the army; and we now muster 1000 Aborigines. All the Lake Aborigines from Sagina downwards should not lose one moment in joining their brethren, as every accession of strength is an addition to their spirits.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

A. McKee.

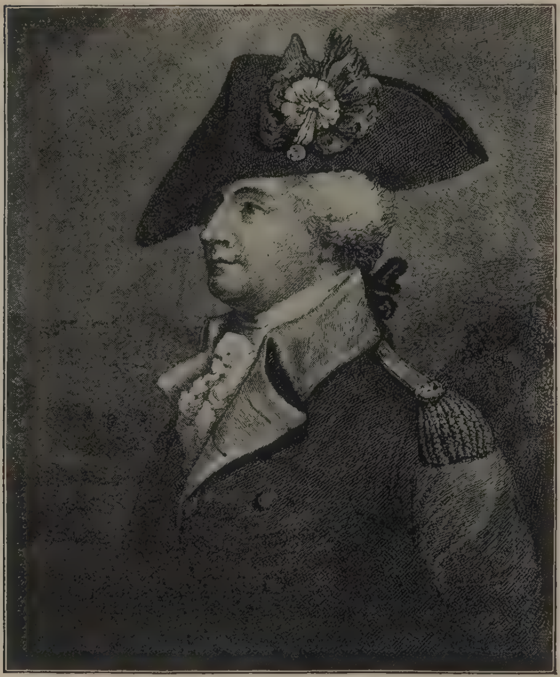
1792, or about eighteen months before the coming of General Wayne, and returned to his relatives (place not given). Attached to Wells's command in General Wayne's army were Robert M'Lellan (see Irving's *Astoria*) a most athletic man; Henry Miller who had also been a captive with the savages, older brother of Christopher Miller who will be mentioned later; also ——— Hickman and ——— Thorp, all of tried worth in warfare against the savages. Wells and his four spies soon became confidential and privileged gentlemen in camp, who were only called upon to do duty on very particular and interesting occasions. They were permitted a *carte blanche* among the horses of the dragoons and when on duty went well mounted, whilst the spies commanded by Captain Kibby went on foot and were kept constantly on the alert, scouring the country in every direction.

At Greenville General Wayne sent out Wells and his spies to bring in a prisoner. They proceeded to the Auglaise River where they soon discovered a smoke. They dismounted, tied their horses, and proceeded cautiously to reconnoiter. They found three Aborigines camped on a high, open space of ground, clear of brush and underwood except a fallen tree extending to within eighty yards of the fire where the Aborigines were cooking their meal. It was decided that they go around to and along the tree the branches of which, covered with leaves, were nearest the enemy. Wells and Miller were to shoot each the man in front of him, leaving the central one to be caught alive by M'Clellan. Immediately after the discharge of the guns M'Clellan sprang after his man who, as quickly, started to run. Observing that his pursuer was gaining on him in the course he had taken, he turned to the bank of the Auglaise, here about twenty feet high, and jumped over miring in the soft mud at the bottom. Without hesitation M'Clellan jumped after, also miring. Here the ready knife of the pursued was opposed by the uplifted tomahawk of the athletic pursuer at whose command the knife was surrendered. Soon Captain Wells and Miller came to the edge of the bank and, seeing their friend and enemy safe, took time to descend the bank at a less precipitous place. They dragged the captive out of the mud and tied him. He was very sulky, refusing to speak either language. One went for the horses while others washed the mud and paint from the prisoner, who was a white man. Still he refused to give any account of himself. The two dead Aborigines were scalped, and the scouts started for headquarters with their prisoner. On the way Henry Miller began to gather the idea that the prisoner was his brother Christopher whom he was obliged to leave captive with the Aborigines several years before. With this impression he rode alongside him and called him by the name given by his Aborigine captors. He startled, stared around, and eagerly inquired how he came to know his name. The mysteries were soon explained—their prisoner was indeed Christopher Miller. He was at first very reticent when questioned by General Wayne. After being confined for some time as a prisoner, with the army, he gave all the information he could regarding the Aborigines, agreed to forsake his savage habits, joined Captain Wells' scouts and, in company with his brother, remained faithful to the Americans. Early in July he accompanied the scouts to the Auglaise River where they captured a Pottawotami chief after he had discharged his gun at them and started to escape by running.

On another adventure, they captured a canoe load of Aborigines on the River St. Mary, who were recognized by Wells as the family with whom he had lived during his captivity. They were kindly treated, and were liberated with the injunction to keep away from the route of the army.

After General Wayne's arrival at the point where he built Fort Defiance, he started Wells and his spies down the Maumee River to ascertain the position and condition of the enemy. They started in the dress and paint of the Aborigines and, when near the British Fort Miami, entered an Aborigine village and talked with its people without being suspicioned. Beyond this village they captured a man and woman (mentioned above in one of M'Kee's letters) without their resisting, and started on their return to the army. A little after dark they came near a large encampment of Aborigines who were merrily passing the evening. They detoured this camp and, about half a mile above it along the river they halted, tied and gagged their captives, and riding boldly among the savages plied them with questions regarding General Wayne's army and where they were to gather to resist its advance. The savages gathered around them and were very communicative until one, somewhat removed, expressed the belief that the strangers were not their friends. Wells understood the remark and, giving the signal, each rifle in his company was fired at short range, each killing a savage. They turned, put spurs to their horses on which they had remained seated, picked up their prisoners, and hoped to escape injury by lying close to their horses. They were pursued, fired upon, and two were wounded — Wells through the bone of the arm carrying his rifle which dropped to the ground, and a bullet passed under M'Clellan's shoulder blade, coming out at the top of the shoulder. They were about thirty miles from the mouth of the Auglaise where the army was building Fort Defiance, and one of the party rode for-

The testimony of savages of different tribes yet further confirm the influence of the British in promoting the war, even after most of the tribes desired peace with the Americans.*



MAJOR GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

Born in Easttown, Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1st January, 1745, Died at Erie, Pa., 15th December, 1796.

Major General Charles Scott with about sixteen hundred volunteer cavalymen from Kentucky who had been sent home for the winter, rejoined the army, then numbering possibly two thousand soldiers, at Greenville, Ohio, 26th July, 1794; and the next day General Wayne ordered the general advance movement for the 28th.

This was to be a most momentous campaign. If this, the third army be defeated, the country west and southwest of the Allegheny Mountains would, evidently, thenceforth be completely dominated by the British, and completely lost to the Americans. On account of its supreme importance, the ability and signal success with which it was conducted by General Wayne, and the original records being the only

---

ward at full speed for help. Upon his arrival at camp 'General Wayne at once dispatched a surgeon and a company of his swiftest dragoons, who brought the wounded, and the prisoners safely to camp.'

In regard to planning, bravery, and daring, American scouts far excelled the savages. William Wells remained a valuable scout and interpreter. He married a sister of the noted Miami chief Little Turtle, and exerted a great influence over that chief and his tribe favorable to the Americans. A large tract of land at Fort Wayne was given to him (see Map, page 97) and there he afterward lived, and there Little Turtle died 14 July, 1812. Spy Run in this reservation was named from Wells. He was killed by western savages at the evacuation of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, 15th August, 1812.

* At this time every exertion was being made [by the British] to aid the Aborigines; and on August 18, 1794, Governor Simcoe wrote to Lord Dorchester that he would 'go to Detroit with all the force he could muster.' He was too late, however, for on August 20th General Wayne defeated the combined forces near their own fort—*History of Detroit*, by Silas Farmer, volume i. See also testimony of Pottawotamis, Shawnees and others before General Wayne in June, 1794, *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, pages 489, 490.

authentic account of it and they being long out of print, the writer decides to reproduce them in full, beginning with the

Diary of General Wayne's Campaign, by Lieutenant Boyer*

Fort Greenville, where we were employed in erecting huts, and remained until the 28th July, 1794.

Camp at Stillwater,† 28th July, 1794. Agreeable to the general order of yesterday, the legion took up their line of march at eight o'clock, and encamped at half past three on the bank of Stillwater, twelve miles from Greenville. The weather extremely warm — water very bad. Nothing occurred worth noticing.

Camp one mile in advance of Fort Recovery 29th July, 1794. At five o'clock left the camp — arrived on this ground at one o'clock, being fifteen miles. Nothing took place worth reciting.

I am now informed that tracks were perceived on our right flank, supposed to be runners from the Oglaize.‡

Camp Beaver Swamp, eleven miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 30th July, 1794. This morning the legion took up the line of march, and arrived here at three o'clock. The road was to cut, as will be the case on every new route we take in this country.

The weather still warm — no water except in ponds, which nothing but excessive thirst would induce us to drink. The mosquitoes are very troublesome, and larger than

Site of the Fort Adams built by General Wayne. In the N. E. ¼ of Section 24, Dublin Township, Mercer County, Ohio. Looking northward across the River St. Mary, in the rain 29th April, 1902.

---

* *The American Pioneer* volume i, pages 315, 351 *et sequentia*.

† Stillwater Creek, a tributary of the Miami River.

‡ Spies from the Auglaise River down which the army was to pass.

I ever saw. The most of this country is covered with beech, the land of a wet soil intermixed with rich tracts, but no running water to be found. A bridge to be built over this swamp to morrow, which prevents the march of the legion till the day after. We are informed there is no water for twelve miles.

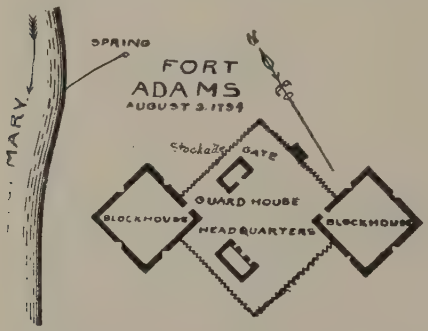
July 31st, 1794. Commenced building the bridge, being seventy yards in length, which will require infinite labor; it will be five feet deep, with loose mud and water.

One hundred pioneers set out this morning, strongly escorted, to cut a road to the St. Mary River, twelve miles. I expect the bridge will be completed so as to march early in the morning.

Camp St. Mary River, 1st August, 1794. Proceeded on our way before sunrise, and arrived at this place at three o'clock, being twelve miles as aforesaid, Our encampment is on the largest and most beautiful prairie I ever beheld, the land rich and well timbered; the water plenty but very bad—the river is from forty-five to fifty yards wide, in which I bathed. I am told there is plenty of fish in it.

August 2nd, 1794. The legion detained here for the purpose of erecting a garrison [fort]* which will take up three days. This day one of the deputy quartermasters was taken up by the Aborigines.† Our spies discovered where four of the enemy had retreated precipitately with a horse, and supposed to be the party the above person had been taken by. It is hoped he will not give accurate information of our strength.

August 3rd, 1794. An accident took place this day by a tree falling on the Commander-in-Chief [General Wayne] and nearly putting an end to his existence; we expected to be detained here some time in consequence of it, but fortunately he is not so much hurt as to prevent him from riding at a slow pace. No appearance of the enemy to-day, and think they are preparing for a warm attack. The weather very hot and dry, without any appearance of rain.



Ground plan of Fort Adams established by General Wayne 3rd August, 1794. Abandoned by its garrison of 56 United States Troops in the early summer of 1796—From the *American Pioneer.*

Camp Thirty-one miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 4th August, 1794. The aforesaid garrison [fort] being completed, Lieutenant Underhill with one hundred men left to protect it; departed at six o'clock and arrived here at three o'clock, being ten miles. The land we marched through is rich and well timbered, but the water scarce and bad; obliged to dig holes in boggy places and let it settle.

Camp Forty-four miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 5th August, 1794.‡ We arrived at this place at four o'clock, nothing particular occurring. The land and water as above described—had some rain to-day.

Camp Fifty-six miles from Fort Recovery, 6th August, 1794. Encamped on this ground at two o'clock. In the course of our march perceived the track of twenty Aborigines. I am informed we are within six miles of one of their towns on the Oglaize river supposed to be the upper Delaware town.* If so, I expect to eat green corn to-morrow. Our march this day has been through an exceeding fine country, but the water still bad; the day cooler than heretofore.

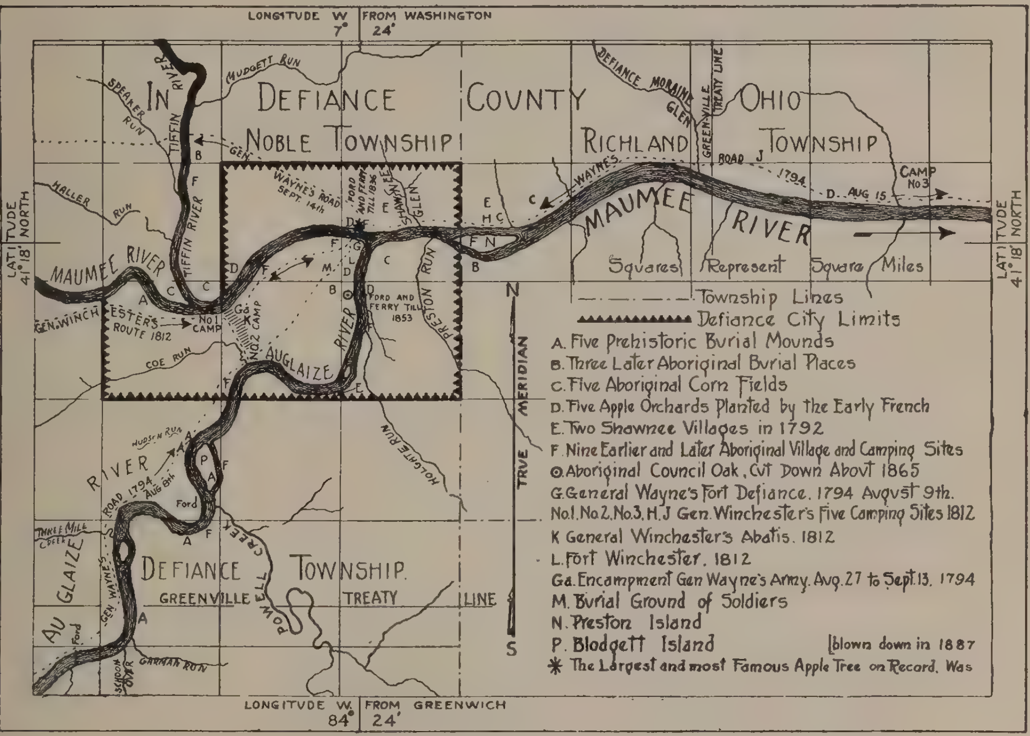
---

* Fort Adams, located on the south (left) bank of the St. Mary River, three and three-fourths miles up stream (eastward) from the present Rockford, Mercer County, Ohio, formerly known as Shane's Crossing for many years.

† This man deserted. See General Wayne's letter on subsequent page

‡ Near the present village of Fort Jennings, Putnam County, Ohio.

Camp sixty-eight miles from Fort Recovery,† 7th August, 1794. This day passed the upper town on the Oglaize [Auglaise River] which the Aborigines evacuated some time ago. I expect to see one of their new towns, where I am told there are all sorts of vegetables, which will be very acceptable to the troops. We have had no appearance of Aborigines today.


LONGITUDE W 7° FROM WASHINGTON 24'
DEFIANCE COUNTY OHIO
IN
NOBLE TOWNSHIP
RICHLAND TOWNSHIP
DEFIANCE TOWNSHIP
MAUMEE RIVER
AUGLAIZE RIVER
TIFFIN RIVER
MUDGETT RUN
SPEAKER RUN
HALLER RUN
COE RUN
HUDSON RUN
PRESTON RUN
HOLGATE RUN
POWELL CREEK
THREE MILE CREEK
GARMAN RUN
SCHOOL RUN
SHAWNEE GLEN
DEFIANCE MORAINE GLEN
GREENVILLE TREATY LINE
GREENVILLE TREATY LINE
WAYNE'S ROAD SEPT. 14th
WAYNE'S ROAD 1794 AUG 15
ROAD 1794 AUG 8th
GEN. WAYNE'S
GEN. WINCHESTER'S ROUTE 1812
FORD AND FERRY TILL 1836
FORD AND FERRY TILL 1853
Ford
No 1 CAMP
No 2 CAMP
CAMP No 3
LATITUDE 41° 18' NORTH
TRUE MERIDIAN
N
S
Squares Represent Square Miles
Township Lines
Defiance City Limits
A. Five Prehistoric Burial Mounds
B. Three Later Aboriginal Burial Places
C. Five Aboriginal Corn Fields
D. Five Apple Orchards Planted by the Early French
E. Two Shawnee Villages in 1792
F. Nine Earlier and Later Aboriginal Village and Camping Sites
⊙ Aboriginal Council Oak, Cut Down About 1865
G. General Wayne's Fort Defiance. 1794 August 9th.
No.1. No.2. No.3. H. J Gen. Winchester's Five Camping Sites 1812
K General Winchester's Abatis. 1812
L. Fort Winchester. 1812
Ga. Encampment Gen Wayne's Army. Aug. 27 to Sept. 13. 1794
M. Burial Ground of Soldiers
N. Preston Island
P. Blodgett Island
[blown down in 1887
✳ The Largest and most Famous Apple Tree on Record. Was
LONGITUDE W. 84° FROM GREENWICH 24'

MAP SHOWING THE SITES OF THE PREHISTORIC AND EARLY HISTORIC PLACES of most interest at Defiance, Ohio. A Field Assistant in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey confirmed the Author's computation of Latitude and Longitude as here recorded. He also set a stone about forty rods northeast of the main building of Defiance College near the north limit of the City, and there computed the earth's magnetism July 21, 1903, as follows: Intensity, .1869 dynes; Dip, 72° 3½'; Declination, 20' west.

Camp Grand Oglaize,‡ 8th August, 1794. Proceeded on our march to this place at five o'clock this morning, and arrived here at the confluence of the Miami [Maumee] and Oglaize [Auglaise] rivers at half past ten, being seventy-seven miles from Fort

---

* Site of the present village of Charloe, Paulding County, Ohio.

† Near mouth of Crooked (Flat Rock) Creek, Paulding County, Ohio.

‡ Junction of the Auglaise River with the Maumee, site of the present City of Defiance, Ohio.

Recovery. This place far excels in beauty any in the western country, and believed equalled by none in the Atlantic States. Here are vegetables of every kind in abundance, and we have marched four or five miles in corn fields down the Oglaize [Auglaise] and there are not less than one thousand acres of corn [*Zea mays*] round the town.* The land in general of the fir nature.†

This country appears well adapted for the enjoyment of industrious people, who cannot avoid living in as great luxury as in any other place throughout the states, Nature having lent a most bountiful hand in the arrangement of the position, that a man can send the produce to market in his own boat. The land level and river navigable, not more than sixty miles from the lake [Erie].

The British have built a large garrison [fort] about fifty miles from this place, and our spies inform us that the enemy are encamped about two miles above it by the river.

Grand Oglaize, 9th August, 1794. We remain here. The Commander-in-Chief has ordered a garrison [Fort Defiance] to be erected at the confluence of the Miami [Maumee] and Oglaize [Auglaise] rivers, which was begun this morning, and will take up some time; by this means the troops will be much refreshed, as well as the horses and cattle, the latter being much wearied and in need of a recess of labor. No appearance of an enemy.

Grand Oglaize [Defiance] 10th August, 1794. The troops in good spirits. No interruption from, or account of, the enemy. We have plenty of vegetables. One of our militia officers was wounded by his own sentinel by mistake.

Grand Oglaize, 11th August, 1794. Nothing occurs to prevent the completion of our work.‡

Whatever diary was written by Lieutenant Boyer for the dates of 12th to 15th August inclusive, styled 'a few leaves' by John S. Williams editor of *The American Pioneer*, was lost previous to September, 1842. The preserved dates continue as follows:

. . . [August 15, 1794.] Took up the line of march [from Fort Defiance] and at one arrived on this ground without any occurrence. Our camp is situated in sight of Snaketown* by the Miami of the Lake [Maumee River]. Vegetables in abundance.

---

* The British should be largely credited for this agricultural thrift on account of their encouragement of it; but the Aborigine women did the work of planting and cultivating.

† This expression was due to the Red Cedar trees (*Juniperous Virginiana*, L.) seen along the rivers. Fir trees proper have not been found indigenous along the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers.

‡The 11th August, 1794, William Wells, one of General Wayne's scouts, took a Shawnee prisoner near the foot of the lowest Maumee Rapids and, upon examination by General Wayne at the mouth of the Auglaise River he testified as follows:

Question—When did the Aborigines receive information of the advance of the army? Answer—The first information was from a white man who came in of his own accord about ten days since. Q.—Where are the Aborigines at this time? A.—At Colonel McKee's. Q.—Where are the British and what are their numbers? A.—In a fort about one mile below Colonel McKee's, on the north side of the river, situate on a hill or bank close by the margin where are about 200 men. They are now at work at the fort. Q.—What number of guns have they in the fort? A.—Four or five. Q.—What number of warriors are at McKee's and what nations do they belong to? A.—There are six hundred, who abandoned this place [at the mouth of the Auglaise River] on the approach of the army; Shawnese about 200, but no more; Delawares, about 300; Miamis, about 100; and warriors of other tribes, about 100. Q.—What number are expected to assemble, in addition to those now at the foot of the Rapids? A.—In all about 400 men; Wyandots, 300, and Tawas [Ottawas] about 240. A.—What number of white men are to join, and when? A.—Mr. or Captain Elliott set out for Detroit six days since and was to be back yesterday with all the militia, and an additional number of regular troops, which with those already there would amount to 1000 men. This is the general conversation among the Aborigines, and Captain Elliott promised to bring that number. Colonel McKee's son went with Elliott, as also the man who deserted from this army on its march. Q.—When and where do the Aborigines mean to fight this army? A.—At the foot of the rapids. The white man who came in, told the Aborigines and Colonel McKee that the army was destined for that place.

Camp Nineteen miles from Oglaize, 16th August, 1794.† Our march this day was through a bushy ground, and the road generally bad. Miller (the flag)‡ returned this day from the enemy with information from the tribes, that if the Commander-in-chief would remain at Grand Oglaize ten days they would let him know whether they would be for peace or war.

Camp Thirty-one miles from Camp Oglaize‖ 17th August, 1794. This day a small party of the enemy's spies fell in with ours; both parties being for discoveries, they retreated, at which time the enemy fired and wounded one of our horses. Our camp, head of the Rapids.

Camp Forty-one miles from Grand Oglaize [at Roche de Bout] 18th August, 1794. The legion arrived on this ground, nothing particular taking place. Five of our spies were sent out at three o'clock—they fell in with an advanced body of the enemy, and obliged to retreat; but May, one of our spies, fell under the enemy's hold. What his fate may be must be left to future success.§

Camp Deposit¶ 19th August, 1794. The legion still continued in encampment, and are throwing up works to secure and deposit the heavy baggage of the troops, so that the men may be light for action, provided the enemy have presumption to favor us with an interview, which if they should think proper to do, the troops are in such high spirits that we will make an easy victory of them.

By this morning's order, the legion is to march at five o'clock.

Camp in sight of a British garrison on the Miamis of the Lake,** August 20, 1794. One hundred and fifty miles from Greenville. This day the legion, after depositing every kind of baggage, took up the line of march at 7 o'clock and continued their route down the margin of the river without making any discovery until eleven o'clock, when the front guard, which was composed of mounted volunteers, were fired on by the enemy. The guard retreated in the utmost confusion through the front guard of the regulars, commanded by Captain Cook and Lieutenant Steele, who, in spite of their utmost exertion, made a retreat. These fell in with the left of Captain Howell Lewis' company of light infantry and threw that part of the men into confusion, which Captain Lewis observing, he ordered the left of his company to retreat about forty yards, where he formed them and joined the right which had stood their ground. They continued in this position until they were joined by part of Captain Springer's battalion of riflemen, which was nearly fifteen minutes after the firing commenced, who drove the enemy that had attempted to flank us on the right [probably at the site of Turkeyfoot Rock]. Nearly at the same time, the right column came up, and the charge was sounded — the enemy gave way and fired scattering shots as they run off.

---

* On the site of the present Florida, Henry County, Ohio.

† About the site of the present Napoleon, Henry County, Ohio.

‡ Christopher Miller, see *ante* page 187, sent with a (white) flag of truce to offer peace to the Aborigines. Compare General Wayne's report on subsequent page.

‖ At the head of the Grand Rapids of the Maumee River.

§ The story of William May's capture and of his fate, is thus told by John Brickell who saw May at the time when he (Brickell) was then a young captive, viz: Two or three days after we arrived at the [lower Maumee] Rapids, Wayne's spies came right into camp among us. I afterwards saw the survivors. Their names were Wells, Miller, McClelland, May, Mahaffy, and one other whose name I forgot. They came into camp boldly and fired on the Aborigines. Miller was wounded in the shoulder. May was chased by the Aborigines to the smooth rock in the bed of the river, where his horse fell, and he was taken prisoner. The others escaped. They took May to camp where they recognized him as having been a captive among them, and having escaped [see *ante* page 178]. They said: We know you; you speak Aborigine language; you not content to live with us; to-morrow we take you to that tree [pointing to a very large oak at the edge of the clearing which was near the British fort] we will tie you fast, and make a mark on your breast, and we will see which one of us can shoot nearest it. It so turned out. The next day, the day before the battle [of Fallen Timber] they riddled his body with bullets, shooting at least fifty into him—*The American Pioneer* vol. i, page 52.

¶ At Roche de Bout. See engraving, and Chapter on the Maumee River.

** Fort Miami on the left (north) bank of the Maumee River near the lower side of the corporate limits of the present Village of Maumee, Lucas County, Ohio. See Map of lower Maumee River.

About the time the right column came up, a heavy firing took place on the left, which lasted but a short time, the enemy giving way in all quarters, which left us in possession of their *dead* to the number of forty. Our loss was thirty killed and one hundred wounded. Among the former we have to lament the loss of Captain Miss Campbell of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Henry B. Fowles of the 4th sub-legion; and of the latter, Captains Prior of the first, Slough of the fourth, and Van Rensselaer of the dragoons, also Lieutenant Campbell Smith of the fourth sub-legion. The whole loss of the enemy cannot at present be ascertained, but it is more than probable it must have been considerable, for we pursued them with rapidity for nearly two miles.

MAUMEE RIVER AND MIAMI AND ERIE CANAL.

Looking northeast down the river April 15, 1901. *Roche de Bout* (point of rock) is seen in the river one-half mile distant. Above the ledge of rock on the left shore General Wayne built his Fort Deposit within his encampment, before the Battle of Fallen Timber, the place of which is about three miles down the river. In the left distance is a large crusher of stone for road macadamizing; and to the right of it are several derricks of a newly developed petroleum field in the ancient deserted channel of the Maumee. In Lucas County, Ohio.

As to the number of the enemy engaged in this action, opinions are so various that I am at a loss to know what to say; the most general opinion is one thousand five hundred, one-third of which are supposed to be Canadians; I am led to believe this number is not over the mark. After the troops had taken some refreshment, the legion continued their route down the river, and encamped in sight of the British garrison. One Canadian [Antoine Lasselle] fell into our hands, whom we loaded with irons.

Camp Foot of the Rapids 21st August, 1794. We are now lying within half a mile of a British garrison [Fort Miami]. A flag came to the Commander-in-chief, the purport of which was that he, the commanding officer of the British fort, was surprised to see an American army so far advanced in this country; and why they had the assurance to encamp under the mouths of his Majesty's cannons! The Commander-in-chief answered, that the affair of yesterday might well inform him why this army was encamped in its present position, and had the fleeing savages taken shelter under the walls of the fort, his Majesty's cannons should not have protected them.

Camp Foot of the Rapids 22d August, 1794. We have destroyed all the property within one hundred yards of the British garrison. The volunteers were sent down eight miles below the fort, and have destroyed and burnt all the possessions belonging to the Canadians and savages. The Commander-in-chief led his light infantry within pistol shot of the garrison to find out the strength and situation of the place, and in hopes of bringing a shot from our inveterate but silent enemies. They were too cowardly to come up to our expectations, and all we got by insulting the colors of Britain was a flag, the amount of which was, that the commanding officer of the fort felt himself as a soldier much injured by seeing His Majesty's colors insulted, and if such conduct was continued he would be under the necessity of making a proper resentment; upon which the Commander-in-chief demanded the post, it being the right of the United States, which was refused. A small party of dragoons were sent over the river to burn and destroy all the houses, corn &c., that were under cover of the fort, which was effected.

BATTLE FIELD OF FALLEN TIMBER.

Ancient River Channel in fore and middle ground. Presque Isle, where the battle began, obscures the Maumee River on the Right. Looking Eastward April 15, 1902.

Camp Deposit 23d August, 1794. Having burned and destroyed everything contiguous to the fort [British Fort Miami] without any opposition, the legion took up the line of march, and in the evening encamped on this ground, being the same they marched from the 20th. It may be proper to remark that we have heard nothing from the savages, or their allies the Canadians, since the action. The honors of war have been paid to the remains of those brave fellows who fell on the 20th, by a discharge of three rounds from sixteen pieces of ordnance, charged with shells. The ceremony was performed with the greatest solemnity.

Camp Thirty-two Mile Tree* 24th August, 1794. The wounded being well provided for with carriages, &c., the legion took up the line of march, and halted in their old camp about two o'clock in the evening without any accident. In this day's march we destroyed all the corn and burnt all the houses we met with, which were very considerable.

Camp Fifteen Mile Tree† 25th August, 1794. The legion continued their march, and encamped on this ground at three o'clock P. M. This morning a few of the volunteers remained in the rear of the army, and soon after the legion took up their line of march they saw eight Aborigines coming into our camp; they fell in with them, killed one and wounded two.

---

* Council Elm at the Grand Rapids of the Maumee, about thirty-two miles below Defiance, Ohio.

† At or a little above the present Village of Napoleon, Henry County, Ohio.

BATTLE FIELD OF FALLEN TIMBER.

Looking south November 13, 1902, up the Maumee River seen on the left. Presqué Isle in central distance. Ancient deserted Channel of the Maumee on the right. Maumee Valley Electric Railway, built in 1901, on the left.

General Wayne began the Battle on Presqu' île, and the Aborigines were rapidly driven to the lower lands, and down the river. On the right side of the public road at the foot of Presqu' île is situated Turkeyfoot Rock, a fair size Corniferous Limestone boulder, by which, tradition says, Chief Turkeyfoot was killed while trying to rally the retreating Aborigines, see *ante* page 194.

This place was surveyed, in common with the other historic places along the Maumee River, in 1888 by O. M. Poe, Colonel of Engineers and Brevet Brigadier General United States Army, who reported favorably to the purchase here of twelve and one-third acres of land, mostly on Presqu' île and west of it, and the erection of a monument, all at a cost of about $17,000. But Congress has not made any appropriation for this purpose.

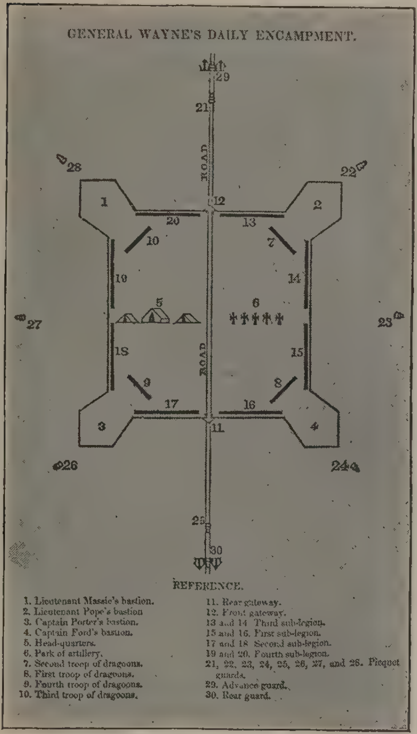
The surveys of these historic places were the result of the work of The Maumee Valley Monument Association, which was incorporated 28 July, 1885 ; and which was succeeded in 1899 by the Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association. In the summer of 1903 this Association acquired title to a small portion of land around Turkeyfoot Rock which is now established on a permanent foundation. It is the desire of this Association to acquire title to this Battle Field, and to care for it.

Camp Nine Mile Tree* 26th August, 1794. The legion continued their march, and after burning and destroying all the houses and corn on their route, arrived on this ground at two o'clock, being one of our encamping places when on our advance.

---

*Just above the present Florida, Henry County, Ohio, nine miles below Defiance.

All the wounded that were carried on litters and horseback were sent forward to Fort Defiance. Doctor Carmichael through neglect had the wounded men of the artillery and cavalry thrown into wagons, among spades, axes, picks, &c., in consequence of which the wounded are now lying in extreme pain, besides the frequent shocks of a wagon on the worst of roads. The wounded of the third sub-legion are under obligations to Doctor Haywood for his attention and humanity to them in their distress.


GENERAL WAYNE'S DAILY ENCAMPMENT.
ROAD
ROAD
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
REFERENCE.
1. Lieutenant Massie's bastion.
2. Lieutenant Pope's bastion
3. Captain Porter's bastion.
4. Captain Ford's bastion.
5. Head-quarters.
6. Park of artillery.
7. Second troop of dragoons.
8. First troop of dragoons.
9. Fourth troop of dragoons.
10. Third troop of dragoons.
11. Rear gateway.
12. Front gateway.
13 and 14 Third sub-legion.
15 and 16. First sub-legion.
17 and 18 Second sub-legion.
19 and 20. Fourth sub-legion.
21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28. Piquet guards.
29. Advance guard.
30. Rear guard.

General Wayne kept his army secure from being surprised by the stealthy enemy. This gave rise to the statement by the savages that he never slept. The rapidity and security of his army's movement through the enemy's wilderness stronghold, caused the savages to call him the wind; and after his impetuous, and to them disastrous, charge at the Battle of Fallen Timber, the survivors called him The 'Whirlwind' probably in comparison to the wind that had prostrated the forest at the Battle Field. The engraving is taken from *The American Pioneer*, ii, 290.

Camp Fort Defiance 27th August, 1794. The legion continued their route, and at three o'clock were encamped on the Miami [Maumee River, right bank, a little below the mouth of the Tiffin] one mile above the garrison [Fort Defiance]. On this day's march we destroyed all the corn and burnt all the houses on our route. The wounded are happily fixed in the garrison, and the doctors say there is no great danger of any of them dying.

Fort Defiance 28th August, 1794. The Commander-in-Chief thinks proper to continue on this ground for some time, to refresh the troops and send for supplies. There is corn, beans, pumpkins, &c., within four miles of this place to furnish the troops three weeks.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Quartermaster General will issue one gill of whisky to every man belonging to the Federal army (this morning) as a small compensation for the fatigues they have undergone for several days past. Major General Scott will direct his quartermasters to attend accordingly with their respective returns. The Commander-in-Chief wishes it to be fairly understood that when he mentioned or may mention the Federal army in General Orders, that term comprehends and includes the legion and mounted volunteers as one compound army, and that the term legion comprehends the regular troops, agreeable to the organization by the President of the United States, and by which appellation they are known and recognized on all occasions when acting by themselves, and separate from the mounted volunteers. As the army will probably remain on this ground for some time, vaults must be dug, and every precaution taken to keep the encampment clean and healthy.

The legion will be reviewed the day after to-morrow at ten o'clock. In the interim the arms must be clean and varnished, and the clothing of the soldiers repaired and washed, to appear in the most military condition possible; but in these necessary preparations for a review great caution must be used by the commanding officers of wings, not to permit too many men at one time to take their locks off, or to be engaged in washing.

All the horses belonging to the quarter master and contractors' department, in possession of the legion, must be returned this afternoon.

This is the first fair day we have had since we began to return to this place, it having rained nearly constant for five days, which was the occasion of fatiguing the troops very much.

Fort Defiance 29th August, 1794. We are as yet encamped on this ground; all the pack-horses belonging to the quarter-master and contractors' department moved this morning for Fort Recovery, escorted by Bigadier General Todd's brigade of mounted volunteers, for the purpose of bringing supplies to this place. It is said the legion will continue in their present camp until the return of this escort. Our spies were yesterday twelve miles up this river [the Maumee] and they bring information that the cornfields continue as far as they were up the river.

Looking northwest November 13, 1902, across Maumee River to site of the British Fort Miami, built in April, 1794, and surrendered to American troops July 11, 1796. The road up the distant river bank passes through the yet existing earthworks.

The United States surveyor of the historic places along the Maumee River in 1888, recommended to Congress that 5 68-100 acres of land including the site of this Fort be purchased and a monument erected, all at a probable cost of $7,500. Congress has not made any appropriation for this purpose.

Fort Defiance 30th August, 1794. This day at ten o'clock, the Commander-in-Chief began to review the troops at the posts occupied by the different corps, and I am led to believe that he was well pleased at their appearance. Major Hughes, Captain Slough, Captain Van Rensselaer and Lieutenant Younghusband obtained a furlough to go home to repair their healths, being, as they pretended, very much injured by the service. I believe the two first and the last mentioned, if they never return will not be lamented by the majority of the army.

The out-guards were much alarmed this morning at the mounted volunteers firing off all their arms without our having any notice.

General Orders. Headquarters 31st August, 1794.

A general court-martial to consist of five members, will sit to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them. Major Shaylor, President, Lieutenant Wade, Judge Advocate.

The disorderly and dangerous practice of permitting the soldiery to pass the chain of sentinels, on pretext of going after vegetables, can no longer be suffered. In future, on issuing day, only one man

> from each mess, properly armed, and commanded by the respective sub-legionary quarter masters, will be sent as a detachment for vegetables, to march at 7 o'clock in the morning.
>
> The pack-horses shall forage daily under protection of a squadron of dragoons; every precaution must be taken to guard against surprise. Any non-commissioned officer or soldier found half a mile without the chain of sentinels, without a pass signed by the commanding officer of wings or sub-legion, or from Headquarters, shall be deemed a deserter, and punished accordingly. Every sentinel suffering a non-commissioned officer or private to pass without such written permit, except a party on command, shall receive fifty lashes for each and every violation of this order.
>
> A fatigue party of three hundred non-commissioned officers and privates, with a proportion of commissioned officers, will parade at 7 o'clock to-morrow morning, furnished with one hundred axes, one hundred picks, and one hundred spades and shovels, with arms, commanded by Major Burbeck.

A part of this order was in consequence of three men of the first sub-legion being either killed or taken by the enemy when out a foraging, which was done some time since in a very disorderly manner, at the same time liable to the attacks of the enemy without having it in their power to make the smallest resistance.

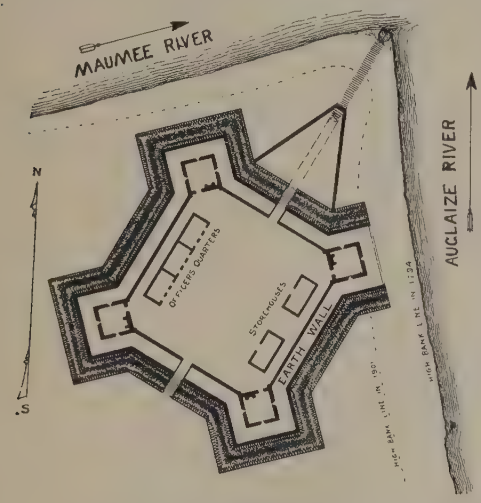
Fort Defiance 1st September, 1794. This morning the fatigue party ordered yesterday began to fortify and strengthen the fort and make it of sufficient strength to be proof against heavy metal. The work now on hand is a glacis with fascines, and a ditch twelve feet wide and eight feet deep. The blockhouses are to be made bomb-proof.

Fort Defiance, 2nd September, 1794. Every effective man of the light troops in the redoubts round the camp was ordered this morning to make three fascines.

The foraging party that went out this day brought in as much corn, dry enough to grate, as will suffice the troops three days. The soldiery get sick very fast with the fever and ague, and have it severely.

Fort Defiance 3rd September, 1794. Nothing but hard fatigues going forward in all quarters. The garrison [the Fort] begins to put on the appearance of strength, and will in a few days be able to stand the shock of heavy cannon. The troops are very sickly, and I believe the longer we continue in this place the worse it will be.

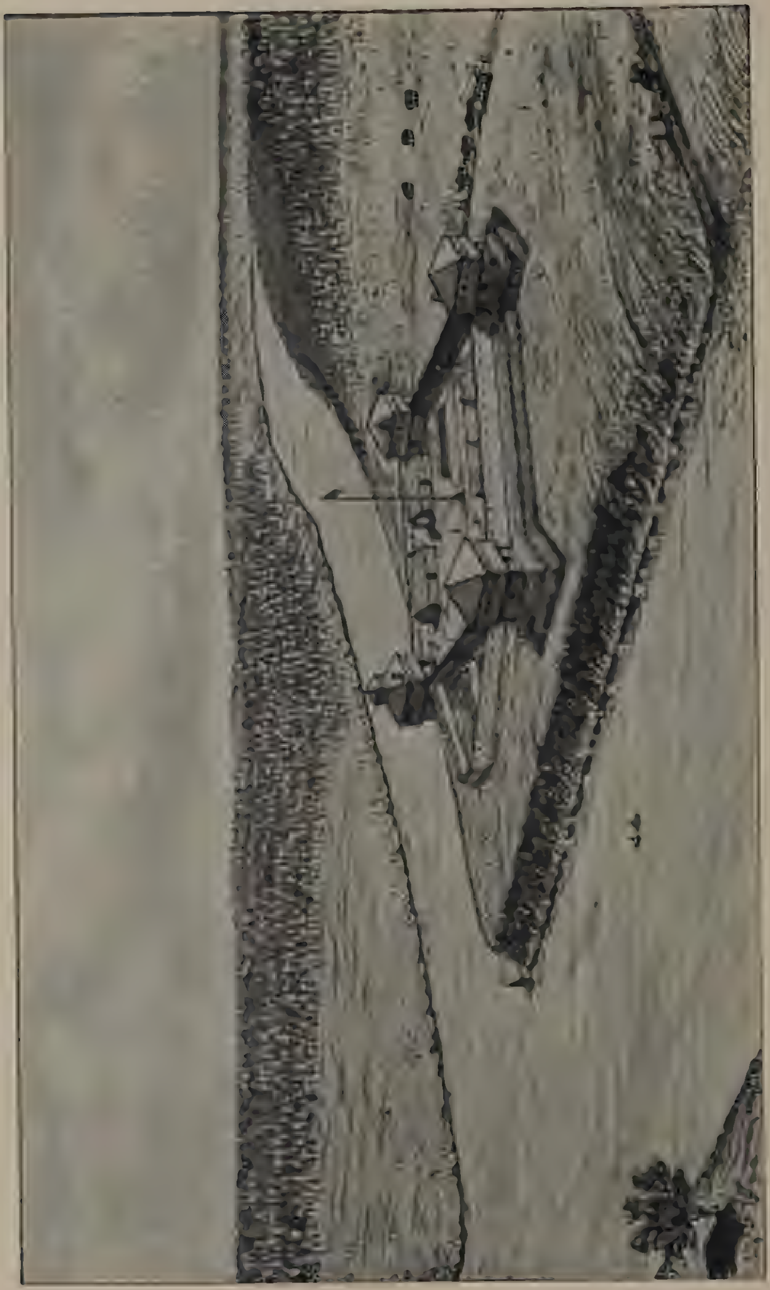
Fort Defiance 4th September, 1794. The number of our sick increases daily; provision is nearly exhausted; the whisky has been out for some time, which makes the hours pass heavily to the tune of Roslin Castle, when in our present situation they ought to go to the quick step of the merry man down to his grave. Hard duty and scant allowance will cause an army to be low spirited, particularly the want of a little of the *wet.*



GROUND PLAN OF FORT DEFIANCE.

Distance between opposite Palisades, 100 feet; length of Palisades between Blockhouses, seventy-five feet. The entrance was on the southwest side by means of a Drawbridge that was raised and lowered over the Ditch by chains working over the top of the Palisade timbers, between which there was a Gate. The Rivers were approached for water at their junction under protection of triangular Palisade and Underground way. The Ditches, sites of Blockhouses and Palisades, yet remain (1904) in fair outline. From Researches and Surveys by Charles E. Slocum. Compare *American Pioneer,* volume ii, pages 386-87, and copies therefrom.

If it was not for the forage we get from the enemy's fields, the rations would not be sufficient to keep soul and body together.



FORT DEFIANCE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.*

From Researches and Surveys by Charles E. Slocum. Looking southeast across the Maumee and up the Auglaise River.

---

* Fort Defiance was the strongest fortification built by General Wayne — where he could defy the hostile Aborigines and the British — and he styled it 'an Important and Formidable Fort.' His careful study of the strong British Fort Miami induced the strengthening of Fort Defiance after the return of the army from the Battle of Fallen Timber, it being thought possible, if not probable, that the Aborigines

Fort Defiance 5th September, 1794. No news of the escort; this day the troops drew no flour, and I fear we will shortly draw no beef; however, as long as the issuing of beef continues the troops will not suffer, as there is still corn in abundance along the river.

Fort Defiance 6th September, 1794. The work on the [Fort] garrison, goes on with life and will be completed in a few days. The weather very wet and cold; this morning there is a small frost.

Fort Defiance 7th September, 1794. Nothing of consequence took place this day. Our sick are getting better.

Fort Defiance 8th September, 1794. This day brings us information of the escort; by express we learn it will be with us to-morrow. It will be fortunate for us should provisions arrive, as we have not drawn any flour since the 7th instant; nevertheless we have the greatest abundance of vegetables.

Fort Defiance 9th September, 1794. The escort has not yet arrived, but will be in to-morrow. General Scott with the residue is ordered to march to-morrow morning at reveille. The Commander-in-Chief engaged with the volunteers [General Scott's command] to bring on the flour from Greenville on their own horses, for which they are to receive three dollars per hundred, delivered at the Miami villages, [the present Fort Wayne, Indiana].

Fort Defiance 10th September, 1794. The escort arrived this day about 3 o'clock, and brought with them two hundred kegs of flour and nearly two hundred head of cattle. Captain Preston and Ensigns Strother, Bowyer and Lewis, joined us this day with the escort. We received no liquor by this command, and I fancy we shall not receive any until we get into winter quarters, which will make the fatigues of the campaign appear double, as I am persuaded the troops would much rather live on half rations of beef and bread, provided they could obtain their full rations of whiskey. The vegetables are as yet in the greatest abundance. The soldiers of Captain William Lewis' company are in perfect health, the wounded excepted.

Fort Defiance 11th September, 1794. This day General Barber's brigade of mounted volunteers marched for Fort Recovery for provisions, to meet us at the, Miami villages [the present Fort Wayne] by the 20th.

---

might rally and, aided again by the British, endeavor to destroy it. It was principally built between the 8th August and the 14th September, 1794.

Outside the Palisades and Blockhouses there was a glacis or wall of earth eight feet thick, which sloped outwards and upwards, and was supported on its outer side by a log wall and fascines. A ditch encircled the entire works excepting the east side of the east Blockhouse which was near the precipitous bank of the Auglaise River along which was a line of fagots. The Ditch was fifteen feet wide and eight feet deep. It was protected by pickets eleven feet long and nearly a foot apart, secured to the log walls, and projecting over the Ditch at an angle of forty-five degrees. The outlines of these earthworks are yet well maintained.

Generally this Fort was garrisoned by about one hundred men, with an armament of several small field cannon which had been dismounted and brought through the forest, on the backs of horses. Captain William March Snook commanded it for three or four months, and Major (afterwards Colonel) Thomas Hunt about eighteen months. It was probably dismantled and abandoned by United States soldiers about the 1st June, 1796.

The site has continued the property of the (Village and the) City of Defiance, and it is freely open as a Public Park. This Fort Defiance Park was surveyed, in common with the other historic places along the Maumee River, in August, 1888, under the supervision of Colonel O. M. Poe, of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, and in obedience to Act of Congress approved 24th May, 1888. A monument was recommended for this place to cost five thousand dollars; but the bill was not passed. John S. Snook, M. C., introduced a bill to the United States House of Representatives February 10, 1904, for the appropriation of $25,000 for the erection of a monument in this Park to the honor of General Anthony Wayne. The Trustees of The Defiance Public Library, by permission of the City Council, located the Carnegie Library building in this Park west of the Earthworks in 1904. See Chapter on Libraries.

Fort Defiance 12th September, 1794. This day the pioneers were ordered to cut the road up the [north side of the] Miami [Maumee] under the direction of the sub-legionary quartermaster ; they are to commence at seven o'clock to-morrow morning.

Fort Defiance 13th September, 1794. This day a general order was issued, setting forth that the legion would march to-morrow morning precisely at seven o'clock, every department to prepare themselves accordingly. The squaw that Wells captured on the 11th August, was this day liberated and sent home. Three soldiers of the 1st and three of the 3rd sub-legions deserted last night ; sixteen volunteers pursued them ; they are to receive twenty dollars if they bring them in dead or alive.

Camp 11½ Mile Tree* 14th September, 1794. The legion began their march for the Miami villages at 7 o'clock this morning and encamped on this ground at 3 o'clock, after marching in the rain eight hours.

Camp 23rd Mile Tree† 15th September, 1794. The legion marched at 6 and encamped at 4 o'clock. Captain Preston, who commanded the light troops in the rear, got lost and lay out from the army all night with a large part of the baggage.

Camp 33rd Mile Tree‡ 16th September, 1794. We encamped on this ground at 4 o'clock, after passing over very rough roads, and woods thick with brush, the timber very lofty and the land generally rich and well watered.

Camp Miami Villages‖ 17th September, 1794. The army halted on this ground at 5 o'clock P. M., being 47 miles from Fort Defiance and 14 from our last encampment ; there are nearly five hundred acres of cleared land lying in one body on the rivers St. Joseph, St. Mary and the Miami [Maumee] ; there are fine points of land contiguous to these rivers adjoining the cleared land. The rivers are navigable for small craft in the summer, and in the winter there is water sufficient for large boats, the land adjacent fertile and well timbered, and from every appearance it has been one of the largest settlements made by the Aborigines in this country.

Camp Miami Villages 18th September, 1794. This day the Commander-in-Chief reconnoitered the ground and determined on the spot to build a fort. The troops fortified their camps, as they halted too late yesterday to cover themselves. Four deserters from the British came to us this day ; they bring information that the Aborigines are encamped eight miles below the British fort [Miami] to the number of 1600.

Camp Miami Villages 19th September, 1794. This day we hear that General Barber's brigade of mounted volunteers are within twelve miles of this place, and will be in early to-morrow with large supplies of flour ; we have had heavy rains, the wind northwest, and the clouds have the appearance of emptying large quantities on this western world.

Camp Miami Villages 20th September, 1794. Last night it rained violently, and the wind blew from the northwest harder than I knew heretofore. General Barber with his command arrived in camp about 9 o'clock this morning with 553 kegs of flour, each containing 100 pounds.

Camp Miami Villages 21st September, 1794. The Commander-in-Chief reviewed the legion this day at 1 o'clock. All the quartermaster's horses set off this morning, escorted by the mounted volunteers, for Greenville and are to return the soonest possible. We have not one quart of salt on this ground, which occasions bad and disagreeable living until the arrival of the next escort.

Camp Miami Villages 22nd September, 1794. Nothing of consequence took place to-day except that the troops drew no salt with their fresh provisions.

---

* Near the mouth of Platter Creek, westward from Defiance eleven and a half miles.

† Nearly opposite the present Village of Antwerp, Paulding County, Ohio.

‡ Near the east line of Milan Township, Allen County, Indiana.

‖ At the head of the Maumee River. See map *ante* page 97.

Camp Miami Villages 23rd September, 1794. Four deserters from the British garrison arrived at our camp; they mention that the Aborigines are still embodied on the Miami [Maumee] nine miles below the British fort [at the mouth of Swan Creek]; that they are somewhat divided in opinion, some are for peace and others for war.

Camp Miami Villages 24th September, 1794. This day the work commenced on the Fort, which I am apprehensive will take some time to complete. A keg of whiskey containing ten gallons was purchased this day for eighty dollars, a sheep for ten dollars; three dollars was offered for one pint of salt, but it could not be obtained for less than six.

Camp Miami Villages 25th September, 1794. Lieutenant Blue of the dragoons was this day arrested by [on complaint of] Ensign Johnson of the 4th sub-legion, but a number of their friends interfering the dispute was settled upon Lieutenant Blue asking Ensign Johnson's pardon.

Camp Miami Villages 26th September, 1794. M'Clelland, one of our spies, with a small party came in this evening from Fort Defiance, and brings information that the enemy are troublesome about the Fort, and that they have killed some of our men under its walls. Sixteen Aborigines were seen to day near this place; a small party went in pursuit of them. I have not heard what discoveries they have made.

Camp Miami Villages 27th September, 1794. No intelligence of the enemy. The rain fell considerably last night; this morning the wind is southwest.

Camp Miami Villages 28th September, 1794. The weather proves colder.

Camp Miami Villages 30th September, 1794. Salt and whisky were drawn by the troops this day, and a number of the soldiers became much intoxicated, they having stolen a quantity of liquor from the quartermaster.

Camp Miami Villages 1st October, 1794. The volunteers appear to be uneasy, and have refused to do duty. They are ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to march to-morrow for Greenville to assist the pack-horses, which I am told they are determined not to do.

Camp Miami Villages 2d October, 1794. This morning the volunteers refused to go on command, and demanded of General Scott to conduct them home; he ordered them to start with General Barber, and if they made the smallest delay they should lose all their pay and be reported to the war office as revolters. This had the desired effect and they went off, not in good humor.

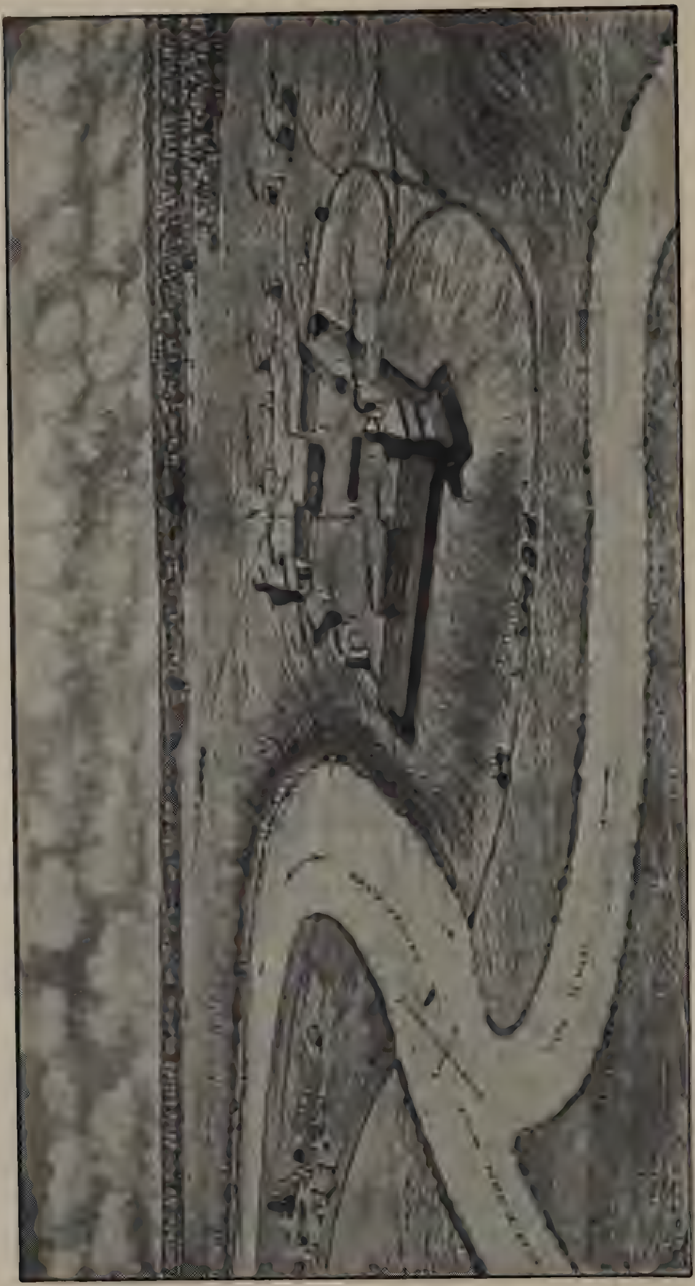
Camp Miami Villages 3d October, 1794. Every officer, non-commissioned officer and soldier belonging to the square are on fatigue this day, hauling trees on the hind wheels of wagons; the first day we got an extra gill [of whiskey] per man, which appears to be all the compensation at this time in the power of the Commander-in-Chief to make the troops.

Camp Miami Villages 4th October, 1794. This morning we had the hardest frost I ever saw in the middle of December; it was like a small snow; there was ice in our camp-kettles three-fourths of an inch thick. The fatigues go on with velocity, considering the rations the troops are obliged to live on.

Camp Miami Villages 5th October, 1794. The weather extremely cold, and hard frosts; the wind northwest. Everything quiet, and nothing but harmony and peace throughout the camp, which is something uncommon.

Camp Miami Villages 6th October, 1794. Plenty and quietness the same as yesterday. The volunteers engaged to work on the Fort, for which they are to receive three gills of whisky per man per day; their employment is digging the ditch and filling up the parapet.

Camp Miami Villages 7th October, 1794. The volunteers are soon tired of work and have refused to labor any longer; they have stolen and killed seventeen beeves in the course of these two days past.



FORT WAYNE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.*
From Researches and Surveys by Chas. E. Slocum.

*Fort Wayne was principally built under direct supervision of General Anthony Wayne between the 18th September and 22nd October, 1794. There were but two blockhouses. The palisaded enclosure was about 150 feet square. The Officers' quarters were at the north; the Quartermaster's quarters, with subordinates, at the west, or front; the Cooks' quarters at the east; and the Stores at the south.

Camp Miami Villages 8th October, 1794. The troops drew but half rations of flour this day. The cavalry and other horses die very fast, not less than four or five per day.

Camp Miami Villages 9th October, 1794. The volunteers have agreed to build a blockhouse in front of the Fort.

Camp Miami Villages 11th October, 1794. A Canadian (Rozelle) [Antoine Lasalle] with a flag [of truce] arrived this evening; his business was to deliver up three prisoners in exchange for his brother, who was taken on the 20th August. He brings information that the Aborigines are in council with Girty and M'Kee near the fort of Detroit; that all the tribes are for peace except the Shawneese who are determined to prosecute the war.

Camp Miami Villages 12th October, 1794. The mounted volunteers of Kentucky marched for Greenville, to be mustered and dismissed the service of the United States army, they being of no further service therein.

Camp Miami Villages 13th October, 1794. Captain Gibson marched this day, and took with him a number of horses for Fort Recovery to receive supplies of provisions.

Camp Miami Villages 14th October, 1794. Nothing particular this day.

Camp Miami Villages 15th October, 1794. The Canadian that came in on the 11th, left us this day accompanied by his brother; they have promised to furnish the garrison at Defiance with stores at a moderate price, which, if performed, will be a great advantage to the officers and soldiers of that post.

Camp Miami Villages 16th October, 1794. Nothing new; weather wet and cold, wind from the northwest. The troops healthy in general.

Camp Miami Villages 17th October, 1794. This day Captain Gibson arrived with a large quantity of flour, beef and sheep.

Camp Miami Villages, 18th October, 1794. Captain Springer and Brock, with all the pack-horses, marched with the cavalry this morning for Greenville, and the foot [infantry] for [Fort] Recovery, the latter to return with the smallest delay with a supply of provisions for this post and Defiance.

The Commandants were: Colonel John Francis Hamtramck, 22nd October, 1794, to 17th May, 1796; he died at Detroit, 11th April, 1803. Major (afterwards Colonel) Thomas Hunt, 25th May, 1796, to 1799? He brought his family from Massachusetts to the Fort in 1797. His son General John E. Hunt, was born here 1st April, 1798. Major——Whipple? Major Thomas Pasteuer? Major Zebulon M. Pike. Captain Nathan Heald. Captain James Rhea, to 13th September, 1812. Captain Hugh Moore, 1812. Captain Joseph Jenkinson, 1813. The Maumee region was at this date in Military District No. 8. Captain (brevet Major) John Whistler commanded from 1814 to 1817. He was probably there in the early summer of 1812. The Fort was generally rebuilt by him in 1814-15, and materially changed. He infused new life in the garrison, and into the town as well. Major Whistler came to America in Burgoyne's army and was taken prisoner at Saratoga. He was in St. Clair's army at its defeat in 1791. Was aspiring and won his commissions from merit. He was the last commander of Fort St. Marys in 1814. He died at St. Louis about 1826. Captain (afterwards Major and Colonel by brevet) Josiah H. Vose commanded Fort Wayne from 1817 until its abandonment 19th April, 1819, when it was in Department No. 5, yet subordinate to Detroit. Colonel John Johnston wrote in 1859 that Major Vose was the only army officer known to him in 1812 who publicly professed Christianity. He was constant in assembling his men on Sunday, reading the Scriptures to them and discoursing thereon. He died at New Orleans 15th July, 1845.—*Lossings War of 1812*, page 316.

The later garrisons of Fort Wayne numbered as follows: 1st January, 1803, 64 soldiers; Early in 1812, 85 according to the Peace Establishment; 1815, 60; 31st December, 1817, 56; October, 1818, 91; 19th April, 1819, 91 men, viz: Major Vose; 1 Post Surgeon; 2 Captains; 1 1st Lieutenant; 5 Sergeants; 4 Corporals; 4 Musicians (2 fifers, 1 snare drummer and 1 bass drummer); and 74 Matrosses (artillerymen) and Privates. The artillery then consisted of one six and one twelve pounder.

All that is now left to the public of the site of Fort Wayne beside streets, is a small triangular piece of ground at the northeast corner of Main and Clay Streets, narrowed on the north by the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railway along the line of the former Wabash and Erie Canal.

In an appendix of the Annual Report of the Chief of United States Engineers for 1889, it is recommended that a monument to cost $5,000 be erected here; but Congress has not made up to this time (1904) any appropriation for this purpose. Grand Army Posts have since mounted a more modern cannon on a high pedestal which is inscribed in memory of General Wayne, and of later wars.

Camp Miami Villages 19th October, 1794. This day the troops were not ordered for labor, being the first day for four weeks, and accordingly attended divine service.

Camp Miami Villages 20th October, 1794. An express arrived this day with dispatches to the Commander-in-Chief; the contents are kept secret.

A court-martial to sit this day for the trial of Lieutenant Charles Hyde.

Camp Miami Villages 21st October, 1794. This day were read the proceedings of a general court-martial held on Lieutenant Charles Hyde (yesterday); was found not guilty of the charges exhibited against him, and was therefore acquitted.

Camp Miami Villages 22d October, 1794. This morning at 7 o'clock the following companies, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant Hamtramck of the 1st sub-legion, took possession of this place, viz: Captain Kingsbury's 1st; Captain Greaton's 2d; Captain Spark's and Captain Reed's 3d; Captain Preston's 4th; and Captain Porter's, of artillery; and after firing fifteen rounds of cannon [one for each of the States then in the Union] Colonel Hamtramck gave it the name of Fort Wayne.

Camp Miami Villages 23d October, 1794. The general fatigue of the garrison ended this day and Colonel Hamtramck, with the troops under his command to furnish [finish] it as he may think fit. All the soldiers' huts are completed except covering, and the weather is favorable for that work.

Camp Miami Villages 24th October, 1794. This day the troops drew but half rations of beef and flour, the beef very bad.

Camp Miami Villages 25th October, 1794. Nothing extraordinary the same as yesterday.

This evening Captain Springer with the escort arrived with a supply of flour and salt. A Frenchman and a half Aborigine came to headquarters, but where they are from or their business we cannot learn but that it is of a secret nature.

Camp Miami Villages 26th October, 1794. Nothing occurring today except an expectation to march the day after to-morrow.

Camp Miami Villages 27th October, 1794. Agreeable to general orders of this day, we will march for Greenville to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.

Camp Nine miles [southeast] from Fort Wayne 28th October, 1794. The legion took up the line of march at 9 o'clock and arrived here without anything particular occurring.

Camp Twenty-one miles [southeast] from Fort Wayne 29th October, 1794. The troops proceeded on their march at sunrise, and arrived on this ground at half past 3 o'clock, our way was through rich and well timbered land, the weather cold and much like for rain.

Camp Southwest side of St. Mary River 30th October, 1794. The legion proceeded on their march at 7 o'clock, and arrived here at sunset; continual heavy rain all day.

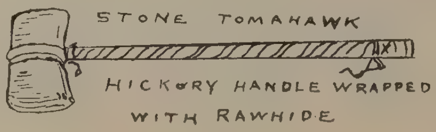
Camp Girty Town* 31st October, 1794. The troops took up their line of march at sunrise, and arrived here three hours after night, through heavy rain.

Greenville 2nd November 1794. This evening the legion arrived here, where they marched from 28th July, 1794.

We were saluted with twenty-four rounds from a six-pounder. Our absence from this ground amounted to three months and six days. And so ends the expedition of General Wayne's campaign.

---

*From James Girty the trader. Site of the present City of St. Marys, Auglaise County, Ohio.


STONE TOMAHAWK
HICKORY HANDLE WRAPPED WITH RAWHIDE

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL WAYNE'S REPORTS—TREATY AT GREENVILLE. 1794, 1795.

General Wayne reported to the Secretary of War from time to time, and such reports as are of interest to this region are here given:

HEAD QUARTERS, GRAND GLAISE [FORT DEFIANCE] 14TH August, 1794.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you, that the army under my command took possession of this very important post on the morning of the 8th instant—the enemy, on the preceding evening, having abandoned all their settlements, towns, and villages, with such apparent marks of surprise and precipitation, as to amount to a positive proof that our approach was not discovered by them until the arrival of a Mr. Newman, of the Quartermaster General's department, who deserted from the army near the St. Mary [River] and gave them every information in his power as to our force, the object of our destination, state of provision, number and size of the artillery, &c., &c., circumstances and facts that he had but too good an opportunity of knowing, from acting as a field quartermaster on the march, and at the moment of his desertion. Hence, I have good grounds to conclude that the defection of this villain prevented the enemy from receiving a fatal blow at this place, when least expected.*

I had made such demonstrations, for a length of time previously to taking up our line of march, as to induce the savages to expect our advance by the route of the Miami villages to the left, or towards Roche de Bout by the right; which feints appear to have produced the desired effect by drawing the attention of the enemy to those points, and gave an opening for the army to approach undiscovered by a devious route, i. e. in a central direction, and which would be impracticable for an army, except in a dry season such as then presented.

Thus sir, we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Aborigines of the West, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margins of these beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the lake [Maumee] and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place [chief Blue Jacket's towns on right bank of Auglaise River one mile above its mouth, and on left bank of Maumee one and a half miles below mouth of Auglaise] nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida.

We are now employed in completing a strong stockade fort, with four good block houses by way of bastions, at the confluence of Au Glaize and the Miamies [Maumee] which I have called *Defiance.*† Another fort was also erected on the bank of the [River] St. Mary twenty-four miles advanced of Recovery, which was named Adams and endowed with provision and a proper garrison.

Everything is now prepared for a forward move to-morrow morning towards Roche de Bout, or foot of the Rapids, where the British have a regular fortification well supplied with artillery and strongly garrisoned, in the vicinity of which the fate of the campaign will probably be decided; as, from the best and most recent intelligence the enemy are there collected in force, and joined by the militia of Detroit, &c., &c., possessed of ground very unfavorable for cavalry to act in. Yet, notwithstanding this unfavorable intelligence, and unpleasant circumstances of ground, I do not despair of success from the spirit and ardor of the troops, from the generals down to the privates, both of the legion and mounted volunteers.

---

*This deserter, Newman, was finally arrested at Pittsburg and sent down the Ohio to Headquarters.

† Regarding the naming of this Fort, tradition says that General Wayne, as the walls assumed the desired form, remarked that he could here safely defy the savages, the British, and all the devils. Then, said General Charles Scott who was present, call it Fort Defiance.

Yet I have thought proper to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have everything that is dear and interesting now at stake, I have reason to expect that they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the enclosed copy of an address* despatched yesterday by a special flag, who I sent under circumstances that will ensure his safe return, and which may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood.

But, should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God I therefore commit myself and gallant army, and have the honor to be, with every consideration of respect and esteem, Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Anthony Wayne.

The Hon. Major General Knox, Secretary of War.

The Report of General Wayne after the Battle of Fallen Timber is as follows:

Head Quarters, Grand Glaise [Fort Defiance] 28th August, 1794.

Sir: It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Aborigines, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th instant, on the banks of the Miami [Maumee] in the vicinity of the British post and garrison, at the foot of the Rapids.

---

* *To the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, and Wyandots, and to each and every one of them, and to all other nations of Aborigines northwest of the Ohio, whom it may concern:*

I, Anthony Wayne, Major General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal army now at Grand Glaise [Fort Defiance] and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for settling the terms upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be made with each and every of the hostile tribes, or nations of Aborigines northwest of the Ohio, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing men have led you; from the head of my army, now in possession of your abandoned villages and settlements, do hereby once more extend the friendly hand of peace towards you, and invite each and every of the hostile tribes of Aborigines to appoint deputies to meet me and my army, without delay, between this place and Roche de Bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace which may eventually, and soon, restore to you the Delawares, Miamis, Shawanese, and all other tribes and nations lately settled at this place and on the margins of the Miami [Maumee] and au Glaise rivers, your late grounds and possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed and hapless women and children from danger and famine during the present fall and ensuing winter.

The arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation.

And, to remove any doubts or apprehensions of danger to the persons of the deputies whom you may appoint to meet this army, I hereby pledge my sacred honor for their safety and return, and send Christopher Miller [see *ante* page 187] an adopted Shawanee, and a Shawanee warrior whom I took prisoner two days ago, as a flag, who will advance in their front to meet me.

Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by a party of my warriors six moons since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people my prisoners, that is five warriors and two women, who are now all safe and well at Greenville.

But, should this invitation be disregarded and my flag, Mr. Miller, be detained or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death, without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the first families of your nations.

Brothers: Be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the Rapids; they have neither the power nor the inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this last overture of peace. But, in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of your blood; let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the invaluable blessings of peace and tranquility. Anthony Wayne.

Grand Glaise [Fort Defiance] 13th August, 1794.

The army advanced from this place on the 15th, and arrived at Roche de Bout on the 18th; the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of the stores and baggage [Fort Deposit] and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick brushy wood and the British fort.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 20th the army again advanced in columns, agreeably to the Standing Order of March, the legion on the right, its right flank covered by the Miamis [Maumee River] one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear under Brigadier General Barbie. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Aborigines would decide for peace or war. After advancing about five miles Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood which extended for miles on our left and for a considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber probably occasioned by a tornado which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other and extending for near two miles, at right angles with the river. I soon discovered from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages with the whole of the mounted volunteers by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms and rouse the Aborigines from their coverts at the point of the bayonet and, when up, to deliver a close and well direct fire on their backs followed by a brisk charge so as not to give them time to load again.

I also ordered Captain Mis Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next to the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Aborigines, and Canadian militia, and volunteers, were driven from all their coverts in so short a time that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion and by Generals Scott, Todd and Barbie, of the mounted volunteers to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being driven in the course of one hour more than two miles through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than half their numbers.

From every account, the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle which terminated under the influence [range] of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion. [This correspondence is given after this report].

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view; and which I observed with pleasure and the most lively gratitude; among whom I must beg leave to mention Brigadier General Wilkinson and Colonel Hamtramck the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To those I must add the names of my faithful and gallant Aids-de-camp Captains DeButt and

T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory.

Lieutenant Covington, upon whom the command of the cavalry now devolved, cut down two savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant Webb one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

The wounds received by Captains Slough and Prior, and Lieutenant Campbell Smith an extra aid-de-camp to General Wilkinson of the legionary infantry, and Captain Van Rensselaer of the dragoons, Captain Rawlins, Lieutenant McKenny, and Ensign Duncan of the mounted volunteers, bear honorable testimony of their bravery and conduct.

Captains H. Lewis and Brock with their companies of light infantry, had to sustain an unequal fire for some time, which they supported with fortitude. In fact, every officer and soldier, who had an opportunity to come into action, displayed that true bravery which will always ensure success. And here permit me to declare that I never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers, and I am well persuaded that, had the enemy maintained their favorite ground for one half hour longer, they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

But, whilst I pay this just tribute to the living, I must not neglect the gallant dead, among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers Captain Mis Campbell of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Towles of the light infantry, of the legion, who fell in the first charge.

Enclosed is a particular return of the [thirty-three] killed and [one hundred] wounded [eleven of whom died previous to the sending of this report]. The loss of the enemy was more than double to that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of the Aborigines and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami [Maumee] in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of that garrison who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel McKee the British Aborigine agent and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to this place [Fort Defiance] on the 27th by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on [along] each side of the Miami [Maumee]. There remain yet a great number of villages, and a great quantity of corn, to be consumed or destroyed, upon Au Glaise and the Miami [Maumee] above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days.

In the interim we shall improve Fort Defiance and, as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greenville and Fort Recovery, the army will proceed to the Miami Villages [at the head of the Maumee River] in order to accomplish the [final] object of the campaign.

It is, however, not improbable that the enemy may make one desperate effort against this army, as it is said that a reinforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miami from Niagara as well as numerous tribes of Aborigines living on the margin and islands of the lakes. This is a business rather to be wished for than dreaded whilst the army remains in force. Their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and which may eventually ensure a permanent and happy peace.

Under these impressions, I have the honor to be your most obedient and very humble servant. ANTHONY WAYNE.

The honorable Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War.

N. B. I forgot to mention that I met my flag [Christopher Miller] on the 16th, who was returning with an evasive answer in order to gain time for the arrival of the reinforcement mentioned by the Shawanee Aborigine, and which actually did arrive two days before the action.

The correspondence that passed between the British and American commanders, mentioned on page 209, is as follows:

MIAMI [MAUMEE] RIVER August 21, 1794.

SIR: An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami [Maumee] for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort [Miami], being a post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by his Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison.

I have no hesitation on my part to say that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

Major 24th regiment, commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami [Maumee]. To Major General Wayne, &c.

CAMP ON THE BANK OF THE MIAMI [MAUMEE] August 21, 1794.

SIR: I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may without breach of decorum observe to you that, were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms yesterday morning in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Aborigines, &c., were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Aborigines and the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient, and very humble servant.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major General, and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army.

To Major William Campbell, &c.

FORT MIAMI August 22d, 1794.

SIR: Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorizes me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States of America in this neighborhood under your command, yet, still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have forborne, for those two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this fort, by approaching it within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers, with arms in their hands.

Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but, should you after this continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are at this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my King and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which, I solemnly appeal to God, I have used my utmost endeavors to arrest.

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect, your most obedient and very humble servant.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

Major 24th regiment, commanding at Fort Miami.

Major General Wayne, &c., &c.,

General Wayne adds in his report that

No other notice was taken of this letter than what is expressed in the following letter. The fort and works were, however, reconnoitered in every direction, at some points possibly within pistol shot. It was found to be a regular strong work, the front covered by a wide river, with four guns mounted in that face. The rear, which was most susceptible of approach, had two regular bastions furnished with eight pieces of artillery, the whole surrounded by a wide deep ditch with horizontal pickets projecting from the burn of the parapet over the ditch. From the bottom of the ditch to the top of the parapet was about twenty feet perpendicular. The works were also surrounded by an abbatis, and furnished with a strong garrison. [The correspondence concluded as follows]:

Camp, Banks of Miami [Maumee] 22d August, 1794.

Sir: In your letter of the 21st instant you declare 'I have no hesitation, on my part, to say that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.'

I, on my part, declare the same, and that the only cause I have to entertain a contrary idea at present, is the hostile act you are now in commission of, i. e. by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Aborigine tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence, it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested by the troops under my command.

I am, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

Anthony Wayne,

Major William Campbell, &c.

Fort Miami 22d August, 1794,

Sir: I have this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that, being placed here in the command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot enter into any discussion, either on the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. Those are matters that I conceive will be best left to the embassadors of our different nations.

Having said this much, permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders to that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me.

I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it.

Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, sir, that I am much deceived if his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river at and prior to the period you mention. [Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee River, captured by Chief Nicholas in 1763].

I have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

William Campbell,
Major 24th regiment, commanding at Fort Miami.

To Major General Wayne, &c.

In his report to the Secretary of War General Wayne writes that 'The only notice taken of this letter, was by immediately setting fire to, and destroying, everything within view of the fort, and even under the muzzles of his guns. Had Mr. Campbell carried his threats into execution, it is more than probable that he would have experienced a storm.'

Antoine Lassell, a native of Canada and a volunteer in the British Captain Caldwell's company of refugees, friends and allies of the hostile Aborigines, was captured by the Americans the 20th August, the day of the Battle of Fallen Timber, and he testified before General Wayne at Fort Defiance as follows:

He says that he has resided for twenty-nine years in Upper Canada, twenty-one of which he has passed at Detroit and on this [Maumee] river, and that he has constantly traded with the Aborigines all that time; that he resided at the Miami villages for nineteen years before Harmar's expedition, when he kept a store at that place, and used to supply other traders with goods; that he has since lived chiefly at Bean Creek or Little Glaise [on left bank of Tiffin River, one mile below Brunersburg and one mile-and-a-half from Fort Defiance] at the Little Turtle's town.

That, having lived so long among the hostile Aborigines, he is perfectly acquainted with the tribes and numbers.

That the Delawares have about 500 men including those who live on both rivers — the White River and Bean Creek. That the Miamis are about 200 warriors; part of them live on the [River] St. Joseph, eight leagues from this place [Fort Defiance]; that the men were all in the action [at Fallen Timber] but the women are yet at that place, or Piquet's village [not far from the present St. Joseph, Indiana]; that a road leads from that place directly to it; [This trail is yet remembered in Defiance County. It remained until obliterated by the development of farms, in places being noticeable as late as the year 1860]; that the number of warriors belonging to that place, when all together, amounts to about 40.

That the Shawanese have about 300 warriors; that the Tawas [Ottawas] on this river are 250; that the Wyandots are about 300.

That those Aborigines were generally in the action of the 20th instant, except some hunting parties. That a reinforcement of regular troops and 200 militia arrived at Fort Miami a few days before the army appeared; that the regular troops in the fort amounted to 250, exclusive of militia.

That about seventy of the militia, including Captain Caldwell's corps, were in the action. That Colonel McKee, Captain Elliott, and Simon Girty, were in the field, but at a respectful distance and near the river.

That Colonel M'Kee's existence now depends upon the exertions he can make to retrieve the loss and disgrace of the Aborigines; that he will use every influence and means in his power to raise the distant nations to come forward immediately and assist in the war.

That, should they not be able to collect in force sufficient to fight this army, their intention is to move on the Spanish side of the Mississippi where part of their nations now live; that Blue Jacket told him (Lassell) that he intended to move immediately to Chicago, on the Illinois.

That the Aborigines have wished for peace for some time, but that Colonel M'Kee always dissuaded them from it, and stimulated them to continue the war.

Colonel John Johnson, while American Agent to the Aborigines at Fort Wayne knew this Antoine Lasselle, or LaSalle. He was informed that Lasselle was captured at the Battle of Fallen Timber while dressed and painted as a savage, and that upon examination at Fort Deposit he was sentenced to be hung. A temporary gallows was erected, and the execution was ordered, when Colonel John F. Hamtramck of the 1st Regiment Infantry, who was also a Frenchman, interceded and saved his life. His brother ransomed him at Fort Wayne the 13th October, 1794 (see *ante*, page 205) by three American prisoners. General Wayne and Colonel Hamtramck were quick to see the worth of these brothers Lasselle to the American cause, and cultivated their interest which, from their wit and gratitude, amounted to a great force in turning the Aborigines from the British. The blanks in General Wayne's reports on another page may be filled with the name Antoine Lasselle. Colonel Hamtramck refers to his favorable work in letters given on subsequent pages. In after years Antoine was licensed to trade with the Aborigines at Fort Wayne. Occasionally, in his reminiscent moods, he would clasp his neck with both hands in reference to 'Mad Anthony's' (General Wayne's) desire to hang him. Another prisoner, John Bevin, a drummer in the 24th British regiment, testified after the battle as follows:

> There are now four companies of the 24th at Fort Miami, averaging about 50 men, non-commissioned officers and privates included; that there was part of Governor Simcoe's corps in the garrison, together with about sixty Canadians; that the whole number of men actually in the garrison, including officers, &c., exceeded 400; that the number of Aborigines, Canadians, &c. in the action [Battle of Fallen Timber] were at least 2000, according to the report made by Colonel M'Kee and Captain Elliott to Major Campbell after the action, who declared in his presence that there was actually that number engaged.
>
> That there were four nine-pounders, two large howitzers, and six six-pounders, mounted in the fort, and two swivels, and well supplied with ammunition.
>
> That the Aborigines were regularly supplied with provision drawn from the British magazine in the garrison by Colonel M'Kee.
>
> That a certain Mr. Newman, a deserter from the American army, arrived at the fort about eight days before the army made its appearance, who gave information to Major Campbell that the object of the Americans was to take that post and garrison; that General Wayne told the troops not to be uneasy about provisions, that there was plenty in the British garrison.
>
> That Governor Simcoe was expected at that place every hour in consequence of an express sent to Niagara after the arrival of Newman the deserter, but had not arrived when he came away; that the distance from Fort Miami to Detroit is sixty miles, which is generally performed in two days.
>
> The militia of Detroit and its vicinity amounts to near two thousand; that a Colonel Baubee commands them; that M'Kee is also a Colonel of militia; that a Lieutenant Silve of the British regiment is in the Aborigine department and acts as secretary to Colonel M'Kee; that a Captain Bunbury of the same regiment is also in the Aborigine department.
>
> That he has seen a great number of wounded Aborigines pass the fort, but did not learn what number were killed; that the retiring Aborigines appeared much dejected and much altered to what they were in the morning before the action; that he knew of one company of volunteers, commanded by Captain Caldwell, all white men and armed with British muskets and bayonets, who were in the action.

A returned prisoner gave information 21st October, 1794, as follows:

> James Neill, a packhorse-man in the service of Elliott and Williams, aged 17 years, and belonging to Beardstown, in Kentucky, was in the action of the 30th June at Fort Recovery, and was taken prisoner by the Aborigines, together with Peter Keil and another by the name of Cherry, and three pack horse-men.
>
> After he was taken prisoner he was carried to the British fort at the Miami [Maumee] where, however, he was not permitted to be seen by the British as the Aborigines wanted to carry him to their own town; thence he was taken to Detroit, and thence to Michilimackinac, where a British officer bought him, who sent him to Detroit to Colonel England who treated them well, and sent them to Niagara, at which place Peter Keil, being an Irishman, enlisted in the Queen's rangers.

Neill understood that there were of Aborigines and white men, 1500 in the attack of Fort Recovery; he himself did not see the whole, but he saw upwards of seven hundred.

He understood they lost a great many in killed and wounded; he himself saw about twenty dead carried off, and many wounded, while he was tied to the stump of a tree about half a mile distant from the firing.

The Aborigines, on their return to the Miami fort, asserted that no enemy ever fought better than the people at Fort Recovery; and Neill was told by Captain Doyle at Michilimackinac, that the Aborigines lost two to one that they did at St. Clair's defeat.

Neill was taken by the Shawanese, and made a present to the Ottawas who live near the fort at Michilimackinac.

Neill was at Detroit when the news arrived of General Wayne's action with the Aborigines, the 20th August. He received the information from one John Johnson who was a deserter from General Wayne's army, and then was a militia man of Detroit, and in the action against General Wayne. He spoke of the affair as a complete defeat; that the Aborigines lost a great many but he could not tell how many. He says the Aborigines, upon being defeated, wanted to take refuge in the British fort; that they were denied, which greatly exasperated them.

The militia of Detroit were again ordered out, and several Captains put in the guard-house for refusing. He understood the militia men were forced on board vessels and sent to Roche de Bout.

Upon his arrival at Niagara he understood that most of the troops were ordered to reinforce the garrison at the Miami [Maumee] River, but Governor Simcoe did not go.

Neill says that it was generally said there were only seven hundred Aborigines at General St. Clair's defeat.

Immediately following the Battle of Fallen Timber many of the savages, not finding the expected support and protection from the British at Fort Miami, fled to Detroit the British headquarters, where an estimate placed their number, within a few days, at thirteen hundred. Another evidence of the severe effect of the battle on them and the British militia with them, was the equipment of another hospital with an additional surgeon at Detroit, the expense of which was approved by Lieutenant Governor Simcoe the 31st October. The British also proceeded at once to strengthen Fort Lernoult at Detroit; and a blockhouse was built on the opposite side of the river, also six gunboats for patrolling the river.*

Ten days after the Battle of Fallen Timber, 30th August, 1794, Colonel M'Kee wrote to Colonel England, commandant at Detroit, as follows:

Camp near Fort Miami August 30, 1794.

Sir: I have been employed several days in endeavoring to fix the Aborigines (who have been driven from their villages and cornfields) between the fort and the Bay. Swan Creek is generally agreed upon, and will be a very convenient place for the delivery of provisions, &c.

The last accounts from General Wayne's army were brought me last night by an Aborigine who says the army would not be able to reach the Glaise [at Fort Defiance] before yesterday evening, it is supposed on account of the sick and wounded, many of

---

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. Farmer's *History of Detroit and Michigan.*

whom they bury every day. I propose being in town in a day or two when I hope for the pleasure of paying you my respects. . .

The military interests of this region in the latter part of 1794 are set forth in the following report of General Wayne to the Secretary of War, viz:

HEAD QUARTERS, MIAMI VILLAGES [FORT WAYNE] 17th October, 1794.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of my letter of the 20th ultimo, together with the general return of the legion, and an invoice of stores and medicine wanted in the hospital department.

The great number of sick belonging to the mounted volunteers, added to the sick and wounded of the legion, has exhausted all the stores forwarded for the year 1794, so that I shall be under the necessity of ordering the Surgeon General to purchase a temporary supply at Fort Washington at an advanced but current price, at that place.

The Quartermaster General is directed to make out a return of the stores issued, on hand, and wanting, in his department. Major Burbeck has similar orders for the Ordnance Department, which will be transmitted by the first opportunity. The unfortunate death of Mr. Robert Elliot, the acting contractor, who was killed by the Aborigines on the 6th instant near Fort Hamilton, added to the deranged state of that department, has made it my duty to order the Quartermaster General to supply every defect on the part of the contractors, and at their expense, in behalf of the United States, to be settled at the treasury at a future day. The posts in contemplation at Chillicothe or Picquetown on the Miami of the Ohio, at Loramie's store on the north branch, and at the old Tawa town on the AuGlaise [River] are with a view to facilitate the transportation of supplies by water and which, to a certainty, will reduce the land carriage of dead or heavy articles, at proper seasons, viz: late in the fall and early in the spring, to thirty-five miles, and in times of freshets to twenty in place of 175 by the most direct road to Grand Glaise [Fort Defiance] and 150 to the Miami Villages from Fort Washington on the present route of transport in time of war, and decidedly so in time of peace.

The mounted volunteers of Kentucky marched from this place on the morning of the 14th instant for Fort Washington, where they are to be mustered and discharged agreeably to instructions mentioned in the enclosed duplicates of letters to Major General Scott and Captain Edward Butler, upon the occasion.

The conduct of both officers and men of this corps, in general, has been better than any militia I have heretofore seen in the field for so great a length of time. But it would not do to retain them any longer, although our present situation, as well as the term for which they were enrolled, would have justified their being continued in service until the 14th November, in order to escort the supplies from Fort Washington to the head of the line, whilst the regular troops were employed in the completion of the fortifications, and keeping the enemy in check so as to prevent them from insulting the convoys; but they were homesick. All this I am now obliged to perform with the skeleton of the legion, as the body is daily wasting away from the expiration of the enlistments of the soldiery. Nor is it improbable that we shall yet have to fight for the protection of our convoys and posts. It is therefore to be regretted that the bill in contemplation for the completion of the legion, as reported by the committee of the House of Representatives, was not passed into a law in the early part of last session of Congress.

The enclosed estimate will demonstrate the mistaken policy and bad economy of substituting mounted volunteers in place of regular troops; and unless effectual measures are immediately adopted by both Houses for raising troops to garrison the Western posts, we have fought, bled, and conquered, in vain; the fertile country we are now in possession of will again become a range to the hostile Aborigines of the West, who, meeting with no barrier, the frontier inhabitants will fall an easy prey to a fierce and savage enemy whose tender mercies are cruelty; and who will improve the opportunity to desolate and lay waste all the settlements on the margin of the Ohio, and which they will be able to effect with impunity, unless some speedy and proper measures are adopted to re-engage the remnant of the legion. The present pay and scanty ration will not induce the soldiery to continue in service after the period for which they are now enlisted, and which will expire, almost in toto, between this and the beginning of May.

I had the honor to transmit you a copy of the deposition of a certain ——— ——— [Antoine Laselle] a Canadian prisoner, taken in the action of the 20th August [the Battle of Fallen Timber]; his brother arrived at this place on the 13th instant with a flag [of truce] and three American prisoners which he redeemed from the Aborigines with a view of liberating. Enclosed is his narrative given upon oath, by which you will see that Governor Simcoe, Colonel M'Kee, and the famous Captain Brandt, are at this moment tampering with the hostile chiefs, and will undoubtedly prevent them from concluding a treaty of peace with the United States, if possible. I shall, however, endeavor to counteract them through the means of ——— ——— [Antoine Lasalle] who has a considerable influence with the principal hostile chiefs, and whose interests it will eventually be to promote a permanent peace. But, in order to facilitate and effect this desirable object, we ought to produce a conviction to them, as well as to the British agents, that we are well prepared for war; hence I have been induced to bestow much labor upon two forts [Fort Defiance and Fort Wayne] of which the enclosed are *draughts** and I am free to pronounce them the most respectable now in the occupancy of the United States, even in their present situation [condition] which is not quite perfect as yet. The British, however, are not to learn that they may possibly be left without garrisons; they well know the term for which the veterans of the legion are engaged, as well from our laws and proceedings of Congress as from our *deserters*, and that no provision is yet made to supply their places; circumstances that Mr. Simcoe will not fail to impress most forcibly upon the minds of the Aborigines with whom he is now in treaty; and to hold up to them a flattering prospect of soon possessing those posts, and their lost country, with ease and certainty.

I have thought it my duty to mention those facts to you at this crisis, to the end that Congress may be early and properly impressed with the critical situation of the Western country, so as to adopt measures for retaining the posts, and for the protection of the frontier inhabitants, previously to the expiration of the term of service for which the troops have been enlisted. I have the honor to be, &c.,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major General Knox, Secretary of War.

An army of two thousand non-commissioned officers and privates was recommended to be enlisted for three years. The general expense of such army was estimated as follows, viz: Bounty to each soldier ten dollars; each 'stand of arms' ten dollars; one suit clothing per year thirty dollars; subsistence per man four dollars per month. Pay per month: twelve sergeant-majors and quartermaster sergeants seven dollars each; Eighty-four sergeants six dollars each; ninety-six corporals five dollars each; and one thousand eight hundred and eight privates each at three dollars per month.

---

* The writer has been unable to find the plans of the Forts here mentioned, by his several inquiries at the State and War Departments, and United States Library, at Washington.

The return of the army, opinions regarding questions in general, and the opening of friendly negotiations with the Aborigines, are announced in the following letter from General Wayne to the Secretary, viz:

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE 12 November, 1794.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit you a duplicate of my letter of the 17th ultimo from the Miami villages, and to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Colonel Alexander Hamilton of the 25th September, enclosing an extract of a letter from Mr. Jay Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States at the court of London, dated the 12th July, 1794; also a letter from Major Stagg of the 4th ultimo.

The enclosed copy of a correspondence between the contractor's agents, the Quartermaster General and myself, will inform you of additional measures taken to obtain supplies for the support of the respective posts, and the skeleton of the legion. I have the honor to enclose copies of certain overtures and speeches from the Wyandots settled at, and in the vicinity of, Sandusky, together with my answer; what the result may be is yet very problematical; they have, however, left two hostages with me (one of them a young chief) until the return of the flag that went from this place on the 5th instant, and promised to be here again in the course of twenty days with an answer to my propositions.

From the enclosed narrative of ——— a half breed, and a brother to ——— (whose interest I have made it to be true and faithful to the United States) it would appear that the savages are playing an artful game; they have most certainly met Governor Simcoe, Colonel M'Kee, and Captain Brandt, at the mouth of Detroit River, at the proposed treaty of hostile Aborigines; and, at the same time, sent a deputation to me with the overtures already mentioned as coming from only part of one nation; it is, however, understood by all, that there shall be a temporary suspension of hostilities for *one moon* say until the 22nd instant; in fact it has been a continued suspension upon their own part ever since the action of the 20th August, except a few light trifling predatory parties; it's true, we always moved superior to insult, which may account for this apparent inactivity.

Permit me now to inform you that the skeleton of the legion arrived at this place on the 2nd instant, in high health and spirits after an arduous and very fatiguing, but a glorious, tour of ninety-seven days; during which period we marched and countermarched upwards of three hundred miles through the heart of an enemy's country, cutting a wagon road the whole way, besides making and establishing those two very respectable fortifications [Forts Defiance and Wayne] the draughts of which were enclosed in my letter of the 17th ultimo. [The plans of the Forts, here referred to, cannot be found in the War Department. They may have been in the British fire of 1814.]

As soon as circumstances will admit, the posts contemplated at Picquetown, Loramie's stores, and at the old Tawa [Ottawa] towns at the head of navigation on Au Glaise River* will be established for the reception, and as the depositories, for stores and supplies by water carriage, which is now determined to be perfectly practicable in proper seasons; I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion that *this* route ought to be totally abandoned and *that* adopted as the most economical, sure, and certain mode of supplying those important posts, at Grand Glaise [Fort Defiance] and the Miami Villages [Fort Wayne] and to facilitate an effective operation towards the Detroit and Sandusky, should that measure eventually be found necessary; add to this that it would afford a much better chain for the general protection of the frontiers, which, with a block house at the landing place on the Wabash [Little River] eight miles southwest of the post* at the Miami Villages [Fort Wayne] would give us possession of all portages between the heads of the navigable waters of the Gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, and serve as a barrier between the different tribes of Aborigines settled along the margins of the rivers. [Here some words, or sentences, are lost] emptying into the creek, as mentioned in the enclosed copy of instructions of the 22nd ultimo to Colonel Hamtramck.

---

* Probably at the site of Fort Amanda built in 1812 at the north line of the present Auglaise County, Ohio.

But, sir, all this labor, and expense of blood and treasure, will be rendered abortive, and of none effect, unless speedy and efficient measures are adopted by the National Legislature to raise troops to garrison those posts.

As I have already been full and explicit upon this subject, in my letter of the 17th ultimo, I shall not intrude further upon your time and patience than to assure you of the high esteem and regard with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major General Henry Knox, Secretary of War.

The autumn of 1794, and the following winter, were times of great suffering among the Aborigines of the Maumee River Basin. Their crops being destroyed by General Wayne's army, rendered them more than ever dependent on the British who, not being prepared for so great a task and, withal, quite fatigued already with their exactions 'did not half supply them'.† They were huddled along the Maumee River at the mouth of Swan Creek where much sickness prevailed on account of exposures, scant supplies, and want of sanitary regulations. What few domestic animals they possessed also died or languished on account of improper food and care and were eaten, even the dogs. They became impatient, murmured at the failure of the British to protect and supply them according to promise, and lamented that they did not make peace with the Americans in opposition to the British influence.‡

They turned to the Americans who were more able and willing to protect and to supply.|| Communications from them were encouraged by General Wayne and his officers; and they were received at first by way of persons whose interests were enlisted by the General (the brothers Antoine and Jacques Lasselle particularly) and whose names were for a time suppressed. Later, some chiefs personally visited Forts Defiance and Wayne, and General Wayne at Greenville on invitation. Evidence now accumulated that some of the former appeals

---

* This blockhouse was probably not built, as no further mention of it is found.

† Narrative of John Brickell who was during this time with these Aborigines along the Maumee as a captive of the Delawares—*The American Pioneer* volume i, page 53.

‡ Canadian Archives, Letters of Oct. 22, 24, Nov. 23, and Dec. 7, 1794; Feb. 24 and March 17, 27, 1795.

|| See Canadian Archives, Letter of George Ironside to Alexander M'Kee December 13, 1794, in which is stated that the Aborigines as yet had felt only the weight of General Wayne's little finger, and that he would surely destroy all the tribes if they did not turn to peace. M'Kee, in a letter of March 27, 1795, to Joseph Chew Secretary of the British Aborigine Office, chided the government for leaving to shift for themselves 'the poor Aborigines who have long fought for us and bled freely for us, which is no bar to a peaceable accommodation with America'. . .

to the Aborigines had been intercepted and wholly suppressed by white people in employ of the British, or by them changed in interpretation to suit British desires.

Meantime, the settlers at the frontiers of the southern States, in conjunction with United States troops, were having much trouble in allaying the hostility of the Cherokees, Creeks, and other southern Aborigines who had been incited by their attendance at the general councils held in 1792-93 at the mouth of the Auglaise River and at the foot of the lowest rapids of the Maumee, in accordance with the British efforts 'to unite the American tribes' in their interest.

General Wayne's next report to the Secretary of War, then Timothy Pickering, is as follows:

HEAD QUARTERS, GREENVILLE 23rd December, 1794.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the flag from the Wyandots of Sandusky, after an absence of forty-two days, returned to this place on the evening of the 14th instant.

The enclosed copies of letters and speeches* will best demonstrate the insidious part recently taken by the British agents, Messrs. Simcoe, M'Kee, and Brandt, to stimulate the savages to continue the war, who, being but too well acquainted with the near approach of that period in which the legion will be dissolved, have artfully suggested a suspension of hostilities until spring, in order to lull us into a state of security to prevent the raising of troops, and to afford the Aborigines an opportunity to make their fall and winter hunt unmolested.

In the interim, the British are vigilantly employed in strengthening and making additions to their fortification at the foot of the rapids of the Miamies of the lake [Maumee River] evidently with a view of convincing the Aborigines of their determination to assist and protect them; hence there is strong ground to conclude that Governor Simcoe has not received any orders to the contrary, otherwise he would not presume to persevere in those nefarious acts of hostility.

The Wyandots and other Aborigines, at and in the vicinity of the rapids of Sandusky [River] are completely within our power, and their hunting grounds all within striking distance; hence their present solicitude for a suspension of hostilities.

It is, however, probable that ——— ——— may now be seriously inclined for peace, being the only surviving principal chief out of four belonging to the Wyandots of Sandusky; the three were killed in the action of the 20th August [Battle of Fallen Timber] and he himself shot through the right elbow which has deprived him of the use of that arm; add to this his present candid information of opinion, which is corroborated by ——— ———, now with me, who has a little village of his own consisting of a few Aborigine families settled at ——— and well known to be friendly to the United States.

All those people are, or affect to be, in dread of the hostile Aborigines in the vicinity of Detroit (who are under the immediate influence of the British agents) on account of the part they have recently taken. ——— ——— says, that the present flag is sent without the privity or consent of those tribes, and expresses some doubts of its safe return should any of the hostile Aborigines meet it on its way home and discover the object of its mission.

I shall endeavor to benefit by this real, or affected dread, and propose to take them under the immediate protection of the United States, and build a fortification at the foot of the rapids of Sandusky [River] as soon as the season and circumstances will permit; this will serve as a criterion by which their sincerity may be tried, and [is] perfectly consistent with the treaty of the 9th January, 1789.

---

* See *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 548 *et sequentia*.

But unless Congress has already, or will immediately adopt effectual measures to raise troops to garrison this as well as the other posts already established, it would only be a work of supererogation, as the whole must [otherwise] be abandoned by the middle of May. I have, however, succeeded in dividing and distracting the counsels of the hostile Aborigines, and hope through that means eventually to bring about a general peace, or to compel the refractory to pass the Mississippi and to the northwest side of the lakes.

The British agents have greatly the advantage in this business at present by having it in their power to furnish the Aborigines with every necessary supply of arms, ammunition, and clothing, in exchange for their skins and furs, which will always make the savages dependent upon them until the United States establish trading houses in their country, from which they can be supplied with equal facility, and at reasonable rates.

The country we acquired in the course of the late campaign, and the posts we now occupy, are happily situate for this purpose and which, with the addition of a post at Sandusky and one at the mouth of the Miamies of the lake [Maumee River] would render the Aborigines as dependent upon the United States then, as they are now upon the British.* If my recollection serves me, the President has more than once recomended this measure to the serious attention of Congress; and without its being adopted we can never expect a permanent peace with, or fidelity from, the Aborigines.

Could I, with truth and propriety, pledge myself to the hostile tribes that this measure would be adopted, and that they would with certainty be supplied in this way in the course of the ensuing spring, as well as in the future, I am confident we should draw them over to our interest, notwithstanding every effort of the British to prevent it; because the inclemency of the winter season, the sterility of soil, and the scarcity of game within the British territory, are all opposed to their removing to the north side of the lakes; and certain I am that, had not Governor Simcoe held up to the Aborigines at the late council the fond, but I trust idle, hope of compelling the Americans to abandon and relinquish to them all the posts and lands on the west side of the Ohio [River] the principal part of the hostile tribes would either have accepted of the invitation to treat, or have passed to the Spanish [west] side of the Mississippi in the course of the fall and winter. Possibly they may yet do the one or the other, as I am informed that their present dependent situation is far from pleasant; nor have we much cause to envy the British the pleasure and expense of supporting and clothing this numerous horde of savages, thrown upon them by their own insidious conduct, and the fortuitous events of war. . .

The following excerpts of letters, communicated by John W. Van Cleve of Dayton, Ohio, to *The American Pioneer* 24th June, 1843, were taken from Colonel John Francis Hamtramck's letter-book which remained, after his death 11th April, 1803, among the papers of the Detroit garrison until the surrender of Detroit by General William Hull in 1812, when an officer of Ohio militia was permitted by the British to take possession of it. Colonel Hamtramck is described as a small Canadian Frenchman, but he had proved himself an intelligent, capable and meritorious officer. His letters throw some interesting side-lights on the events of the times. The first were written from Fort Wayne to General Wayne at Greenville, viz:

---

* The surrender of the British Fort Miami to United States troops 11th July, 1796, under the Jay Treaty, obviated the necessity for building a fort by the lower Maumee.

FORT WAYNE December 5th, 1794.

SIR: . . It is with a great degree of mortification that I am obliged to inform your excellency of the great propensity many of the soldiers have for larceny. I have flogged them until I am tired. The economic allowance of one hundred lashes, allowed by government, does not appear a sufficient inducement for a rascal to act the part of an honest man. I have now a number in confinement and in irons for having stolen four quarters of beef on the night of the 3rd instant. I could wish them to be tried by a general court martial, in order to make an example of some of them. I shall keep them confined until the pleasure of your excellency is known. . .

FORT WAYNE December 29, 1794.

SIR: Yesterday a number of chiefs of the Chippeways, Ottawas, Socks [Sacs] and Potawotamies arrived here with the two Lassells. It appears that the Shawanese, Delawares, and Miamies remain still under the influence of M'Kee; but Lassell thinks that they will be compelled to come into the measures of the other Aborigines. After the chiefs have rested a day or two, I will send them to headquarters. . .

December 29, 1794.

SIR: Since my letter to your excellency of the present date, two war-chiefs have arrived from the Miami nation, and inform me that their nation will be here in a few days, from whence they will proceed to Greenville. They also bring intelligence of the remaining tribes of savages acceding to the prevalent wish for peace, and collecting for the purpose the chiefs of their nations, who, it is expected, will make their appearance at this post about the same time the Miamies may come forward. . .

FORT WAYNE January 15, 1795.

SIR: . . A number of chiefs and warriors of the Miamis arrived at the garrison on the 13th instant. Having informed them that I could do nothing with them, and that it was necessary for them to proceed to headquarters, finding it inconvenient for so many to go, they selected five, who are going under charge of Lieutenant Massie, and perhaps will be accompanied by some warriors. The one whose name is Jean Baptiste Richardville, is half white and a village chief of the nation.

As you are well acquainted with the original cause of the war with the Aborigines, I shall not say much upon it, except to observe that all the French traders, who were so many machines to the British agents, can be bought, and M'Kee, being then destitute of his satellites, will remain *solus*, with perhaps his few Shawanese, to make penance for his past iniquities.

Since writing the foregoing, I have had a talk with the chiefs. I have shown them the necessity of withdrawing themselves from the headquarters of corruption, and invited them to come and take possession of their former habitations [across the Maumee and St. Mary from Fort Wayne] which they have promised me to do. Richardville tells me, that as soon as he returns he will go on the Salamonie [River] on [near] the head of the Wabash, and there make a village. He has also promised me to open the navigation of the Wabash to the flag of the United States. . .

February 3rd, 1795.

SIR: Lieutenant Massey arrived on the 31st. The Aborigines also returned on the 29th in high spirits and very much pleased with their reception [by you, General Wayne] at head-quarters. They assure me that they will absolutely make a lasting peace with the United States. . .

March 1, 1795.

SIR: . . I have now with me about forty Aborigines on a visit. They are Potawotamies, who live on Bear Creek [in the present Lenawee County, Michigan]. They say that as they are making peace with us, they will expect us to give them some corn to plant next spring. Indeed all the Aborigines who have been here have requested that I would inform your excellency of their miserable situation, and that they expect everything from you. . .

March 5, 1795.

SIR: . . A number of Potawotamie Aborigines arrived here yesterday from Huron River. They informed me that they were sent by their nation at that place, and by the Ottawas and Chippeways living on the same river, as also in the name of the Chippeways living on the Saginaw River which empties into Lake Huron, in order to join in the good intention of the other Aborigines, by establishing a permanent peace with the United States. I informed them that I was not the first chief, and invited them to go to Greenville; to which they replied that it was rather a long journey, but from the great desire they had to see *The Wind* (for they called you so) they would go. I asked them for an explication of your name. They told me that on the 20th August last, you were exactly like a hurricane, which drives and tears everything before it. Mr. LeChauvre, a Frenchman, is a trader with them and has come as their interpreter. Father Burke continues his exhortations. He assures the inhabitants that if any of them should be so destitute of every principle of honor and religion as to aid or advise the Aborigines to come to the Americans, they shall be anathematized. He is now a commissary and issues corn to the Aborigines. Mr. LeChauvre informs me that Burke is going, in the spring, to Michilimackinac. Of consequence we may easily judge of his mission. He will, no doubt, try to stop the nations from coming in to the treaty. How would it do to take him prisoner? I think that it could be done very easily. . .

March 17, 1795.

SIR: . . I had very great hopes that the man who deserted when on his post would have been made an example of; but weakness too often appears in the shape of lenity, for he was only sentenced to receive one hundred lashes, to be branded, and drummed out. This man, from his past conduct, was perfectly entitled to the gallows. . .

March 27, 1795.

SIR: . . Le Gris [Nag-oh-quang-ogh] the village chief of the Miami nation, and one of the commanding trumps in M'Kee's game, has at last come in. He stood out for a long time, but from a number of circumstances, too tedious to mention, that passed between him and me by messengers, and with Lassell, he has surrendered and, I believe [him] fully converted. I have promised him a great deal of butter with his bread, but your excellency very well knows that flies are not caught with gall or bitter, particularly after having experienced for sixteen years the dulcet deceptions of the British. He was four days with me, during which time I had an opportunity of examining him with great attention. He is a sensible old fellow, and no ways ignorant of the cause of the war, for which he blames the Americans, saying that they were too extravagant in their demands in their first treaties; that the country they claimed by virtue of the definitive treaty of 1783 was preposterous; that the king of Great Britain never had claimed their land after the conquest of Canada, and far less ever attempted to take any part of it without the consent of the Aborigines, and of consequence had no authority to cede their country to the United States. I have spoken with him respecting the meditated treaty of M'Kee in May next, and he very honestly told me that he had received wampum and tobacco on that head, but that he would, on his return, send it back and also send speeches to the different nations requesting them to adhere strongly to the preliminaries between you and them, saying that they must be sensible how they had been deluded by M'Kee, and entreating them at least to hear you first before they should come to any other determination. He is also to keep a couple of men at the rapids [at M'Kee's station near Fort Miami] in order to ascertain what is going on, and has promised me that as soon as his messengers return he will come himself and give me all the information. . .

April 10, 1795.

Sir: . . Le Gris is again with me, and tells me that the two first chiefs of the Potawotamies of the St. Joseph [River] passed his camp the other day, from Detroit, with four horses loaded with presents. These chiefs informed him that a speech from lord Dorchester [Governor of Canada] had arrived at Detroit directed to all nations, wherein he assures them of his friendship and of his readiness to support them in all their distresses. He invites them to make peace with the United States, if they can do it on honorable terms, and tells them that they will see him before the time of our treaty. One would suppose that his lordship is coming up to Detroit to feel, himself, the pulse of the Aborigines. . .

April 25, 1795.

Sir: The Aborigines are truly starving, and say that we must support them, at least until they have made corn, as it will not do for them to ask provision of the British without remaining with them. . .

Fort Wayne June 17, 1795.

Sir: . . The Miamies go to Greenville tomorrow. I believe they are the last that will pass this way. Enclosed is a letter from Major Hunt. I believe that M'Kee is using every strategem to prevent the treaty, but the bayonet of the 20th of August last [the Battle of Fallen Timber] embarrasses him. . . J. F. Hamtramck.

The diplomacy of General Wayne and his agents was successful and, 1st January, 1795, he sent a message to the petitioning Wyandots at Sandusky that the chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawotamis, and Miamis had arrived at Fort Wayne and would soon visit him at Greenville in the interest of peace. The 24th January he reported to the Secretary of War that two preliminary articles of peace had been signed by him and the sachems and war chiefs of the Chippewas, Pottawotamis, Sacs, and Miamis. These preliminary articles provided that hostilities should cease; that there should be a meeting for council and treaty at Greenville, Ohio, on or about the 15th June, 1795; and that immediate information should be given to General Wayne of all hostile movements that came to the knowledge of any of the Aborigines; and the General was to reciprocate.

The Delawares soon visited Fort Defiance and exchanged prisoners to the number of nine, this being all of the Aborigines then held at that place. John Brickell, from whom this information is obtained* then fourteen years of age, had been a captive with the Delawares four years and on this occasion keenly felt the want of another Aborigine prisoner of war that he also, might be exchanged. In May, however, the Delawares appeared across the Maumee from Fort Defiance and discharged their guns in salute. The garrison of the Fort returned the salute with a cannon shot for each State in the Union, then numbering fifteen. At this visit Brickell was surrendered to the garrison with some sentiment on the part of the Aborigines, and good fellowship prevailed.*

---

* *The American Pioneer* 1842 volume i, page 54.

THE TREATY AT GREENVILLE.

Meantime ground was cleared at Greenville, an ample Council House was built, a large quantity of clothing and other useful articles were obtained for presents, and bountiful supplies received for the feeding and entertainment of large numbers of Aborigines during the summer.

About the 1st June a considerable number of Delaware, Ottawa, Pottawotami and Eel River Aborigines began to arrive, and they were well received.† Others arrived each day, and the general council was opened June 16th with a goodly attendance. After smoking the Calumet of Peace, an oath of accuracy and fidelity was subscribed to by eight interpreters, and by Henry DeButts as Secretary. General Wayne as presiding officer, stated the object of the council, exhibited his commission received from President Washington, and put all present in good humor by his happy remarks, saying in closing: "The heavens are bright, the roads open; we will rest in peace and love, and wait the arrival of our brothers [the tardy Aborigines who, at similar times like sulking children, desired to be sent for with special overtures]. In the interim we will have a little drink to wash the dust from our throats. We will on this happy occasion be merry without, however, passing the bounds of temperance and sobriety." The council was then adjourned until the arrival of the other chiefs.

Forty Pottawotamis arrived June 17th and were received by the General. Chief Buck-on-ge-he-las with a party of Delawares, and Asi-me-the with Pottawotamis arrived June 21st and were received at the Council House, and June 23rd Le Gris, Little Turtle and seventeen other Miamis arrived. The 25th some Chippewas arrived; and other Chippewas with Pottawotamis came the next day.

The third day of July General Wayne called all the Aborigines together and explained to them why Americans celebrated the Fourth of July, adding:

> To morrow we shall for the twentieth time salute the annual return of this happy anniversary, rendered still more dear by the brotherly union of the American and red people; tomorrow all the people within these lines will rejoice; you, my brothers, shall also rejoice in your respective encampments. I called you together to explain these matters to you; do not, therefore, be alarmed at the report of our big guns; they will do

---

* See *American Captives among the Ohio Aborigines*, by Charles E. Slocum.

† *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 564.

no harm; they will be the harbingers of peace and gladness, and their roar will ascend into the heavens. The flag of the United States, and the colors of this legion, shall be given to the wind to be fanned by its gentlest breeze in honor of the birth-day of American freedom. I will now shew you our colors that you may know them to-morrow. Formerly they were displayed as ensigns of war and battle; now they will be exhibited as emblems of peace and happiness. This eagle which you now see, holds close his bunch of arrows whilst he seems to stretch forth, as a more valuable offering, the inestimable branch of peace. The Great Spirit seems disposed to incline us all to repose for the future under its grateful shade and wisely enjoy the blessings which attend it.

The 4th July twenty-four additional Ottawas came to swell the numbers of other tribes that had been arriving almost daily. Others continued to come, and all were received with expressions of pleasure. A sachem arriving with a band of Chippewas July 18th, said to General Wayne 'We would have come in greater numbers but for Brant's endeavors to prevent us' in interest of the British.

With great thoughtfulness and circumspection General Wayne drew up the treaty, and he impressed all present with his cheerful yet serious and dignified demeanor to a careful consideration and assent to each of its provisions, separately.

Little Turtle was slow in becoming possessed with the spirit of the meeting, but gradually became one of the principal participators, making ten addresses in representing the Miamis and allied tribes of Weas, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias and Kickapoos. He had not been in favor of the former treaties, knew nothing about them because he was not present at their ratification by his young men who were seduced to this action by the other tribes. Little Turtle did not want to wholly surrender the portage between the head of the Maumee and Little River on account of the revenue derived therefrom, saying . . 'That place has brought to us in the course of one day the amount of one hundred dollars. Let us both own this place and enjoy in common the advantages it affords.' . . But this could not be granted to him on account of the Ordinances of 1786-87 which declared portages free public ways. The chiefs generally and fully expressed their views as favorable to the former treaties, and to this one yet more liberal to the Americans, attributing their hostile acts, and their delays in answering the appeals for peace, to British influences.

The 9th August, 1795, General Wayne wrote to the Secretary of War that . . "It is with infinite pleasure I now inform you that a treaty of peace between the United States of America and all the late hostile tribes of Aborigines Northwest of the Ohio, was unamimously and voluntarily agreed to, and cheerfully signed, by all the sachems and war chiefs of the respective nations on the 3rd, and exchanged on the 7th, instant." . . The full text of this most important Treaty is here reproduced, viz:

A Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and the Tribes of Aborigines called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawotamies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas [Ouis or Ouiotenons], Kickapoos, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias:

To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the said United States and Aborigine tribes, Anthony Wayne, Major-General, commanding the Army of the United States, and sole Commissioner for the purposes above mentioned; and the said tribes of Aborigines, by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors, met together at Greenville, the Head Quarters of said Army, have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the said Aborigine tribes:

ARTICLE 1. Henceforth all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Aborigine tribes.

ART. 2. All prisoners shall, on both sides, be restored. The Aborigines, prisoners to the United States, shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United States still remaining prisoners among the Aborigines, shall be delivered up within ninety days from the date hereof, to the General or Commanding Officer at Greenville, Fort Wayne, or Fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of the said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

ART. 3. The General Boundary Line between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Aborigine tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga River and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence, down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence [Laurens]; thence, westerly to a fork of that branch of the great Miami River, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and the St. Mary River which is a branch of the Miami [the Maumee River] which runs into Lake Erie; thence, a westerly course to Fort Recovery which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence, southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cuttawa River. And, in consideration of the peace now established, of the goods formerly received from the United States, of those now to be delivered, and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter, and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war, the said Aborigine tribes do hereby cede and relinquish, forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the General Boundary Line now described, and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretense, on the part of said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof.

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Aborigine tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Aborigine tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land six miles square at or near Loramie's store, above mentioned. 2. One piece two miles square at the head of the navigable water or landing on the St. Mary River near Girty town [site of the present City of St. Marys]. 3. One piece six miles square at the head of the navigable water of the Auglaise River [probably near the present north line of Auglaise County]. 4. One piece six miles square at the confluence of the Auglaise and Miami [Maumee] Rivers where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece six miles square at or near the confluence of the Rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece two miles square on the Wabash [Little] River at the end of the portage from the Miami of the Lake [Maumee], and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece six miles square at the Ouiotanon or old Wea [Ouia] towns on the Wabash River. 8. One piece twelve miles square at the British fort, on the Miami of the lake [Maumee] at the foot of the Rapids. 9. One piece six miles square at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece six miles square upon Sandusky Lake [Bay] where a fort formerly stood. 11. One piece two miles square at the lower rapids of Sandusky River. 12. The post of Detroit and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Aborigine title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land, to be annexed to the district of Detroit as shall be comprehended between the River Rosine [Raisin] on the south, Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and Detroit River. 13. The post of Michilimackinac and all the land on the island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent of which the Aborigine title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece on the main to the north of the island to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or strait; and, also, the Island De Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land six miles square at the mouth of Chicago River emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece twelve miles square at or near the mouth of the Illinois River emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece six miles square at the old Peorias fort and village near the south end of the Illinois Lake, on said Illinois River. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Aborigines that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this Treaty. And the said Aborigine tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loramie's store, thence along said portage to the St. Mary and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami [Maumee] to Lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage at or near Loramie's store along the portage; from thence to the River Auglaise, and down the same to its junction with the Miami [Maumee] at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid to Sandusky River, and down the same to Sandusky Bay and Lake Erie; and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake [Maumee]; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of the Chicago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois River to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Aborigine tribes will, also, allow to the people of the United States the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Aborigine lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

ART. 4. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding Article by the said tribes of Aborigines, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Aborigine lands northward of the River Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But, from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1st. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres near the rapids of the River Ohio, which has been assigned to General [George Rogers] Clark for the use of himself and his warriors. 2d. The post of St. Vincennes on the River Wabash, and the lands adjacent of which the Aborigine title has been extinguished. 3d. The lands at all other places in possession of the French people and other white settlers among them of which the Aborigine title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3d Article; and 4th, The post of Fort Massac towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim which they or any of them may have.

And for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Aborigine tribes a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year forever, the United States will deliver at some convenient place northward of the River Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Aborigines, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following:

1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars. 2nd. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars. 3rd. To the Shawanese, the amount of one thousand dollars. 4th. To the Miamies, the amount of one thousand dollars. 5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 7th. To the Pottawatamies, the amount of one thousand dollars. 8th. And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel River, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia, tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall, hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries be furnished accordingly.

Art. 5. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Aborigine lands relinquished by the United States in the Fourth Article, it is now explicitly declared that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: The Aborigine tribes who have a right to those lands are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale the United States will protect all the said Aborigine tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Aborigine tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and no other Power whatever.

Art. 6. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the Aborigine tribe on whose land the settlement shall be made may drive off the settler, or punish him in such manner as they shall think fit; and because such settlements made without the consent of the United States will be injurious to them, as well as to the Aborigines, the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think proper, and so effect that protection of the Aborigine lands herein before stipulated.

ART. 7. The said tribes of Aborigines, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

ART. 8. Trade shall be opened with the said Aborigine tribes; and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to such persons, with their property, as shall be duly licensed to reside among them for the purpose of trade, and to their agents and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at any of their towns or hunting camps as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the Superintendent of the Department Northwest of the Ohio, or such other person as the President of the United States shall authorize to grant such licenses, to the end that the said Aborigines may not be imposed on in their trade. And if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof, his license shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States. And if any person shall intrude himself as a trader without such licence, the said Aborigines shall take and bring him before the Superintendent or his Deputy, to be dealt with according to law. And, to prevent impositions by forged licences, the said Aborigines shall, at least once a year, give information to the Superintendent, or his Deputies, of the names of the traders residing among them.

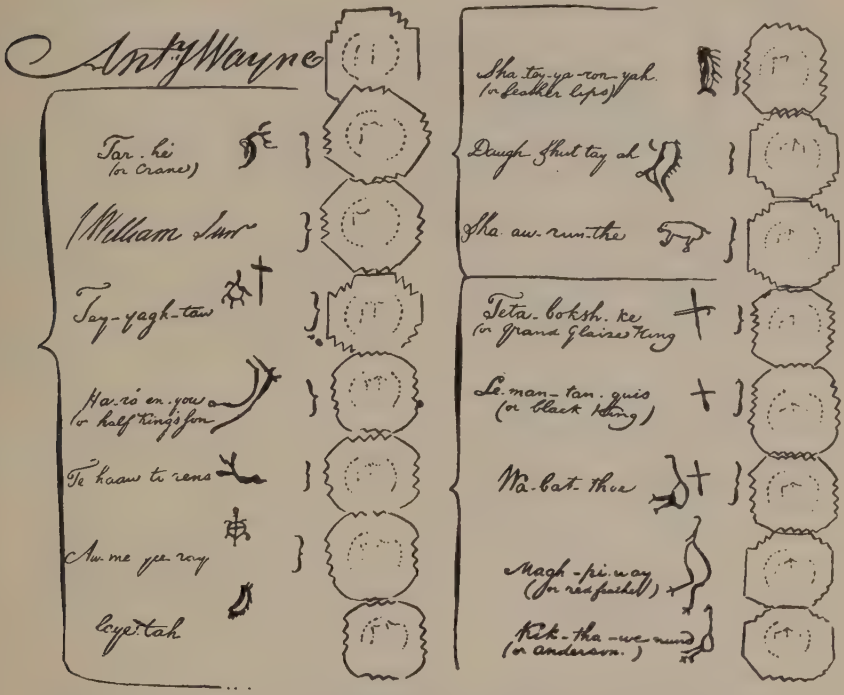
ART. 9. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and the said Aborigine tribes agree that, for injuries done by individuals on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other; by the said Aborigine tribes, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the Superintendent by him appointed; and by the Superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the principal Chiefs of the said Aborigine tribes, or of the tribe to which the offender belongs; and such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve the said peace and friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision in the case to the satisfaction of both parties. Should any Aborigine tribes meditate a war against the United States or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the before mentioned tribes, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the General, or officer commanding the troops of the United States at the nearest post. And should any tribe with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt to the General, or officer commanding, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States. In like manner the United States shall give notice to the said Aborigine tribes of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge, and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

ART. 10. All other treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Aborigine tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783 between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the purview of this treaty, shall henceforth cease, and become void.

In testimony whereof, the said Anthony Wayne, and the Sachems and War Chiefs of the before mentioned nations and tribes of Aborigines, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

Done at Greenville, in the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, on the third day of August, One thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

[Signed] ANTY WAYNE [L. S.]



Anty Wayne

Tar.hé
(or Crane)

William Sam

Tey-yagh-taw

Ha.ro en.you
(or half King's son)

Te haaw to rens

Aw.me yee.ray

Ecyetah

Sha.tey-ya-ron-yah
(or leather lips)

Daugh-shut tay ah

Sha.aw-run-the

Teta.boksh.ke
(or Grand Glaise King)

Le.man-tan.quis
(or black King)

Wa.bat.thoe

Magh-pi.way
(or red feather)

Kik-tha-we-nund
(or anderson.)

Signatures to the Treaty at Greenville, Ohio, 1795. The names were written by the Secretary and each Aborigine chief made a mark or imitation of an animal opposite a seal. This and the two following plates are copied from the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, volume xii, for which publication they were taken from the original document at Washington.

WYANDOTS.

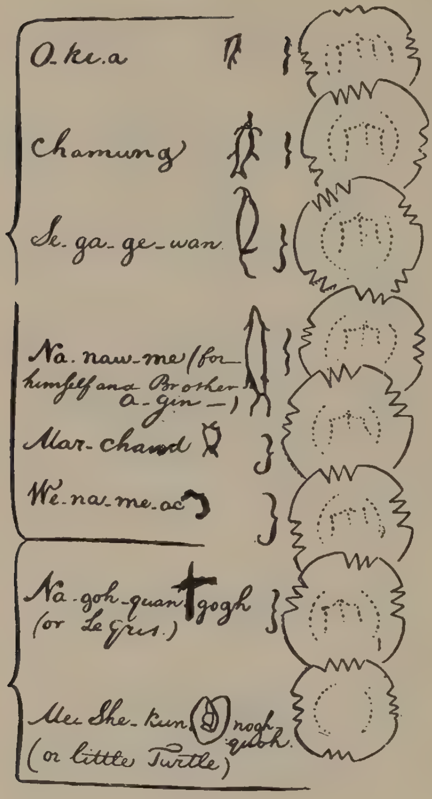
Tarhe, or Crane.
J. Williams, Jun.
Teyyaghtaw.
Haroenyon or Half King's Son.
Tehaawtorens.
Awmeyeeray.
Stayetah.
Shateyyaronyah or Leather Lips.
Daughshuttayah.
Shaawrunthe.

DELAWARES.

Tetabokshke or Grand Glaise King.
Lemantanquis or Black King.
Wabatthoe.
Maghpiway or Red Feather.
Kikthawenund or Anderson.
Bukongehelas.
Peekeelund.
Wellebawkeelund.
Peekeetelemund or Thomas Adams.
Kishkopekund or Capt. Buffalo.
Amenahehan or Capt. Crow.
Queshawksey or George Washington.
Weywinquis or Billy Siscomb.
Moses.

SHAWNEES.

Misquacoonacaw or Red Pole.
Cutthewekasaw or Black Hoof.
Kaysewaesekah.
Weythapamattha.
Nianymseka.
Waytheah or Long Shanks.
Weyapiersenwaw or Blue Jacket.
Nequetaughaw.
Hahgooseecaw or Capt. Reed.



O-ke-a

Chamung

Se-ga-ge-wan

Na-naw-me (for himself and Brother A-gin—)

Mar-chand

We-na-me-ac

Na-goh-quan-gogh (or Le Gris.)

Me-She-kun-nogh-quoh (or Little Turtle)

OTTAWA.

Chegonickska, an Ottawa from Sandusky

PATTAWATIMAS OF THE RIVER ST. JOSEPH.

Thupenebu.
Nawac, for himself and brother Etsimethe.
Nenanseka.
Keesass or Sun.
Kabamasaw, for himself and brother Chisaugan.
Sugganunk.
Wapmeme or White Pigeon.
Wacheness, for himself and brother Pedagoshok.
Wabshicawnaw.
LaChasse.
Meshegethenogh, for himself and brother Wawasek.
Hingoswash.
Anewasaw.
Nawbudgh.
Missenogomaw.
Waweegshe.
Thawme or Le Blanc.
Geeque, for himself and brother Shewinse.

PATTAWATIMES OF HURON.

Okia.
Chamung.
Segagewan.
Nanawme, for himself and brother A. Gin.
Marchand.
Wenameac.

MIAMIS.

Nagohquangogh or Le Gris.
Meshekunnoghquoh or Little Turtle.

OTTAWAS.

Augooshaway.
Keenoshameek.
La Malice.
Machiwetah.
Thowonawa.
Secaw.

CHIPPEWAS.

Mashipinashiwish or Bad Bird.
Nahshogashe from Lake Superior.
Kathawasung.
Masass.
Nemekass or Little Thunder.
Peshawkay or Young Ox.
Nanguey.
Meenedohgeesogh.
Peewanshemenogh.
Weymegwas.
Peewanshemenogh.
Weymegwas.
Gobmatick.

MIAMIS AND EEL RIVERS.

Peejeewa or Richard Ville.
Cochkepoghtogh.

EEL RIVER TRIBE.

Shamekunnesa or Soldier.

MIAMIS.

Wapamangwa or White Loon.

WEAS FOR THEMSELVES AND PIANKESHAWS.

Amacunsa or Little Beaver.
Acoolatha or Little Fox.
Francis.

Kickapoos and Kaskaskias.

Keeawhah.
Nemighka or Josey Renard.
Paikeekanogh.

Delawares of Sandusky.

Hawkinpumisha.
Peyamawksey.
Reyntueco of the Six Nations living at Sandusky.

In presence of (the word 'goods' in the 6th line of the 3rd article; the word 'before' in the 26th line of the 3rd article; the words 'five hundred' in the 10th line of the 4th article, and the word 'Piankeshaw' in the 14th line of the 4th article, being first interlined):

H. DeButts first A. D. C. and Sec'y to Major General Wayne. Wm. H. Harrison Aide-de-camp to Major General Wayne. T. Lewis Aide-de-camp to Major General Wayne. James O'Hara Quarter Master General. John Mills Major of Infantry and Adjutant General. Caleb Swan L. M. T. U. S. Geo. Cemter Lieut. Artillery U. S. A. N. Sr. LaFontaine. Grant Lasselle. H. Lasselle. Wm. Geo. Pean, Jun. David Jones Chaplain U. S. L[egion]. Louis Beaufait. R. Echambre. L. Copen U. S. L[egion]. Baties Coutien. S. Navarre—[Signed as witnesses; also the sworn interpreters named below].

The number of Aborigines, and of tribes and bands, credited as at the Treaty of Greenville are as follows, viz:

Tribes.	Number.	Sworn Interpreters.
Wyandots,	180	Isaac Zane and Abraham Williams.
Delawares,	381	Cabot Wilson.
Shawnees,	143	Jacques Lasselle and Christopher Miller.
Ottawas,	45	M. Morans and Bt. Sans Crainte.
Chippewas,	46	
Pottawotamis,	240	
Miamis and Eel Rivers,	73	William Wells.
Weas and Piankeshaws,	12	
Kickapoos and Kaskaskias,	10	
Total, 12,	1130	

A number of hostile Cherokees who were lingering around the head waters of the Scioto River did not accept the invitations to the council at Greenville and, 3rd August, 1795, General Wayne notified them of the Treaty with all the other tribes and, also, of the treaty recently effected with their brethren of the South. He also notified them to immediately accept his last invitation to come to Greenville and enter into articles of peace or they would stand alone and unprotected. Some of them accompained Captain Longhair, a principal Cherokee chief and General Wayne's messenger, to Greenville and soon thereafter accompained the chief to the South. The others promised to hunt quietly along the Scioto until their crops ripened when they would return to their brethren in the South to remain permanently with them.

The Aborigines lingered at Greenville about one week after the completion of the Treaty, explaining some of the late thieving raids of their young men which they promised to correct; in exchanging congratulations; and in receiving the medals, and the twenty thousand dollars worth of goods mentioned in the Treaty. In Council the 10th August, General Wayne, thinking it time to draw the meetings to a close, gave his admirable farewell address, viz:

Children: All you nations listen. By the seventh article of this treaty all the lands now ceded to the United States are free for all the tribes now present to hunt upon, so long as they continue to be peaceable, and do no injury to the people thereof. It is, therefore, the common interest of you all to prevent any mischief being done upon those hunting grounds. Those people who have committed the late outrage on our peaceable inhabitants, had been hunting on those grounds and, after finishing their hunt, proceeded to the commission of the bad actions of which I have complained. These practices, for the reasons I have already given you, must have an immediate end.

The Red Pole, [a Shawnee Chief] has behaved like a candid, honest man, in acknowledging the errors of his people, and in promising to restrain them immediately. He has done more; he has offered to leave his own father as a hostage until he can inform me of his having called them home; but I will not separate him from his old father; I will depend upon his honor for the performance of his promise. (Here he gave a string of white wampum to Red Pole.)

All you, my children, listen to me. The great business of peace, so long and ardently wished for by your great and good father, General Washington and the Fifteen Fires [the number of States then in the Union] and, I am sure, by every good man among you, being now accomplished, nothing remains but to give you a few words of advice from a father anxious for the peace and happiness of his children. Let me earnestly exhort you to restrain your young people from injuring, in any degree, the people of the United States. Impress upon their minds the spirit and meaning of the treaty now before us. Convince them how much their future welfare will depend upon their faithful and strict observance of it. Restore to me as soon as possible all my flesh and blood which may be among you, without distinction or exception, and receive now from my hands the ten hostages stipulated by the second article to be left with me as a security for their delivery. This unequivocal proof of the confidence that I place in your honor, and in the solemn promises you have made me, must satisfy you of my full persuasion of your sincerity. Send those ten young men to collect your prisoners; let them bring them to me, and they shall be well rewarded for their trouble. I have here a particular account of the number remaining among you, and shall know them when they are all restored.

I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent, and that it may hold us together, in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds, and open your eyes to your true happiness; that your children may learn to cultivate the earth, and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry. (Here he gave a string of white wampum.)

As it is probable, my children, that we shall not soon meet again in public council, I take this opportunity of bidding you all an affectionate farewell, and of wishing you a safe and happy return to your respective homes and families. (Gave white string wampum.)

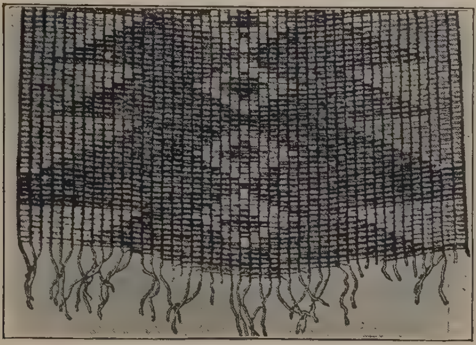
Each of the more prominent chiefs desired to have the last word with General Wayne who had pleased them exceedingly in his words, in his conduct of the business in hand, and in his entertainment of them. Buck-on-ge-he-las, the great war chief of the Delawares, seemed to voice the sentiments of all when he said:

Your children all well understand the sense of the Treaty which is now concluded. We experience daily proofs of your increasing kindness. I hope we may all have sense enough to enjoy our dawning happiness. Many of your people are yet among us. I trust they will be immediately restored. Last winter our King [Te-ta-boksh-ke] came forward to you with two [captives] and when he returned with your speech to us, we immediately prepared to come forward with the remainder, which we delivered at Fort Defiance.* All who know me, know me to be a man and a warrior, and I now declare that I will for the future be as true and steady a friend to the United States as I have heretofore been an active enemy. We have one bad man among us who, a few days ago, stole three of your horses; two of them shall this day be returned to you, and I hope I shall be able to prevent that young man from doing any more mischief to our Father the Fifteen Fires [States].

The 9th September between sixty and seventy refractory and hostile Shawnee warriors, led by Chief Puck-se-kaw or Jumper, arrived at Greenville and wished to be counted in the Treaty. From the efforts of Chief Blue Jacket they brought and surrendered four American captives three of whom were taken in Randolph County, Virginia, the 13th July. These being the last of the malcontents, General Wayne turned his attention to matters best calculated to make the Treaty, and peace, permament.

---

*It was the Delawares, or Lenni Lenapes, who took captive the child Frances Slocum 2nd November, 1778, following the horrible Wyoming Massacre. She was not restored; nor was she discovered to her surviving relatives until after a residence with the Delawares and Miamis for about fifty-nine years. This was in many particulars the most remarkable captivity on record, and the one best illustrating the influence of heredity over environment. See Miner's, Stone's, Chapman's, and Peck's *History of Wyoming;* The *Pennsylvania Archives;* Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; The Story of the Lost Sister* by Rev. John Todd; *The History of the Slocums in America* volumes i and ii, by Dr. Charles E. Slocum; and *The Biography of Frances Slocum* by John F. Meginness.



SECTION OF BELT OF WAMPUM

CHAPTER IX.

TREATIES—THE ABORIGINES—ORGANIZATIONS FOR CIVIL GOVERNMENT—RENEWAL OF HOSTILITES.

1795 TO 1812.

The United States concluded a treaty of friendship, of limits, and of navigation with Spain October 27, 1795. This treaty further allayed for a time the feeling of anxiety and unrest with some and of ambition with others, and contributed to the strengthening of the bond of union between the West and the East. This was also a year of much migration from the East, with increase of settlements along the rivers of southern Ohio, other southern parts of the Northwest Territory, and south of the Ohio River.

Colonel Hamtramck's letters to General Wayne during the winter of 1795-96 describe the temper of the Aborigines, and their disinclination to supply the wants of the younger and older members of the tribe, viz:

FORT WAYNE December 13, 1795.

SIR: . . The issues to the Aborigines would be very inconsiderable this winter if it was not for about ninety old women and children with some very old men, who live near us and have no other mode of subsisting but by the garrison. I have repeatedly tried to get clear of them, but without success. . .

January 13, 1796.

SIR: . . About ninety old women and children have been victualled by the garrison. I have, yesterday, given them five days' provisions and told them it was the last they should have until spring. I was obliged to do so because, from calculation, I have no more flour than will last me until spring. But, sir, if other supplies could be got by land, I consider it politic to feed these poor creatures, who will suffer very much for want of subsistence. . .

The military stations in and near this Basin 3rd February, 1796, were: Forts Defiance, Wayne, Miami (the British fort by the lower Maumee, which the Americans expected would soon be surrendered) and Sandusky, all of which, excepting Miami, aggregated a force of one battalion of infantry, one company of riflemen, and one company of artillery at Fort Wayne which fort was the headquarters for these posts; also Forts Adams, Recovery, Jefferson, Loramie, Head of the Auglaise, and Greenville the headquarters of this group, with an aggregate of one battalion of infantry and one company of riflemen divided among them. The forts recommended March 29, 1796, to be maintained were: Defiance, Wayne, Adams, Recovery, Head of Auglaise, Miami and Michilimackinac, each by a garrison of fifty-six men; and Detroit with one hundred and twelve men—Detroit and Miami being yet in possession of the British.*

---

* See *American State Papers*, Military Affairs volume ii, pages 113, 115.

In January, 1796, General Wayne visited the seat of the general Government, probably to give opinion regarding the British forts in American territory. Great courtesy and deference were given him in Philadelphia and his native County of Chester near-by. He placed General James Wilkinson in charge of the Northwestern Army during his absence with headquarters at Greenville, and it was to him that the following letters of the series of Colonel Hamtramck were addressed, viz:

FORT WAYNE February 10, 1796.

SIR: . . . Sometime ago I wrote you that I had refused provisions to a number of old men, women, and children of the Delaware nation. But I have since been compelled to give to them or see them die. It was impossible to refuse. . .

March 28, 1796.

SIR: . . I am out of wampum. I will be much obliged to you to send me some, for speaking to an Aborigine without it is like consulting a lawyer without a fee.* . .

The British agents again succeeded in arousing dissatisfaction among some of the Aborigines, and a council was called in the interest of the British for June, 1796, near their Fort Miami. To counteract these influences General Wilkinson invited some of the chiefs to visit him and, later, Colonel Hamtramck passed down the Maumee River with a detachment of troops for the purpose of being near those Aborigines attending the council. The parts of his letters to General Wilkinson regarding these movements, are here excerpted:

April 5, 1796.

SIR: . . Little Turtle [war-chief of the Miamis] arrived yesterday, to whom I delivered your message. His answer was, to present his compliments to you, that he was very glad of the invitation, as he wished very much to see General Wilkinson, but it is impossible for him to go to Greenville at present, as he had ordered all his young men to repair to a rendezvous in order, when assembled, to choose a place for their perma-

---

*Wampum to the Aborigines served the purpose of money, and far more than money. It was not only a standard of value and a medium of exchange, but it was worn as an ornament and a badge of wealth, and of position. It was also employed as symbols of various sentiments — as an invitation to join in war, and as emblems of various sentiments of peace and good will in councils. Originally it was of any bright, hard and smooth object that could be fastened to the ears, nose, neck, waist, arms or lower limbs. It was also formed from Mollusk shells — from the larger clam shells of the rivers, and from shells thrown upon the shore by the waves of the lakes, and the salt sea. The shells were broken into small pieces which were drilled by pieces of flint, wood and sand, and shaped and smoothed usually into cylinders one-eighth inch or more in diameter, and one-fourth to a half inch or more in length, by rubbing them on stones of varying roughness. Considerable time, patience and skill were necessary to make pieces somewhat uniform in size for placing on strings of hemp or bark fiber or from skins of animals. These strings were often fastened side by side to form belts, usually of few strings width, but sometimes of eight, ten, twelve or more wide. Dark beads came from the 'eye' of the shell. In some tribes they were known as socki and were of twice the value of the ordinary white beads called Wompi. Sections of bones were used as wampum, also the claws and beaks of birds and the teeth of animals; but the latter could not be so readily drilled or fastened together and to the person as substances of less hardness.

Wampum was also a medium of payment and exchange among the Europeans in America as well as between them and the Aborigines. See engravings of wampum on page 235 and later.

The Hollanders for some years, in the early part of the seventeenth century, were the principal manufacturers and wholesale dealers in wampum of various colored glass and porcelain, in various forms and sizes. This wampum was a great attraction to the Aborigines who eagerly exchanged the skins of nent residence; that, as soon as that object shall be accomplished he would go to see you, which, he said, would be by the time he hears from you again. . .

April 18, 1796.

SIR: . . The bearer is Captain Blue Jacket [a war-chief of the Shawnees] who, at your request, is now going to Greenville. Blue Jacket is used to good company and is always treated with more attention than other Aborigines. He appears to be very well disposed, and I believe him sincere.* . .

CAMP DEPOSIT [Roche de Bout] June 8, 1796.

SIR: I arrived at this place the day before yesterday and have been waiting the result of the Aborigine council at the [British] Miamis fort. It would appear that they are divided in their opinions. White Cap, the principal Shawanese chief, wants to alarm the Aborigines, but I am in hopes he will not succeed. Blue Jacket is with me, and says that he will remain until your arrival. Yesterday some of their chiefs and young men were with me, and assured me of their good intentions towards us. How far this can be depended upon time will determine. . .

CAMP DEPOSIT June 16, 1796.

SIR: . . Two of my men deserted on the 14th inst. I sent my interpreter and an Aborigine after them. They brought them back last night. I wish they had brought their scalps for I know not what to do with them. Could I have power, at times, to call a general court martial for the trial of deserters, it would save a great deal of time. . .

J. F. HAMTRAMCK.

THE BRITISH SURRENDER THE FORTS.

John Jay Special Minister to Great Britain concluded a treaty 19th November, 1794, known as the Jay Treaty, which was favorable to the Northwest Territory inasmuch as one of its provisions was for the British abandonment of their military posts on American soil on or before the 1st June, 1796. This treaty was proclaimed as a law by the President 1st March, 1796. The 27th May General Wilkinson sent Captain Schaumberg his aide-de-camp to Detroit to demand of Colonel England the evacuation of the forts subject to his orders—

---

the best fur-bearing animals for it. In the year 1627 De Rasiérs with a Holland trading vessel from New Amsterdam (now New York) entered Plymouth Harbor and traded this wampum to the Puritans to the value of £50. By the year 1640 it was quite generally used as money, on account of the scarcity of silver and gold, throughout the northern Colonies, exclusively in some places, as the most convenient article for exchange of values although it was considered in places 'but a commodity, and it is unreasonable that it should be forced upon any man.'—*Rhode Island Colonial Records*, 1662. Wampum was current in New York and throughout the East for fare in public conveyances, also in many places for taxes and for goods until near the close of the eighteenth century, and yet later in this Basin. Strings of wampum were of definite length and were used as measurers as well as for exchange. In the year 1666 the Connecticut Assembly made a land grant of 'Fifty fathoms of Wompom' size.

* After Chief Blue Jacket joined the Americans Colonel M'Kee British Agent said to him: The commission [see Index reference to Blue Jacket] you received from Sir John Johnson was not given you to carry to the Americans. I am grieved to find that you have taken it to them [at the preliminary treaty in January, 1795]. It was with much regret I learned that you had deserted your friends [the British] who always caressed you and treated you as a great man. You have deranged, by your imprudent conduct, all our plans for protecting the Aborigines and keeping them with us. They have always looked up to you for advice and direction in war, and you have now broken the strong ties which held them all together under your and our direction. You must now be viewed as the enemy of your people and the other Aborigines whom you are seducing into the snares the Americans have formed for their ruin; and the massacre and destruction of these people by the Americans must be laid to your charge—Butterfield's *History of the Girtys* page 296.

Fort Lernoult at Detroit, Fort Miami near the foot of the Maumee Rapids, and Fort Michilimackinac; but Colonel England had received no orders so to do from his superior officer and could not comply with the demand. The British, however, had been building a fort at Malden, near Captain Matthew Elliott's estate, at the present Amherstburg on the left bank and near the mouth of Detroit River.

The first of June having passed without a movement of the British to vacate the forts, the War Department decided with General Wayne to make one more formal demand. Accordingly Captain Lewis was sent from Philadelphia direct to Lord Dorchester who received him, and the demand from headquarters, with great civility, and caused orders to be drawn and given to him commanding the officers in charge of the Forts—Oswego, Niagara, Miami, Lernoult, and Michilimackinac—to vacate them to "such officer belonging to the forces of the United States as shall produce this authority to you for that purpose, who shall precede the troops destined to garrison it by one day, in order that he may have time to view the nature and condition of the works and buildings." The orders for the surrender of Forts Oswego and Niagara were handed by Captain Lewis on his return to Captain Bruff at Albany, and those for the other forts were given to General Wayne at Philadelphia who immediately dispatched them to General Wilkinson at Greenville and he sent them to Colonel Hamtramck who also acted with promptness as shown by his report to General Wilkinson, viz:

FORT MIAMI July 11, 1796.

SIR: On the 7th instant two small vessels arrived from Detroit in which I sent a detachment of artillery and infantry consisting of sixty-five men, together with a number of cannon with ammunition, &c., &c., the whole under the command of Captain [Moses] Porter. On the 9th a sloop arrived from Detroit at Swan Creek, purchased by Captain Henry DeButts, which carries fifty tons, and which is now loaded with flour, quartermaster's stores and troops. That, together with eleven batteaux which I have, will be sufficient to take all the troops I have with me, leaving the remainder of our stores deposited at this place, which was evacuated [by the British] on this day, and where I have left Captain Marschalk and Lieutenant Shauklin with fifty-two men, infantry, and a corporal and six of artillery, that is, including the garrison at the head of the Rapids [Roche de Bout?]. I have endowed Fort Miami with one month's provision for both the troops and the Shawanese. The latter, you recollect, you promised subsistence until the crops were ripe. The number of the Shawanese is about one hundred and eighty, besides twenty-six or thirty Ottawas. I shall embark in two hours, with all the troops, for Detroit. . .

DETROIT, July 17, 1796.

SIR: I have the pleasure to inform you of the arrival of the troops under my command at this place [Fort Lernoult] which was evacuated [by the British] on the 11th instant and [was] taken possession of by a detachment of sixty-five men commanded by Captain Moses Porter, whom I had detached from the foot of the [Maumee] Rapids for that purpose. Myself and the troops arrived on the 13th instant. . .

To Major General Wilkinson. J. F. HAMTRAMCK.

Thus was accomplished, after a further struggle of thirteen years by the young Republic with the loss of much blood, what Great Britain should have at once surrendered at the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783 according to the Treaty of Paris. Instead of her arrogant and continued aggressions and her incitements of the savages, had she by proper conduct toward these savages given moral support to the United States in their efforts to cultivate and maintain among them a desire for peace and progress toward civilization, their condition would have greatly improved and the United States would have been saved many lives and much expense. But the end was not yet come. Eighteen more years the British persisted in their infamous conduct toward the United States and with the savages for mastery over this Basin. The policy of the British was then, as ever, to acquire territory and never to relinquish any that was possible to hold. The treaty necessary to close the Revolutionary War did not extinguish their desire and expectation of re-possessing the American Colonies, or the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains at least. This is shown by their continual refusal to surrender their fortifications on the American border; by their building the strong Fort Miami by the Maumee River, a great advance into United States territory; and by their continued efforts to federate and control all the Aborigine tribes in this Basin, also those to the westward and southward of it. Some of Great Britain's apologists have attempted to attach the blame for these undue and persistent aggressions and misdemeanors on the British subordinate officials. This would imply a laxity of supervision on the part of their superiors that no well-informed person will admit. The British Home Office in London, England, kept well informed regarding the methods and details of their subordinates as well as of the results of them; in fact the Home Office dictated all. Many occurrences in the conduct of affairs here that were reported were not kept of record; but enough was entered upon record to convict all parties, as shown on previous and succeeding pages hereto. Communications with London by trained messengers were also frequent. The most alert and aggressive subordinates were sought for the frontiers; and if the voice of one was raised for a less aggressive or less cruel policy it was soon hushed, generally by his removal.

During the summer of 1796 there was great scarcity of provisions at Detroit for the three hundred American soldiers as well as for the large number of Aborigines who continued to gather there. Samuel Henley Acting Quartermaster went to Greenville to hasten forward supplies by way of the Ohio River. He wrote 13th August to General Williams Quartermaster General at Detroit that . . 'the Commissary General gave thirty dollars for the transportation of one barrel of flour from Fort Washington to Fort Wayne.* . . I am well convinced that our public wagonmasters are a poor set of drunken men.' . .

DEATH OF GENERAL WAYNE—WAYNE COUNTY—INTRIGUES.

General Wayne, on his return from Philadelphia, arrived at Detroit 13th August, 1796, probably by the sloop *Detroit* from Presque Isle the present Erie, Pennsylvania. He was received by demonstrations of great joy by all persons, including the twelve hundred Aborigines there assembled. He remained at Detroit until the 17th November, when he again started for Philadelphia on a small sloop. On this voyage over Lake Erie his system was much irritated and fatigued by the tossings of the storms, and the disease from which he had for some time suffered (recorded as the gout) made great progress. It could not be allayed after his arrival at Fort Presque Isle, and he there died 15th December, 1796, aged fifty-one years, eleven months and fourteen days.†

General Wayne served his country well, and with much patriotic fervor. He was a typical American commander. He was a thorough disciplinarian, brave, impetuous and irresistible in battle, and successful in inspiring his soldiers with these requisites. He was also thoughtful and conservative in planning and equally successful in strategy and assault, as shown on different fields, North and South, during the Revolutionary War. These characteristics were very pronounced during his campaign through the Maumee River Basin; and the success and value of this campaign were equalled only by the success and value of his diplomacy in drawing the savages to Greenville the next year, away from their British keepers and to the most important of treaties. These last, and greatest, acts of his life should ever be respected as invaluable to our country, as they settled favorably for the Union its first great crisis.

General James Wilkinson continued to act as General-in-chief of the United States Army after the death of General Wayne.

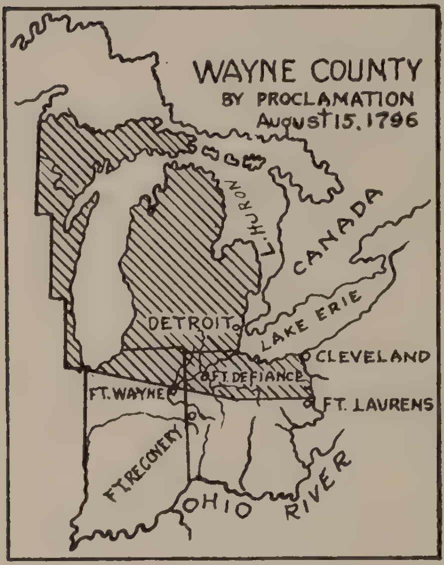
The 15th August Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwestern Territory, proclaimed at Detroit the organization of Wayne County which included nearly all of the Maumee River Basin and eastward to the Cuyahoga River, and all of the Territory north of a line extending from Fort Wayne to the south part of Lake Michigan. Thus this

---

*The form of money most in use at this time was 'York Currency' issued by the Provincial Congress of New York. A few Spanish silver dollars were in circulation. They were then the most valuable of all money seen and were rated at ten shillings each.

† In 1809 his son Colonel Isaac Wayne, removed his remains from Presque Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania) to his early home at Radnor, where the Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania erected a moderate marble monument to mark his grave.

Basin was brought under the jurisdiction of the United States for the first time, it having before been, excepting the sites of the American Forts, under the nominal jurisdiction of County Kent organized in Canada in 1792; but during this time, as previously, it was practically subject to the Commandant of the garrison at Detroit.



With the occupation of Detroit by the Americans, there followed the necessity for regular and prompt communication with Fort Washington at Cincinnati. Horses were kept at the several stations of Greenville, St. Marys, Defiance, and Miami at the foot of the lowest Maumee Rapids, for this purpose. J. Wilkins, Junior, Quartermaster General at Detroit, wrote to Major John Wilson, Assistant Quartermaster at Fort Miami, under date of 16th September, 1796, that "I send over by Ogden two horses which are to remain at Fort Miami to serve as a relief for expresses; when expresses are coming to this place [Detroit] they are to leave the horses they bring with you and come on with fresh horses. You will take the greatest care of the horses and have them well fed and attended to."

Near the close of the year 1796 the number of white people within the present limits of Ohio was recorded as about five thousand, mostly located along the Ohio River and along its tributaries within fifty miles of the Ohio. With the prospects of peace and of the land being surveyed and opened to settlers, the population increased rapidly.

After the organization of Wayne County, and until the formation of the Ohio State Government in 1803, lawyers of Cincinnati attended the General Court at Detroit. Five or six of them usually traveled in company on horseback and took along a packhorse to carry supplies additional to the personal effects in the saddle-bags of each individual. Aborigine camps were passed through but it was not safe to rely on them for assistance, and supplies along the route through the forest were uncertain, even of corn to feed their horses. There were no bridges, and each horse was a tried swimmer for crossing the deepest of streams. They were generally from six to eight days in the wilderness, and sometimes ten days. On one of these journeys the party arrived at the Ottawa town on the Auglaise River about the middle of the day, and accepted an invitation to remain there until the next morning. Jacob Burnet, afterwards judge, was often a member of the party and he wrote the following description of one of their entertainments.*

> Blue Jacket the Shawnee chief who commanded in the battle of the 20th August, 1794 [Battle of Fallen Timber] resided at that village, but was then absent. The party, however, were received very kindly by the venerable Delaware chief Bu-kon-ge-he-las, whose name has been given to a fine mill-stream in Logan County. He was one of the chiefs who negotiated the treaty at the mouth of the Big Miami [Fort Finney] with General George R. Clark in 1786, in which his name is written Bo-hon-ghe-lass.
>
> In the course of the afternoon he got up a game of foot-ball, for the amusement of his guests, in the true aborigine style. He selected two young men to get a purse of trinkets made up, to be the reward of the successful party. That matter was soon accomplished and the whole village, male and female in their best attire, were on the lawn which was a beautiful plain of four or five acres, in the center of the village, thickly set in blue grass. At each of the opposite extremes of this lawn two stakes were set up about six feet apart. The men played against the women, and to countervail the superiority of their strength it was a rule of the game that they were not to touch the ball with their hands on the penalty of forfeiting the purse; while the females had the privilege of using their hands as well as their feet, being allowed to pick up the ball and run and throw it as far as their strength and activity would permit. When a squaw succeeded in getting the ball the men were allowed to seize, whirl her around and, if necessary, throw her on the grass for the purpose of disengaging the ball, taking care not to touch it except with the feet. The contending parties arranged themselves in the center of the lawn, the men on one side and the women on the other, each party facing the goal of their opponents. The side which succeeded in driving the ball through the stakes at the goal of their adversaries, was proclaimed victors and received the purse to be divided among them. All things being ready, the old chief came on the lawn and, saying something in the Aborigine language not understood by his guests, threw up the ball between the lines of the combatants and retired. The contest began. The parties were pretty fairly matched as to numbers, having about a hundred on a side, and for a long time the game appeared to be doubtful. The young squaws were the most active of the party and most frequently caught the ball, at which time it was amusing to see the struggle between them and the young men which generally terminated in the prostration of the squaw upon the grass before the ball could be forced from her hands. The contest continued about an hour with great animation and varying prospects of success. It was finally decided in favor of the fair sex by the herculean strength of a mammoth squaw who got the ball and held it, in spite of the efforts of the men to shake it from the grasp of her uplifted hand, till she approached the goal near enough to throw it through the stakes. When the contending parties had retired from the strife it was pleasant to see the exultation expressed in the faces of the victors whose joy was manifestly increased by the circumstance that victory was won in the presence of white men whom they supposed to be highly distinguished and honored in their nation, a conclusion very natural for them to draw as they knew the business on which their guests were journeying to Detroit. The party spent the night very pleasantly in the village, and in the morning resumed their journey.

---

* *Burnet's Notes* pages 68 to 71. Henry Howe in his *Historical Collections of Ohio* places this 'Ottawa town' at the present Wapakoneta. There were many 'Ottawa' towns along these rivers and this particular one on the Auglaise River in the opinion of the writer was about the central part of the present Allen County, Ohio, or about the site where Fort Amanda was built in 1812 in Auglaise County near the line of Allen, and site of General Wayne's fort at the 'Head of the Auglaise.'

On the outward journey they [the lawyers] took the route by Dayton, Piqua, Loramie, St. Marys, and the Ottawa town on the Auglaise, and thence down this river to Defiance; thence down the Maumee to the foot of the rapids, and thence to and across the River Raisin to Detroit. On their return they crossed the Maumee at Roche de Bœuf [properly Roche de Bout] by the advice of Black Beard, a personal friend of Judge Symmes, who lived in that neighborhood and with whom the party breakfasted. As a matter of precaution they hired his son to accompany them in the capacity of guide. He led them through a succession of wet prairies over some of which it was impossible to ride, and it was with great difficulty they were able to lead or drive their horses through the deep mud which surrounded them on all sides. After two days and a half of incessant toil and difficulty they arrived at the same village in which they had been so kindly treated, and so much amused, on their outward journey. To their great mortification and disappointment they were informed that Blue Jacket had returned from Cincinnati a day or two before with a large quantity of whiskey, and that his people were in a high frolic. This information was soon confirmed by the discovery that the people of the whole village, male and female were drunk. The party, however, were received with great kindness, but it was in a style they were not disposed to permit. An old withered looking squaw, very drunk, was extremely officious. Knowing that Mr. St. Clair, one of the party, was the Attorney General of the Territory and son of the Governor, her attentions were principally conferred upon him. She kissed him and exclaimed 'you big man—Governor's son'. Then turning to the rest of the party, said with marked contempt 'you be milish'* and then kissed Mr. St. Clair again. It was certainly one of those rare occasions on which men of sensibility and delicacy feel the advantage of being placed at a low grade on the scale of dignity. It was manifestly impossible to remain in the village, and the only alternative was to proceed on their journey. It was then late in the afternoon. They were much fatigued, and had a wet swampy path of twelve miles to pass over to the River St. Mary, through a valley swarming with gnats and mosquitoes. It was a choice of evils; but, as there was no time to hesitate, they saddled their horses and started. Night overtook them in the middle of the swamp. There being no moon, and the forest being very dense, it was found impossible to keep the path, much less to see and avoid the quagmires on every side. They had no alternative, and halted till morning. To lie down was impossible from the nature of the ground; and to sleep was still more difficult as they were surrounded with gnats and mosquitoes. After remaining in that uncomfortable condition five or six hours, expecting every moment their horses to break away, daylight made its appearance for their relief. About sunrise they arrived at the old Fort Adams on the St. Mary. This fort was then occupied by Charles Murray and his squaw who got them a breakfast, after which they proceeded to Cincinnati. Journeys of a similar character were of frequent occurrence during the continuance of the Territorial government, and for some years after.

The Jay Treaty with Great Britain was considered by France as an alteration and suspension of her treaty of 1778 with the United States; and on the 19th August, 1796, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between France and Spain, and this at once led to some overt acts by France against the United States on the high seas, and to agents of Spain and France again becoming active to alienate this Northwestern Territory from the East. The idea of a Western Confederacy was again advocated by a few persons in Kentucky. A special emissary from Baron de Carondelet the Spanish Governor General of Louisiana was again sent in the person of Thomas Power, a versatile Irishman possessing a practical knowledge of the English, French and Spanish languages who had previously been in Kentucky and in the Ohio settlements to advance the interests of Spain in the Mississippi Basin. In June, 1797, he again proceeded to Kentucky and addressed influential personages on subjects that were 'in the present uncertain and critical attitude of politics, highly imprudent and dangerous to lay before them on paper' but which were, in effect, that if they would 'immediately exert all their influence in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the western country a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the Federal Union, and forming an independent government wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States' they would be well rewarded. . . 'If a hundred thousand dollars distributed in Kentucky would cause it to rise in insurrection, I am very certain that the minister, in the present circumstances, would sacrifice them with pleasure; and you may, without exposing yourself too much, promise them to those who enjoy the confidence of the people, with another equal sum, in case of necessity; and twenty pieces of field artillery.'*. .

---

*This expression probably voiced the opinion of the Aborigines at this time of the militiamen, in contradistinction to soldiers of the regular army.

Meantime the Spanish forts along the Mississippi River were not surrendered to the United States according to the Treaty of 1795, and it was reported to the Secretary of State by Winthrop Sargent Secretary of the Northwest Territory, 3rd June, 1797, that General Howard an Irishman commissioned by Spain as Commander-in-chief had arrived at St. Louis with upwards of three hundred men and had begun the erection of a formidable fort; that a large party of Aborigines (Delawares) passed down the White River, a tributary of the Wabash, the first week in May bearing a Spanish flag on their way to reinforce the Spaniards. Further, that the Spaniards had on the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio several galley row boats with cannon.

Thomas Power also traversed the Maumee Valley in August on his way to Detroit to meet General Wilkinson and other influential men. He was accompanied, or soon followed, by the Agents of France, Victor de Collot and M. Warin, who sketched maps of the rivers and country. In a letter from Detroit to Captain Robert Buntin at Vincennes under date 4th September, 1797, General Wilkinson mentions receiving a letter from Carondelet stating "a variety of frivolous reasons for not delivering the posts, and begs that no more [American] troops be sent down the Mississippi. I have put aside all his exceptions, and have called on him in the most solemn manner to fulfill the treaty. . . Although Mr. Power has brought me this letter it is possible it might be a mask to other purposes; I have therefore, for his accommodation and safety, put him in care of Captain Shaumburgh who will see him safe to New Madrid by the most direct route. I pray you to continue your vigilance, and give me all the information in your power." . .

---

* *American State Papers*, Miscellaneous volume ii, page 103.

France refused to receive the American Minister and permitted many unwise acts of her citizens while instigating others. Congress, also, adopted measures of defense and retaliation, authorizing the formation of a provisional army, about twelve regiments of which were to gather at Fort Washington where boats were to be built to transport them down the Mississippi; commercial intercourse with France was suspended; an act was passed for the punishment of alien and secret enemies of the United States; and for the punishment of treason and sedition.

The Spaniards of the Mississippi fearing an invasion by the British, President John Adams ordered General Wilkinson 4th February, 1798, to oppose all who should presume to attempt a violation of the laws of the territory of the United States by an expedition through it against their enemies. This implies that the British had designs on the Spanish Colony by way of the Maumee or Illinois. The Territory of Mississippi was formed by Congress 7th April, 1798, and Winthrop Sargent was nominated and approved as its Governor. The vacancy thus made of Secretary of the Northwestern Territory, was filled 26th June by the appointment of William H. Harrison.

Ex-President George Washington was chosen 2nd July, 1798, Lieutenant General and Commander-in-Chief of the armies raised or to be raised for the service of the United States. There was little to be done, however, that he could not readily delegate to his subordinates. During the summer of 1798 the Spanish vacated their forts in American territory, and the 5th October General Wilkinson took up headquarters at Loftus Heights, where Fort Adams was soon built, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi about six miles north of the 31st degree of north latitude the then dividing line between the United States and Spanish territory.

The first Wayne County was divided into four townships according to the law of 6th November, 1790. The 1st November, 1798, these townships bore the names Detroit, Mackinaw, Sargent and Hamtramck, the last named including, probably, nearly all of this Basin. The first election in which Wayne County participated was held at Detroit, and one or two other places, the third Monday of December, 1798, according to proclamation of Governor St. Clair the 29th October; but owing to some irregularity another election was held the 14th January, 1799, which resulted in the election of Solomon Sibley, Charles F. Chobert de Joncaire (Jonquière?) and Jacob Visger, all of Detroit and its vicinity, as Representatives to the Legislature.

TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—INDIANA TERRITORY—OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

The Legislature convened at Cincinnati the 22nd January, 1799, and later selected ten citizens whose names were sent to the President of the United States according to the Ordinance of 1787, from whom he was to nominate a Legislative Council or Senate for the Territory. The meeting was then prorogued by Governor St. Clair to meet the 16th September.

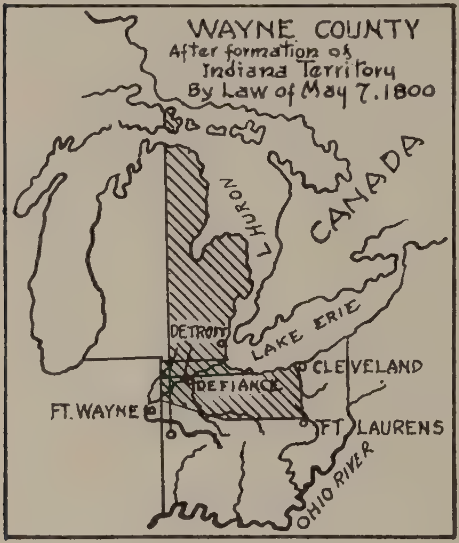
The first newspaper in this Northwestern Territory was started 9th November, 1793, by William Maxwell later postmaster at Cincinnati. It was a half sheet, size 10 x 13 inches and headed *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory.* The second newspaper was the *Western Spy* started at Cincinnati 28th May, 1799.

A quorum of the General Assembly was not present at the adjourned meeting until 24th September when the nineteen Representatives reported as follows: two from Adams County, seven from Hamilton, one from Jefferson, one from Knox, four from Ross, one from Washington, and three from this Wayne County. These, with the five persons selected by President Adams from the names that had been sent to him (Jacob Burnet, James Findlay, Henry Vanderburg, Robert Oliver, and David Vance) as Legislative Council or Senate, completed the first Territorial Legislature.

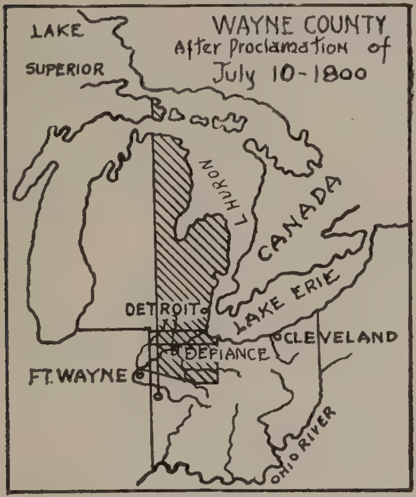
William H. Harrison was chosen, the 3rd October, 1799, by this Legislature as the first Delegate or Representative to Congress from the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River. He at once resigned his office as Secretary of the Territory, proceeded to Philadelphia and took his seat in Congress which was there in session. Here, as elsewhere he did good work for his constituents. The office of Secretary of the Territory becoming thus vacant, President Adams nominated Charles Willing Byrd for the place 30th December, and the United States Senate confirmed the choice the next day.

The difficulties attending the organization and maintenance of government for a vast extent of country remote from officers and the seat of government, had long been felt, and at length became the subject of Congressional inquiry. A committee of Congress reported the 3rd March, 1800, that 'in the three western counties of the Northwest Territory there had been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years; and the immunity which offenders experience, attracts as to an asylum the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society.' . . .

In consonance with the recommendations of this committee, Congress provided, the 7th May, that from and after the 4th of July, 1800, all that part of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio opposite to the mouth of Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the Territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory. All east of this line was called Ohio Territory; and thus Wayne County was reduced about one-half in size. The Ordinance of 1787 was to apply for the government of Ohio and Indiana Territories as heretofore, and William H. Harrison was appointed Governor of Indiana Territory. Arthur St. Clair was reappointed Governor with jurisdiction over Ohio Territory, notwithstanding his increasing disfavor with the people. Chillicothe was occupied as the capitol of Ohio Territory in the year 1800.



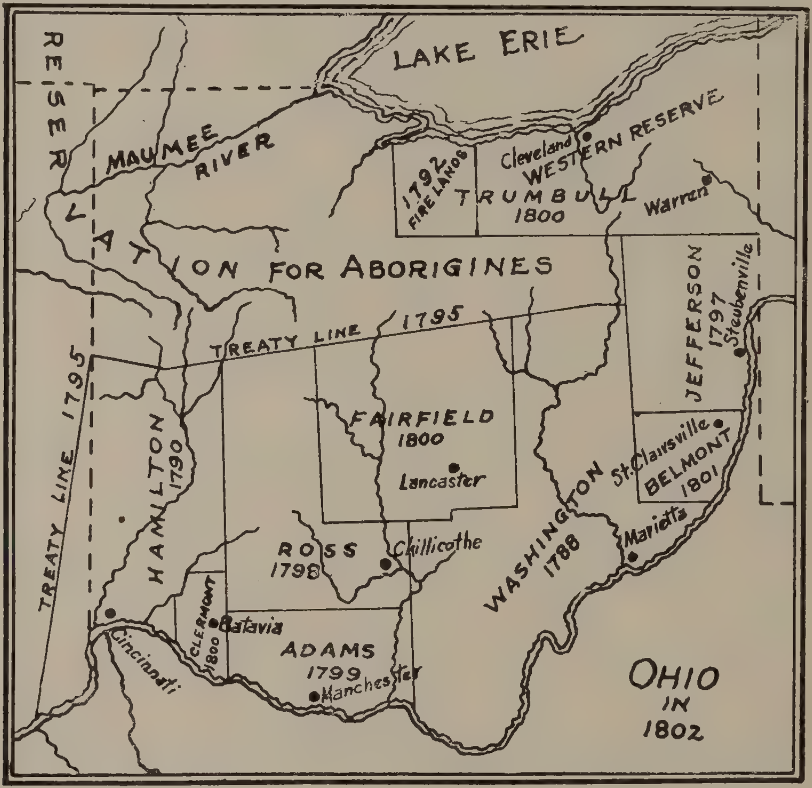
Four land offices were established in Ohio Territory the 10th May, 1800; at Chillicothe, Cincinnati, Marietta and Steubenville. The desirability of the United States Patent for settlers' lands, and more compactness of jurisdiction, became more apparent to settlers in Connecticut's Western Reserve. Early in the year 1800 the seekers of homes therein numbered about one thousand, mostly located near Lake Erie. The 30th May the Connecticut Assembly transferred all her rights of jurisdiction to the United States, which action placed all of Ohio Territory upon a uniform land basis. This further conduced to the increase in this Reserve of settlements, which extended westward and occupied the eastern part of the lands of the Aborigines, they receiving pay therefor from the Connecticut Land Company. Later in this year, 1800, Trumbull County was organized, its limits extending westward to the middle of Sandusky Bay or about five miles west of the present City of Sandusky, and including all of the Western Reserve, which further curtailed Wayne County east from this line to the Cuyahoga River. The second protestant missionary in northern Ohio was sent to this Reserve the latter part of 1800 by the Connecticut Missionary Society. He found no township containing more than eleven families. The Second United States Census, for the year 1800, showed the population of Ohio Territory to be 45,365, including, as it did, what is now eastern Michigan.



The British, after their removal to the Canadian bank of Detroit River in 1796, continued to ignore the line of United States Territory, officially crossing it at their pleasure. As late as the 20th October, 1800, one of their officers went to Detroit, broke into a private house and arrested Francis Poquette, using such violence that the victim soon died of the injuries he received. They also endeavored to retain their former influence over the Aborigines. The rising power of the United States, was apparent, however, in the development of the West. The courage and promptness of the Government in meeting the many intrigues and aggressions of the Aborigines, the French, Spanish, and of the unduly ambitious Americans, had allayed visionary and chimerical schemes, and given impetus and more stability to the Western settlements. The threatened war with France was happily allayed and, the 30th September, a treaty with that power was consummated. The ambitions of Spain, through a number of years to possess this region, were also defeated, and the 1st October she secretly ceded Louisiana back to France after an ownership of thirty-eight years.

Nor did Napoleon's first idea of a new France prevail, but rather that wise decision of President Jefferson and Congress for the purchase by the United States 30th April, 1803, of that vast domain, styled the Louisiana Purchase. Thus was removed by one master act all objections to Americans navigating the Mississippi and trading throughout its course. This purchase also quieted the agitations, both foreign and domestic, for a Western Republic.

The first post road between Cincinnati and Detroit was established 3rd March, 1801. There being no postoffices, however, on the northern end of the route for about two years after this date, the mail was carried as a military or semi-military express as formerly. There was this year also an increase of carrying facilities on Lake Erie, and on the Ohio River. The first ship to pass down the rivers, across the Gulf to Havana, and up the Atlantic coast to Philadelphia, was launched this year at Marietta. In 1801 the first capitol building for Ohio was built at Chillicothe where Congress had designated the seat of government, and in November the first session of the Second General Assembly met there. Wayne County was represented by persons from Detroit as follows: Solomon Sibley, as member of the Council or Senate in place of Judge Vanderburg who resided in the new Territory of Indiana; George M'Dougall, Charles F. Chobert Joncaire, and Jonathan Schiefflin. The two last named aided the notorious Governor Hamilton in his cruel warfare against Americans during the Revolutionary War, and after the surrender of Detroit to the Americans in 1796 the last named yet declared himself a British subject with determination to remain such. The United States has had many similar examples, in which the ignoring by the public of a forceful man's ill-advised state-



ments and actions has given him opportunity in which he has reformed his opinion and tempered his after life to beneficent service. This Legislature continued in session until 23rd January, 1802, when Governor St. Clair, who as a Federalist had become very officious and exacting against the organization of Ohio to the displeasure of the people generally, adjourned the session to meet in Cincinnati the following November. This act greatly offended many people of Chillicothe, some of whom started to mob the Governor. Fortunately Jonathan Schiefflin of Detroit was present with a pair of pistols which, being exhibited in a firm manner, caused the mob to disperse without the necessity for their further use.

In the 'Estimate of all Posts and Stations where [military] Garrisons will be expedient, and of the Number of Men requisite' made December 3, 1801, but three Posts were mentioned for the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, viz: Michilimackinac one company of artillery and one of infantry; Detroit one company of artillery and four of infantry; Fort Wayne one company of infantry. In Act of Congress March, 1802, for Reduction of the Army, Fort Wayne was styled a 'frontier post with garrison of sixty-four men.' In the year 1803 Fort Wayne had garrison of fifty-one men, viz: one Captain, one Surgeon's Mate, one first and one second Lieutenant, one Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, three Musicians, and thirty-five Privates.*

STATE OF OHIO — TREATIES — MICHIGAN AND ILLINOIS TERRITORIES.

The 4th March, 1802, with the presumption that Ohio Territory contained a population of at least sixty thousand people, and a Congressional Committee on this Territory reporting favorably, Congress voted the 30th April to call a Convention of representatives of the Territory to meet the 1st November, 1802, to frame a Constitution for the proposed State of Ohio. This Convention, by a majority of five, permitted the request of Governor St. Clair to deliver an address 'on those points which he deems of importance.' In his speech the Governor advised the postponement of a State organization until the people of the original (eastern) division were plainly entitled to demand it, and were not subject to be bound by conditions. Unwise criticism, made at this time in addition to previous unwise acts, caused President Thomas Jefferson to at once remove St. Clair from the governorship. When the vote was taken upon the question of doing that which St. Clair advised them not to do, but one of the thirty-three members of the Convention, Ephraim Cutler of Washington County, voted with the Governor.†

---

* *American State Papers*, Military Affairs volume i, pages 156, 175, 786.

† See Jacob *Burnet's Letters*, pages 108, 110 and 111.

The Constitution was agreed upon and signed with commendable promptness, being completed the 29th November, 1802; and the 19th February, 1803, Ohio was admitted to the Union as a State, the fourth under the general Constitution and the seventeenth in general number. The first Legislature met at Chillicothe the first Tuesday of March, 1803, thus completing the State organization. The white residents of Wayne County were mostly settled at Detroit; but some were settled by the water courses to, and including, the Maumee. They were counted to make the requisite number for the Statehood of Ohio; but this Wayne County was given neither representation in the Convention nor vote on the Constitution. In fact northwestern Ohio over the whole extent of this Basin had no representation in the government until after the organization of counties in April, 1820. Naturally the Ohio part of this Basin reverted to Hamilton County for its civil government after the organization of Ohio as a State; and at the organization 1st May, 1803, of Montgomery and Greene Counties they could be supposed to extend north to the State line. They exercised but little if any jurisdiction, however, in this region which, with other parts of the Basin, remained the territory of the Aborigines until the treaties of 1817, and were directly subject to the United States authorities at Fort Wayne and Detroit. Wayne County in Ohio was not again mentioned until 13th February, 1808, when by Legislative Act the present County was organized with boundaries somewhat as now existing, widely separated from the original Wayne County which has been taken from until it is of ordinary county size, with Detroit yet its seat of government.

After the Treaty at Greenville in 1795, the Aborigines remained for a short time reasonably contented with the United States Annuity, and with what they received for the peltries obtained by hunting and trapping. They also received many gratuities from the white settlers among whom they wandered and entered dwellings at will, and by whom they were generally treated with kindly consideration notwithstanding their want of regard for individual rights in property desired by them. It became more and more apparent, however, that British influence was yet being exerted among them and causing discontent to be fostered among the several tribes.

Governor Harrison, who was also Superintendent of the Affairs of the Aborigines for Indiana Territory, completed at Fort Wayne 7th June, 1803, the treaty that was begun 17th September, 1802, at Vincennes, in which the Eel River, Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, Miami, Piankeshaw, Pottawotami and Wea tribes formally deeded to the United States the lands about Vincennes which had previously been bought of the other Aborigine tribes; and this act was further confirmed at

Vincennes the 7th August by yet other Aborigine chiefs. The 13th August the Illinois tribes deeded to the United States a large portion of the country south and east of the Illinois River. The 13th August, 1804, Governor Harrison purchased for the United States the claims of the Delawares to the land between the Wabash and Ohio Rivers. He also purchased of the Piankeshaws their claims to lands deeded to the United States by the Kaskaskias in 1803; also by treaty and purchase, the claims of the several tribes were extinguished to large areas of lands further west.

A treaty was also held at Fort Industry on the 4th July, 1805.* At this time and place the chiefs and warriors of the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee, Delaware, Shawnee, and Pottawotami tribes, and those of the Shawnees and Senecas who lived with the Wyandots, ceded to the United States all of their claims to the Western Reserve of Connecticut, for and in consideration of an annuity of one thousand dollars in addition to sixteen thousand dollars paid to them by the Connecticut Land Company and the Proprietors of the one half million acres of Sufferers' Lands (Firelands, lands granted to those persons who suffered by fire in Connecticut by acts of the British during the Revolutionary War). Further, a treaty with and an annuity to the dissatisfied Pottawotami, Miami, Eel River and Wea Aborigines near Vincennes, the 21st August, 1805, induced them to relinquish their claims to the southeastern part of Indiana which was also bought of the Delawares by the United States on the 18th of August, 1804. These several treaties and purchases, of 1803-04-05, including yet another with the Piankeshaws on the 30th December, 1805, extinguished several times over all alleged right of claim to these lands by the Aborigines.

Michigan was organized into a separate Territory by Congress the 11th January, 1805. The southern limit was to be a line running due east from the most southern shore of Lake Michigan, as it was then understood; and the new government was to go into effect the 30th June. General William Hull was appointed Governor.

***American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 696. The writer has been unable to find any further authentic mention of Fort Industry by several applications by letters and in person to the Secretaries of State and War at Washington, and by personal search there and in the United States Library. A writer some years ago ascribed its building to General Wayne immediately after the Battle of Fallen Timber (Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley*) and others have copied his assertion. Henry Howe wrote in his *Historical Collections of Ohio* that the time of its building was about the year 1800. The writer has shown by official reports, of all existing forts on previous pages of this book that Fort Industry was not built before the winter or spring of 1805; that it was probably but a stockade (probably an old one repaired) for the accommodation of the troops present at the treaty and called a fort for the effect of the name on the Aborigines; and that it was abandoned soon after the treaty. Tradition alone gives its situation on the left (north) bank of Swan Creek at its entrance into the Maumee River, about the crossing of Summit and Monroe Streets in the present City of Toledo, Ohio. See the writer's article in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. xii p. 122.

Aaron Burr journeyed, and rejourneyed, through the west and southwest during the years 1805 and 1806, and rumors became rife of his preparations to invade and conquer Mexico, and to create a Western Republic of which the country west of the Allegheny Mountains was to form a part. The Legislature of Ohio ordered, the first part of December, 1806, the seizure of fourteen boats and supplies at Marietta, which were about ready to start down the rivers in aid of Burr's scheme. Burr was arrested 17th January, 1807, and was released on bail, which he forfeited. He was again arrested while endeavoring to escape, was subjected to trial at Richmond, and acquitted. Thus failed, however, the fourth and weakest effort to wrest this western region from the United States. During these years of scheming by restless, designing persons, and of apprehension by the Government, there was considerable strengthening of United States troops at Forts Washington, Wayne, and Detroit; and preparations were made for their active service. The conduct of Aaron Burr was a cause for this; and the increasing aggressions of the British were also an explanation.

The 27th January, 1807, Henry Dearborn Secretary of War, sent a commission to William Hull Governor of Michigan Territory and Superintendent there of Aborigine Affairs, with instructions to hold a treaty council with the Aborigines. Governor Hull issued a call to the different tribes for a council at Detroit; but they did not attend. Two other calls were sent, and President Jefferson directed him to communicate to them the continued friendly intentions and offices of the United States. The sequel proved that their desires to respond to the invitations to council had been thwarted by Captain Alexander M'Kee British agent. Finally, they evaded M'Kee and his aids and went to Detroit for council, in which they proclaimed the intrigue of the British to again more closely ally them to their aid 'for the war likely to ensue with the United States.'* Between seven and eight hundred Aborigines had been invited to Malden, now Amherstburg, where intoxicating beverages and promises prevailed. During October and November many hundreds of these Aborigines were unavoidably fed at Detroit by Governor Hull while on their way to and from Malden, and also during the council, notwithstanding the direction of the Secretary of War that from fifty to one hundred was as great a number as ought to be allowed to attend. A prominent feature of this council, and one that was remembered and repeated by the Aborigines, was the expression of President Jefferson that they should remain quiet spectators, and not participate in any quarrels of others, particularly of the white people; that the United States were strong enough to fight their own battles;

---

*Compare *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, pages 745, 746.

and that it was evidence of weakness on the part of any people to want the aid of the Aborigines.

Finally a treaty was effected at Detroit 17th November, 1807, with the Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawotami and Wyandot tribes in which they deeded to the United States all their claims to the country north of the middle of the Maumee River from its mouth to the mouth of the Auglaise, thence extending north to the latitude of the south part of Lake Huron, thence east to and southward along the Canadian boundary. For this territory they received ten thousand dollars in 'money and goods' as first payment and an annuity of two thousand and four hundred dollars. They were given, however, the option of money, goods, implements of husbandry, and domestic animals, from which to choose. Of these sums, the Chippewas received one-third, the Ottawas one-third, and the Pottawotamis and Wyandots each one-sixth. This treaty further reads that "the United States, to manifest their liberality, and disposition to encourage the said Aborigines in agriculture, further stipulate to furnish the said Aborigines with two blacksmiths during the term of ten years—one to reside with the Chippewas at Saginaw, and the other to reside with the Ottawas at the Maumee. Said blacksmiths are to do such work for the said nations as shall be most useful to them." As in former treaties, the Aborigines were to have the privilege of hunting on the ceded lands as long as they remained the distinctive property of the United States.

Certain tracts of this land were also reserved for the exclusive use of the Aborigines. These reservations within this Basin were as follows: Six miles square on the north bank of the Maumee above Roche de Bout 'to include the village where Tondagame [Tontogany] or the dog, now lives' probably at the Grand Rapids. Another reservation three miles square on the Maumee "above the twelve miles square ceded to the United States by the Treaty at Greenville, including what is called Presque Isle; also, four miles square on the Miami [Maumee] Bay, including the villages where Meshkemau and Waugau now live. . . It is further understood and agreed, that whenever the reservations cannot conveniently be laid out in squares, they shall be laid out in parallelograms or other figures as found most practicable and convenient, so as to obtain the area specified in miles; and in all cases they are to be located in such manner and in such situations as not to interfere with any improvements of the French or other white people, or any former cession."

American settlers continued to gather in Ohio, and some took residence on the United States Reservations at the Foot of the Rapids of the Maumee. The necessity for roads to connect the settlements in Ohio with those in Michigan, becoming more apparent, Governor Hull was directed to secure cession of lands for such roads from the Aborigines. Accordingly a treaty was held at Brownstown, Michigan, 25th November, 1808, with the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawotami, Shawnee, and Wayndot tribes in which they quitclaimed a tract of land one hundred and twenty feet in width for a road from the foot of the lowest rapids in the Maumee River to the western line of the Connecticut Reserve; also all the land within one mile of each side of this roadway for the settlement of white people; "also a tract of land, for a road only, of one hundred and twenty feet in width to run southwardly from what is called Lower Sandusky [now Fremont] to the boundary line established by the Treaty of Greenville, with the privilege of taking, at all times, such timber and other materials from the adjacent lands as may be necessary for making and keeping in repair the said road, with the bridges that may be required along the same." . . No compensation was given the Aborigines in money or merchandise for these roadways, as they were desirable and beneficial to the Aborigine nations as well as to the United States, reads a clause in the cession.

Indiana Territory from its organization in 1802 had extended to the Mississippi River. The settlements had increased so much, however, that the Illinois country was organized into a separate Territory the 3rd February, 1809.

Tecumseh's Conspiracy with British Against Americans.

For several years the Aborigines had manifested an increasing restlessness, which was attributed by Captain Dunham and other American officers principally to the influence of foreigners who were trading among them.* The idea first taught to the savages by the early French in opposition to the British, then exploited by Pontiac in 1763, and then amplified with greater force by the British against the Americans from the beginning of the Revolutionary War — of a confederation of all the tribes, and that all lands should be claimed by them collectively, and that no claim should be disposed of, nor any advance of the Americans upon the lands be permitted—was being revived and again urged before the Aborigines by the British and a few French.

Tecumseh, an energetic Shawnee brave, began in 1805 therefrom to repeat the history of Pontiac, the Americans being the people conspired against. The increasing purchases of claims by the United States, and the rapid increase of American settlers thereon who at once began to clear away the forest; the organization of Territories, State and Counties, with their courts and closer government, all had excited apprehension among lawless traders and loungers in the camps of the Aborigines, and had also excited afresh the chronically meddlesome British officers and agents, inciting them to renewed intrigues.

---

* Compare *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume i, page 798.

ELSKWATAWA

The Shawnee Sorcerer and Prophet. Born probably about 1770. 'A cunning, unprincipled man, in early life remarkable for nothing but stupidity and intoxication.' The last years of his life were obscured.

Tecumseh's reputed brother, Elskwatawa, had recently removed with other Shawnees from the Scioto River, Ohio, to the Tippecanoe, Indiana, where he soon gained something of a notoriety as a sorcerer. He began to tell of his dreams and visions, and to claim the knowledge and power of a prophet inspired and commissioned by the Great Spirit to lead the Aborigines back to the condition of their ancestors before the coming of the Americans. His remarkable pretensions spread from the Shawnee town by the Tippecanoe River to other and distant tribes, being carried by runners including Tecumseh who traveled rapidly from tribe to tribe between Lake Erie and the Mississippi, and from the upper lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

These actions of Tecumseh and the 'Prophet' were understood by Governor Harrison as a concerted effort to marshal the Aborigines in the interest of their British allies again against the United States. Since the campaign of General Wayne a new generation of young men, fed from the rations supplied their parents by the United States, had developed into warriors anxious for excitement and ready at short notice to follow any leader whose project appeared probable to gratify their savage impulses. Letters were soon received by the Secretary of War from the several military posts throughout the western country regarding the increasing hostility of the Aborigines and their threatenings to exterminate Americans, also of their being aided by the British; but, notwithstanding accumulating proof of their designs both parties, Tecumseh and the 'Prophet' and the British, denied any hostile intention against the United States. Excerpts from some of the letters to the Secretary of War in proof of the contrary are here presented, viz:*

---

* For much other proof, see *American State Papers* volume iv, page 798 *et sequentia.*

General William Clark wrote from St. Louis April 5, 1809, that the Aborigine prophet's emissaries have been industriously employed the latter part of winter and spring privately councilling with, and attempting to seduce the Kickapoos, Saukeys, and other bands of Aborigines by the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, to war against the frontiers of this country. William Wells wrote from Fort Wayne 8th April that the Aborigines appear to be agitated respecting the conduct and as they say the intentions of the Shawnee Prophet. The Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawotamis are hurrying away from him and say that their reason for doing so is because he has told them to receive the tomahawk from him and destroy all the white people at Vincennes and Ohio, as low down as the mouth of the Ohio and as high up as Cincinnati; that the Great Spirit had directed that they should do so, at the same time threatening them with destruction if they refused to comply with what he proposed. General Clark wrote from St. Louis April 30th: I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter which confirms my suspicions of the British interference with our Aborigine affairs in this country. The following is an extract from the enclosed letter from Boilvin: 'I am at present in the fire receiving Aborigine news every day. A chief of the Puant nation appears to be employed by the British to get all the nations of Aborigines to Detroit to see their fathers the British, who tell them that they pity them in their situation with the Americans, because the Americans had taken their lands and their game; that they must join and send them off from their lands. They said they had but one father that had helped them in their misfortunes, and that they would assemble, defend their father, and keep their lands.' It appears that four English subjects have been at *Rivière a la Roche* this winter in disguise; they have been there to get the nations together and send them on the American frontiers. Governor Harrison wrote from Vincennes 3rd May, 1809, of his decided opinion that the Prophet will attack our settlements. About eight days ago he had with him three hundred and fifty warriors well armed with rifles; they have also bows and arrows, war clubs, and a kind of spear. The Factor (Agent) of the Trading Post at Sandusky, S. Tupper, wrote 7th June that the conduct of the British traders in introducing spirituous liquors among the Aborigines in this part of the country, and their determined hostility to the measures of our Government, have long been subjects of complaint; and their infamous stories have embarrassed our operations. Governor William Hull wrote from Detroit June 16th that the influence of the Prophet has been great, and his advice to the Aborigines injurious to them and to the United States. We have the fullest evidence that his object has been to form a combination of them in hostility to the United States, The powerful influence of the British has been exerted in a way alluring to the savage character. Complaints also came to the Secretary of War that British agents were inciting the Aborigines along the western shore of Lake Michigan and supplying them with guns and ammunition. General Harrison wrote from Vincennes 5th July that "the Shawanese Prophet and about forty followers arrived here about a week ago. He denies most strenuously any participation in the late combination to attack our settlements. . . I must confess that my suspicions of his guilt have been rather strengthened than diminished at every interview I have had with him since his arrival. He acknowledged that he received an invitation to war against us from the British last fall, and that he was apprised of the intention of the Sacs, Foxes, etc., early in the spring, and was warmly solicited to join in their league. . . The result of all my enquiries on the subject is, that the late combination was produced by British intrigue and influence in anticipation of war between them and the United States. It was, however, premature and ill-judged.

Governor Harrison, in council with Aborigines at Fort Wayne 30th September, 1809, succeeded, however, in further purchasing their claims to two tracts of land in Indiana Territory west of the Greenville Treaty Line and adjoining former purchases, the stipulated price being permanent annuities of five hundred dollars to the Delawares, five hundred dollars to the Miamis, two hundred and fifty dollars to the Eel River Miamis, and five hundred dollars to the Pottawotamis. The Miamis, by separate article of same date, as additional compensation were promised to receive at Fort Wayne the next spring domestic animals to the amount of five hundred dollars, and the like number for the two following years; and that an armorer should be also maintained at Fort Wayne for the use of the Aborigines as heretofore. In treaty with the Kickapoos at Vincennes 9th December, 1809, Governor Harrison purchased claims to land northwest of the Wabash River adjoining the Vincennes tract, the consideration being a permanent annuity of four hundred dollars, and goods to the amount of eight hundred dollars. By this last treaty the Miamis were to receive a further annuity of two hundred dollars, and the Eel River tribes one hundred dollars each.

TRADING AGENCIES — CONTINUED CONSPIRACY OF TECUMSEH.

The report to the Secretary of War 31st December, 1809, of J. Mason Superintendent of the Trading House Establishments or agencies styled Factories among the Aborigines, possesses features of interest in this connection. There were at this date twelve establishments of this character, eight of which were in the South and Southwest; and the net assets involved in them amounted to $235,461.64, The Trading House in this Basin was established at Fort Wayne in the year 1802. Colonel John Johnston was the Factor (Agent) in 1809 with salary of $1000 per year and a subsistence allowance of $365. William Oliver his clerk received a salary of $250 a year and $150 for subsistence. Inventory of the assets of this Fort Wayne Trading House October 5th showed: Merchandise, Peltries, etc., on hand $5,020.75; Accounts Receivable per return of March $2,112.72; Buildings estimated at about one half of cost $500. Merchandise forwarded by the Government to Fort Wayne 9th June and 28th July not included in the above amounted to $4,686.87. A Trading Agency was also established in Detroit in 1802, but it was discontinued in 1805. Those in operation nearest this Basin in 1809, were: Sandusky established in 1806; Chicago 1805; and Michilimackinac 1808. The peltries taken in exchange for merchandise at these Trading Houses were: Beaver, first quality valued at two dollars each, and second quality one dollar; Dressed Deer Skins one dollar and fifty cents; Wolf Skins one dollar; Muskrat, Raccoon, Wildcat, and Fox Skins, twenty-five cents each; Otter two dollars and fifty cents; Bear first quality one dollar and fifty cents, second quality one dollar. Tallow at twelve and a half cents a pound, and Beeswax at twenty cents, also entered into the accounts.

Tecumseh and the Prophet continued active. The additional councils and purchases of land at Fort Wayne and Vincennes were alleged as new incentives. General Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War 14th June, 1810, that I have received information from various sources which has produced entire conviction on my mind, that the Prophet is organizing a most extensive combination against the United States. Another letter dated the 26th June informs that Winemac [a friendly Aborigine] assured me that the Prophet not long since proposed to the young men to murder the principal chiefs of all the tribes; observing that their hands would never be untied until this was effected; that these were the men who had sold their lands, and who would prevent them from opposing the encroachments of the white people. An Iowa Aborigine informs me that two years ago this summer an agent from the British arrived at the Prophet's town and, in his presence delivered the message with which he was charged, the substance of which was to urge the Prophet to unite as many tribes as he could against the United States, but not to commence hostilities until they gave the signal.* . .

The 11th July General Harrison again wrote that I have received a letter from Fort Wayne which confirms the information of the hostile designs and combination of the Aborigines. The people in the neighborhood where the horses were stolen are so much alarmed that they are collecting together for their defense. Again, July 18th: From the Iowas I learn that the Sacs and Foxes have actually received the tomahawk [declared for war] and are ready to strike whenever the Prophet gives the signal. A considerable number of Sacs went some time since to see the British superintendent and, on the first instant, fifty more passed Chicago for the same destination. A Miami chief who has just returned from his annual visit to Malden, after having received the accustomed donation of goods was thus addressed by the British agent: 'My son keep your eyes fixed on me; my tomahawk is now up; be you ready, but do not strike until I give the signal.' General Clark wrote from St. Louis July 20th that a few weeks ago the post-rider on his way from Vincennes to this place was killed, and the mail lost; since that time we have had no communication with Vincennes. A part of the Sacs and the greatest part of the Kickapoos who reside east of the Mississippi have been absent some time on a visit to the Aborigine Prophet. One hundred and fifty Sacs are on a visit to the British agent by invitation, and a smaller party on a visit to the island of St. Joseph in Lake Huron. On July 25th General Harrison again wrote that there can be no doubt of the designs of the Prophet and the British agent of Aborigine affairs [Alexander M'Kee ?] to do us injury. This agent is a refugee from the neighborhood of ——— [Pittsburg] and his implacable hatred of his native country prompted him to take part with the Aborigines in the battle between them and General Wayne's army. He has, ever since his appointment to the principal agency used his utmost endeavors to excite hostilities, and the lavish manner in which he is allowed to scatter presents amongst them, shews that his government participates in his enmity and authorizes his measures. Governor Hull wrote from Detroit July 27th that large bodies of Aborigines from the westward and southward continue to visit the British post at Amherstburg [Malden] and are supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, etc. Much more attention is paid to them than usual. On August 7th Captain John Johnston, agent of the Fort Wayne Trading Post, wrote that since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred Sawkeys [Sacs] have returned from the British agent who supplied them liberally with everything they stood in want of. The party received forty-seven rifles and a number of fusils [flintlock muskets] with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Aborigines to the British side in the hope of being treated with the same liberality. On the 1st August General

---

* The reader will bear in mind the strained relations between the United States and Great Britain which had existed for several years, and which frequently received fresh incentives from the impressment of American seaman, the search of American ships, and unjust discriminations in trade. The continued arrogance of the British in Canada, and their conduct toward the Aborigines on American soil, show that their former ulterior designs on this western country were unabated.

Harrison reported that a number of the inhabitants of the northern frontier of the Jeffersonville district had been driven away by the Aborigines and much of their property destroyed. Many other letters were written to the Secretary of War from the widely separated posts evidencing the continued preparations of the Aborigines for war under the incitements of the British. But few other extracts will be here given: February 6, 1811, Captain John Johnston again wrote from Fort Wayne that ——— has been at this place. The information derived from him is the same I have been in possession of for several years, to wit: the intrigues of the British agents and partisans in creating an influence hostile to our people and Government, within our territory. I do not know whether a garrison [fort] is to be erected on the Wabash or not; but every consideration of sound policy urges the early establishment of a post somewhere contiguous to the Prophet's residence. Hostilities were continued to the westward, some murders and captivities being reported; and some blockhouses were built along the frontier for the refuge and defense of the settlers.

Governor Harrison had not remained idle. He had instituted preparations for defense and, also, for advance. By appointment he was visited by the chief leader of the hostile Aborigines, his written report of the same on 6th August, 1811, being in part as follows: The Shawanee Chief Tecumseh has made a visit to this place with about three hundred Aborigines, though he promised to bring but a few attendants; *his intentions hostile*, though he found us prepared for him. Tecumseh did not set out till yesterday; he then descended the Wabash attended by twenty men on his way to the southward. After having visited the Creeks and Choctaws he is to visit the Osages, and return by the Missouri. The spies say his object in coming with so many was to demand a retrocession of the late purchase [of Aborigine claims to land]. At the moment he was promising to bring but a few men with him he was sending in every direction to collect his people. That he meditated a blow at this time was believed by almost all the neutral Aborigines.*

It appears, wrote J. Shaw Agent at Fort Wayne the 18th August, that the fruit of the Shawanee Prophet and his band, is making its appearance in more genuine colors than heretofore. I have lately had opportunities of seeing many of the Aborigines of this Agency from different quarters, and by what I have been able to learn from them, particularly the Pottawotamis, I am induced to believe the news circulating in the papers respecting the depredations committed in the

---

* In Drake's *Life of Tecumseh* there is description of a dramatic scene at this council, in which Tecumseh's men at a given signal sprang to arms and were instantly faced by a strong guard of American troops who had been held in the background for any emergency.

Illinois Territory by the Aborigines, is mostly correct, and is thought by them to have proceeded from Mar Poe [or Marpack a Pottawotami chief] and the influence of the Shawanee Prophet. Several of the tribes have sent to me for advice. Governor Harrison wrote September 17, 1811, from Vincennes to the Secretary of War as follows: ——— ——— states that almost every Aborigine from the country above this had been or was then gone to Malden on a visit to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If then the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Aborigines to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages. ——— ——— succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes (including the Weas and Eel Rivers, for they are all Miamis) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet and the United States. ——— ——— reports that all the Aborigines of the Wabash have been or now are on a visit to the British agent at Malden; he has never known more than one-fourth as many goods given to the Aborigines as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one (not a chief) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three blankets, three strouds of cloth, ten shirts, and several other articles. He says every Aborigine is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the King's store at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods for the Aborigine department which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by £20,000 sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Aborigines to take up the tomahawk; it cannot be to secure their trade for all the peltries collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year if sold on the London market would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Aborigines.' . . Tecumseh and the Prophet advocated discontinuance of trade with Americans. Action on this advice led to clandestine trading, to more fraudulent practices, and to some violence. But the principal result was observed as an additional incentive to turn the savages to the British whose lavish gifts had already operated to draw the most of them to Malden.

The report of Captain John Johnston Factor [Agent] of the United States Aborigine Factory [trading agency] at Fort Wayne the 30th September, 1811, to J. Mason Superintendent of Trade with the Aborigines, shows the Inventory of Merchandise on hand 30th December, 1807, as $13,046.84; Accounts of Aborigines $2,459.29; Amount of Merchandise received from 1st January, 1808, $15,226.91; Expenses since 1st January, 1808, $6,048.62. To the credit side of the report there is the Inventory of Merchandise on hand 30th September, 1811, $10,281.66; Furs, Peltries, etc., principally hatters' furs of good sale [beaver skins] $689.62; Cash in hand $76.37½; Accounts against Aborigines $2,747.56 and Buildings $400. The two last items were included as loss. There had been received during these years for Furs and Peltries sold $27,547.07; the value of Furs and Peltries on the way to market $3,053.12; Goods returned to the Government $1,752.34; New York Auctioneer paid State Duty which was refunded $195.42; Salary transferred $572.30 all of which shows a profit of $10,502.77 for the three years and ten months.

There were at this time ten Trading Agencies in operation with a total capital of $290,000. They were situate as follows: Fort Hawkins, Georgia; Chickasaw Bluffs, Mississippi Territory; Fort Stephenson, Mobile River Mississippi Territory; Fort Osage, by Missouri River; Fort Madison, by upper Mississippi River Louisiana Territory; Natchitoches, by Red River Orleans Territory; Fort Wayne by the Miami of the Lakes [Maumee River]; Chicago, Sandusky, and Michilimackinac. Several of these agencies were conducted at a loss to the Government, viz: Sandusky $3,366.50; Fort Stephenson $10,352.54; Natchitoches $11,718.73 and Fort Hawkins $1,023. The nominal profit at the others was: Chicago $3,454.24; Michilimackinac $1,945.71; Fort Wayne $10,502.77; Fort Osage over two hundred dollars less than Fort Wayne, and Fort Madison $10,026.39. The Agencies showing gain received more of hatters' furs, the greatly coveted beaver, which were constantly in greater demand than the supply. The Agencies showing loss were at a disadvantage from carriage charges and the barter, which was mostly for deer skins formerly marketed in Europe, and latterly much injured by vermin from the delay in sale on account of the British obstruction.

Meetings of citizens along the frontier were held during the summer of 1811 and memorials stating the depredations and murders by the Aborigines, accompanied by petitions for protection, were sent to President James Madison. Governor Harrison was given additional regular troops and militia and, the second week in October, 1811, they advanced up the Wabash towards the Prophet's town on the Tippecanoe to stop his influence for further murderous raids. Peace messengers were sent forward, but they were violently treated and the night of the 10th a sentinel of the American army was severely wounded by the Prophet's warriors. Governor Harrison commanded in person. The army advanced cautiously and, the 6th November, meeting some of the Prophet's messengers near his town an agreement was made for a council the next morning. But, true to the treacherous nature of the savages, they made a stealthy attack in the dark about a quarter past four o'clock in the morning when, in the words of Governor Harrison's report, they manifested a ferocity uncommon to them. To their savage fury our troops, nineteen-twentieths of whom had not before been in battle, opposed that cool and deliberate valor which is characteristic of the Christian soldier.' The savages retreated. The Americans in this Battle of Tippecanoe numbered a few over seven hundred; and the number of savages was estimated as nearly the same. The American loss was sixty-two killed and one hundred and twenty-six wounded. The loss of the savages was estimated at a greater number.

The condition of the frontier settlements was not much improved by this defeat of the Shawnee Prophet's army. Depredations and murders continued in the west, and grave apprehensions pervaded the whole country. Among the petitioners to the President and Congress for protection were some of the prominent citizens of the Territory of Michigan living at Detroit, who gave statistics from which the following are extracted, viz: The population of the Territory on the 10th December, 1811, was given as four thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, about four-fifths of whom were French, the remainder being largely Americans, with a few British and some servants of African blood.* They were distributed in nine principal settlements each having a 'double frontier'—the British on one side, the savages on the other. The first three of these settlements were named as 1, the mouth of the Maumee River; 2, the River Raisin; 3, the River Huron. The population of these three settlements was given as one thousand three hundred and forty (not including the savages) the males over sixteen years of age being three hundred and ninety-one. There were two forts, one at Detroit with a garrison of ninety-four soldiers, and the other at Michilimackinac with seventy-nine soldiers. Additional forts were petitioned for, with stronger garrisons, and cavalry.

The following extracts of letters show the continued hostility of the savages and the influence of the British against the Americans: William Wells wrote from Fort Wayne 10th February, 1812, that at the request of Little Turtle I enclose you his speech to Governor Harrison of the 25th ultimo. On the 12th ult. two British emissaries passed through this neighborhood on their way to see the Prophet. On the 21st ultimo they called at my house on their return to Malden; they were two Munsey Aborigines. It appears that their business was to invite all the Aborigines to meet at Malden very early in the spring.

---

* African slaves were brought into this Basin by the Aborigines, and taken to Detroit from early date. They were bought by the army officers and merchants and retained as servants for many years.

What took place between them and the Prophet, I have not yet learnt. The Pottawotamy chief Marpack has been in the neighborhood of Malden since August last; he now is near the white settlement on the River Raisin in Michigan Territory and visits Malden every eight or ten days. He has about one hundred and twenty of the best warriors in this country with him, stationed in such a manner as to be unobserved by the white settlers; that is to say, eight or ten in one place, fifteen or twenty in another, and so on; but within such distance of each other as to enable him to collect them all in twenty-four hours. I know this chief is hostile-inclined towards the United States, and have no hesitation in saying that he is kept at that place by the British agents at Malden; and in case the United States have war with that Power, this chief will attack our settlements immediately. I believe many of the warriors that fought Governor Harrison have, and are now about to join him.' The speech of Little Turtle referred to above acknowledges receipt of the letters of Governor Harrison, and states that their contents had been communicated to the Miami tribes, including those of Eel River. He stated that none of these tribes was in the Battle of Tippecanoe. He expressed regret that the Aborigines had become hostile, and promised his influence to prevent further like action. William Wells wrote again 1st March, from Fort Wayne as follows: In my letter of the 10th ultimo I informed you that the Aborigine chief Tecumseh had arrived on the Wabash. I have now to state to you that it appears he has determined to raise all the Aborigines he can, immediately, with intention no doubt to attack our frontiers. He has sent runners to raise the Aborigines on the Illinois and the upper Mississippi; and I am told has gone himself to hurry on the aid he was promised by the Cherokees and Creeks. The Prophet's orator, who is considered the third man in this hostile band, passed within twelve miles of this place on the 23rd ultimo with eight Shawanese, eight Winnebagoes and seven Kickapoos, in all twenty-four, on their way as they say to Sandusky, where they expected to receive a quantity of powder and lead from their father the British. . .

Had the petitions of the settlers for more forts and stronger garrisons been granted, and such bands as above mentioned been arrested and imprisoned, the influence of the British could have been greatly reduced and many American lives saved that were lost in later conflicts when the British and their savage allies were again fully organized. Governor Howard of Missouri Territory wrote from St. Louis March 19, 1812, detailing depredations and 'most barbarous murders' by savages; and the letters of like import from Captain Nathan Heald were frequent from Chicago, including the killing and eating of two Americans by Winnebagoes at the lead mines near the Mississippi.

Captain J. Rhea of the 13th Regiment of Infantry, stationed at Fort Wayne, wrote March 14th, you say if we have a British war we shall have an Aborigine war. From the best information I can get, I have every reason to believe we shall have an Aborigine war this spring whether we have a British war or not. I am told the Aborigines are making every preparation. There is certainly a very deep plan going on among the Aborigines. Captain John Whistler, in command of Fort Lernoult at Detroit, wrote 2nd April, that Lieutenant Eastman arrived here on the evening of the 29th ultimo from Cincinnati. About six miles on this side of the foot of the Miami [Maumee] rapids he met twenty-four Aborigines who were in the action against Governor Harrison [Battle of Tippecanoe]. They were on their return from Malden, and had been there for a length of time this winter and had, when Mr. Eastman met them, each a new stand of arms, some of them were rifles others smooth bore; also a quantity of ammunition. One of these Aborigines has shown in this town several wounds he had received in the action. The 15th April Captain Nathan Heald, in command of Fort Dearborn at Chicago, wrote that the Aborigines had commenced hostilities in that vicinity by murdering two men about three miles from the fort. Other murders were reported from different parts of the west. The first of May Captain John Johnston reported from Piqua, Ohio, that three Americans had been killed at Defiance and two at Sandusky by the savages. A general uprising of the savages was now apparent to the westward, and the frontier settlers there were generally gathered in hastily constructed and uncomfortable blockhouses.

Benjamin F. Stickney, who had recently succeeded John Johnston as Aborigine agent at Fort Wayne, wrote on May 25th that My last was on the 15th instant. I told you then of the measures I had taken to make peace with the relatives of the two Aborigines who were killed at Greenville. Before receiving this you will undoubtedly have received more correct information of the circumstances than I could give you. The women and child who were taken prisoners were sent to me by Mr. Johnson with three or four horses and as much of the other property that was taken as he could obtain, under the care and protection of two Shawanee chiefs and ten warriors. They arrived four days ago when there was a general collection of Aborigines forming to inform me what had been doing at a grand council they had been holding on the Wabash where twelve tribes were represented, consisting of the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawotamies, Delawares, Miamis, Eel River Miamis, Weas, Piankeshaws, Shawanese, Kickapoos, and Winnebagoes. The council here continued two days and amounted to but very little more than that they had united to secure and maintain peace. I cannot explain the whole better than by enclosing you a copy of my letter to Governor Hull [at Detroit] viz: . . . 'The time appears to have arrived when it is necessary, if possible, to cut off all communication between the Aborigines within the territory of the United States and Canada.' . .

This was a very tardy suggestion of a policy the wisdom of the enforcement of which should have seemed a necessity years before. Many Aborigines in this Basin, recipients of United States annuities and favors and more immediately under control of United States agents, had been loath to join Tecumseh and the Prophet; but band after band, including several hundred Ottawas of the lower Maumee, with the other tribes before named, had been enticed to remove to Tippecanoe, or to near Malden, and to ally themselves with the hostiles.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR OF 1812.

Notwithstanding the many reports to the Secretary of War through several years of depredations and murders by the Aborigines, and the accumulated evidence of the incitements by British traders, agents and officers, it was not until the 13th June, 1812, that a committee of Congress reported it proved that the British had been working among these Aborigines with the intention of securing them as allies against the United States; that the British had incited them to hostilities and presented them with weapons of warfare which had already been used against the Americans; and that it was the duty of the President of the United States to use the necessary means to protect the frontiers from the attacks with which they were yet threatened.

Tecumseh visited the Aborigine Agent at Fort Wayne in June, ostensibly in friendship, but his real object was not apparent at that time. He had been giving attention to Little Turtle and the Miamis; but the former would have nothing to do with him. Soon after this visit he, and his followers, removed their headquarters to Malden, to be in closer communication with the British.

The war-cloud that had been lowering for several years settled into a formal declaration of war against Great Britain the 18th June, 1812, on account of the enemy's interference with American trade, enforced by a blockade; the impressment of American seamen, and the encouragement of the Aborigines in their savagery, the last charge being yet far more apparent in the West than in the East.

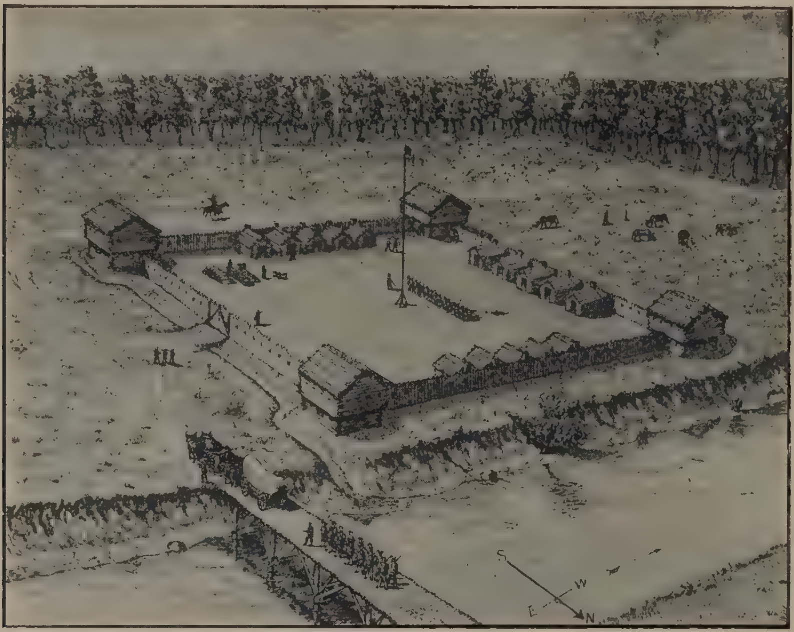
Governor William Hull of Michigan Territory was in Washington during a part of the winter and spring of 1812, and he urged the President to increase the military force in the Northwest; and for the third time he called attention to the positive necessity of an American fleet on Lake Erie. The President made requisition early in April upon Governor Return J. Meigs of Ohio for twelve hundred militia to be ready for immediate march to Detroit. He also appointed Commander Stewart agent on Lake Erie, and ordered the building of vessels for defense. April 8th Governor Hull was commissioned Brigadier General in the United States Army and was ordered to take charge of the Ohio troops. This was against his desire; but he arrived at Dayton the place of rendezvous the 25th May and the volunteer army was given to his command at once by Governor Meigs.

The army moved northward June 1st to Urbana where the Fourth Regiment of United States troops, which the President had ordered forward from Vincennes, joined it. This regiment was in the Battle of Tippecanoe, and to show the great respect felt it was received by the Ohio troops with joyful demonstrations including an arch inscribed in its honor. It was the desire of General Hull to go as direct to Detroit as practicable, and this course led through a trackless forest until arrival at the Maumee River. Colonel Duncan M'Arthur's First Regiment was detached to cut a road from Urbana, which was done to the Scioto River near the present Kenton, and there were built two blockhouses connected by palisades, which later received the name Fort M'Arthur. The army arrived at this post June 19th. Colonel James Findlay's Second Regiment was here detached to cut and bridge a road onward. June 22nd Fort M'Arthur was garrisoned by Captain Dill's company and, leaving the sick in his care, the army moved forward.

Heavy rains made the way across the morasses at the headwaters of the Blanchard River well nigh impassable and, after laborious struggle and with great annoyance by small black flies and mosquitoes, they were obliged to halt sixteen miles from Fort M'Arthur. Here were built another stockade and houses which were named Fort Necessity. It was situated near the south line of the present Hancock County east of the center. At Fort Necessity, with lessening food supplies, the horses and oxen were put on short allowance and re-arrangements were made whereby the wagons were to be relieved of more of their burden by packs on the horses 'and every man who could make a packsaddle was detailed on that business, but as soon as a sufficient number of saddles were made the order was rescinded and the saddles were deposited in the blockhouse.'* As the army was about to march from Fort Necessity General Robert Lucas and William Denny, who had been sent by General Hull from Dayton with dispatches to acting Governor Atwater at Detroit, returned to General Hull with reports of British and Aborigine activity and alliance with threatening attitude. Also that the fort in Detroit was in bad condition, and that the citizens generally were much pleased with the approach of the American army. The weather improving the army advanced and, after three days marching, arrived at the Blanchard River, on the left bank of which Colonel Findlay's detachment which had been sent forward had nearly completed a palisade enclosure about one hundred and fifty feet square with a blockhouse at each corner, and a ditch in front. General Hull gave this place of refuge in the forest the name Fort Findlay. It was situated but a few squares north of the present Court House in the City of Findlay. A messenger, Colonel Dunlap, here delivered to General Hull June 24th an order from the Secretary of War for the army to proceed at once to Detroit

---

* Captain Robert M'Afee's *History of the War of 1812*, page 54.



FORT FINDLAY

Built the latter part of June, 1812. Abandoned by the United States late in 1814. Area about 150 feet square. Captain Arthur Thomas was Commandant with a garrison of about one company of soldiers. Its service was that of a resting place, and temporary storage for supplies. The pickets next to the Blanchard River were in good condition as late as the year 1826. A blockhouse was also then standing, and two small houses where travelers stopped for the night. Other pickets and timber had been or were being used as firewood. — From Researches and Surveys by Charles E. Slocum.

and there expect further orders. This order was dated the morning of June 18th the day that war was declared, but no mention was made in the order of this declaration. Colonel M'Arthur, however, received communication the same day from Chillicothe, stating on the authority of Thomas Worthington then United States Senator, that war would be proclaimed before this writing could be delivered to him. This letter was shown to General Hull who, from his previous information, knew that war was imminent.

President Madison and William Eustis Secretary of War early provided for three armies for the prosecution of the War of 1812, viz: the Army of the Northwest under General Hull, which was the first in the field; the Army of the Center under General Solomon Van Rensselaer whose headquarters were at Niagara; and the Army of the North under General Joseph Bloomfield whose headquarters were at Plattsburg, New York. The limits of this book will admit of following only the movements, failures, and successes of the Army of the Northwest in, and relating to this Basin.

General Hull directed Colonel Lewis Cass with the Third Regiment to cut and prepare the road northward from Fort Findlay. Much of the heavy luggage was stored at Fort Findlay to be forwarded as desired, and the army proceeded northward as soon as practicable. After a few days march they arrived at the Maumee River opposite General Wayne's Battle Field of Fallen Timber where they encamped for the night. Fording the river at the Rapids here, the next encampment was made in view of a small village of American settlers at the foot of the lowest rapids near the site of the former Fort Miami. Here the schooner *Cuyahoga* under Captain Chapin was chartered for Detroit and loaded with much of the heavier luggage, including entrenching tools, hospital stores, the heaviest part of the officers' personal effects and even thoughtlessly including General Hull's commission, the instructions from the Secretary of War, and the complete muster rolls of the army. Thirty soldiers were detailed as a guard for the schooner, which carried as passengers the wives of three of the minor officers. The sequel proved that it would have been far better for the American cause had General Hull also gone with his private papers, directly to the British. Captain M'Pherson of Cincinnati here suggested to General Hull that war must have been declared and that the schooner would be captured—M'Afee, page 56. The *Cuyahoga*, accompanied by a sloop carrying the sick under care of Surgeon's Mate James Reynolds, sailed however from the Maumee River July 1st, 1812, to be captured by the British next day when passing Malden. The sloop bearing the sick was belated and, going up the shallower channel west of Bois Blanc Island, evaded the enemy and arrived at Detroit July 3rd.

Lieutenant Davidson and twenty-five men were detached to build and occupy a blockhouse at the ruins of Fort Miami* and, the 1st July, the army continued the march northward 'through an open country interspersed with thin groves of oak trees and scattering settlements of French' the one at the River Raisin being styled by Captain M'Afee 'a handsome village.'

General Hull did not formally learn of the declaration of war until the afternoon of July 2nd when he was overtaken near Frenchtown (the present Monroe, Michigan) by a messenger with such information from the Secretary of War; and he here also learned of the capture of his schooner. The British garrison at Malden had previously received notification of the war, and was alert for action. Fort Michilimackinac (the name now often contracted to Mackinaw) with a garrison of fifty-seven soldiers was surrendered to a far superior force of British and savages the 17th July the commandant Lieutenant Porter Hicks first learning at their demand for surrender that war was declared. Late in July General Hull ordered the abandonment of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, Captain William Wells bearing the order from Fort Wayne.

Governor Return J. Meigs, Thomas Worthington, and Jeremiah Morrow, as United States Commissioners, held a council at Piqua, Ohio, August 15th with such representatives of the Aborigines as could be gathered, for the purpose of retaining their neutrality with the British. A number of the Ohio tribes were represented, but little could be done with them, they having heard the reports from Detroit and Chicago.

It is not within the scope of this writing to detail the waverings and cowardice of General Hull which have been so fully written about, and which culminated August 16th in the surrender of Detroit to the British with toward two thousand American soldiers without any effort to sustain their soldierly function. This surrender was an irreparable loss to the Northwestern region, and of corresponding value to the British, on the account of the loss to the Americans of two thousand and four hundred stand of arms besides those in the arsenal; also of cannon as follows: of iron, nine 24-pounders; five 9, three 6, four 2, and two 1-pounders; and of howitzers, one 8 inch and one 5½ inch, according to the British official returns.

---

* This small fortification will here be styled Fort Miami No. 6. On account of the confusions that have arisen in the past, the other forts of this name will be here mentioned, viz: 1, Fort des Miamis built in November, 1679, by Sieur de la Salle near the mouth of the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan; 2, Fort Miami, built by the French about 1680-86 by the River St. Mary near the head of the Maumee; 3, Fort Miami, built by Commandant Raimond in 1749-50 by the River St. Joseph near the head of the Maumee to succeed number two, see map *ante* page 97; 4, Fort Miami temporarily built by United States troops about 1790 by the Ohio at the mouth of the Little Miami River; 5, Fort Miami, built by the British in the spring and summer of 1794 on the left bank of the Maumee River at the lower part of the present plat of the Village of Maumee, Ohio. See the article on the Forts Miami in the *Ohio Archaelogical and Historical Quarterly* April, 1903, volume xii page 120 *et seq.* by Charles E. Slocum.

The Ohio volunteers in this unfortunate army were paroled and sent across Lake Erie to Cleveland whence they walked to their several homes. They were exchanged in March or early April, 1813. General Hull and the United States troops were retained as prisoners of war, and were sent to Montreal.

An additional two hundred and thirty volunteers under Captain Henry Brush, with one hundred beef cattle and other food supplies sent by Governor Meigs to reinforce the army at Detroit, were held by the British from advancing beyond the River Raisin from the first days of August without relief from Detroit. General Hull included this force in his surrender; but when Captain Elliott, son of the notorious Captain Matthew Elliott, and attendants came to claim this prize Captain Brush placed them under arrest and immediately started his command and supplies southward, and conducted them back to Governor Meigs.

When the critical state of affairs at Detroit was made known to Governor Meigs he immediately ordered the remaining part of Ohio's quota of the one hundred thousand detached militia, which the President was authorized to levy among the States, twelve hundred in number, to rendezvous under Brigadier General Tupper at Urbana which was then well in the edge of the wilderness. When the Governor learned of the loss of Detroit he was active in placing every effective force and point in good condition for successful defense against the savages; also in advising the frontiersmen to gather and build blockhouses for the protection of their families.

Kentucky, under the Governorship of the veteran General Charles Scott, was prompt in gathering her quota of ten regiments of about five hundred and fifty men each. Governor Harrison who, the preceding year, had been commissioned to command the troops in Indiana and Illinois Territories had, with his characteristic thoughtfulness and good judgment, secured places of refuge for the settlers in his domain. He was also authorized to call on the Governor of Kentucky for any soldiers needed from that State, who were not in service. By invitation of Governor Scott, his comrade in General Wayne's campaign through Ohio, he visited Frankfort, inspected the militia, and was given a public reception, the principal citizens including Henry Clay uniting to do him honor; and in order that he might be chief in command of the Kentucky forces, Governor Scott commissioned him 25th August, 1812, Major General of the Militia of Kentucky by brevet. It was not known by either party that President Madison had commissioned him 22nd August Brigadier General in the Army of the United States. Writing to Governor Meigs on the 27th from Cincinnati, General Harrison stated that the Kentucky troops then with him were two regiments of infantry and one of mounted riflemen, which were ordered at once to Urbana; and that three regiments of infantry, one of dragoons, and one of mounted riflemen, were in full march to join him — the whole number being over four thousand men. He further stated that 'should the report of the capture of General Hull's army prove untrue, I shall join them either at that place [Urbana] or before they reach it, and proceed to Detroit without waiting for the regiments in my rear.' He also enquired what assistance could be given him from Ohio.'

The Kentucky troops marched up the Miami Valley and were overtaken by General Harrison the third day. September 2nd, when above Dayton, they were overtaken by an express bearing the United States commission for General Harrison, and instructions for him to take command of the Indiana and Illinois troops and cooperate with General Hull and Governor Howard of Missouri Territory, as General James Winchester had been assigned to the command of the Northwestern Army. The march was continued to Piqua where they arrived September 3rd to learn that Fort Wayne, which had been rebuilt by Colonel Thomas Hunt in 1804, was strongly besieged by savages and that a strong command of British and savages had been sent from Malden for the conquest of the Maumee and Wabash valleys. The Aborigine Agent at Piqua, John Johnston, at the request of General Harrison sent some Shawnee scouts to the site of Fort Defiance to ascertain if any British force had passed up the Maumee to the siege of Fort Wayne. Captain John Logan a Shawnee half-breed was also sent to Fort Wayne to learn and to report its condition as soon as possible.*

Immediate action seemed imperative and, without awaiting General Winchester's arrival or his orders, General Harrison ordered Lieutenant Colonel John Allen's regiment of United States troops, with two companies from Colonel Lewis' regiment and one company from Colonel Scott's regiment to prepare for a forced march to the relief of Fort Wayne.† A delay of two days of the cavalry was necessary to receive flints for their guns and a few other supplies that were daily expected; and at dawn of the 6th September they moved briskly forward in light marching equipment, and came up to Colonel Allen's command early on the 8th at St. Marys (Girty Town, so named from James — not Simon — Girty's trading house) where an express from General Harrison had overtaken Colonel Allen with orders to halt and build a palisaded fort for protection of the sick and security of provisions. Here they were joined by Major Richard M. Johnson with a corps of Kentucky mounted volunteers. That night Aborigines were seen spying the encampment but they did not molest. They returned to the besiegers of Fort Wayne with the report that 'Kentuck was coming as numerous as the trees.' Here the spy Captain Logan reported the distressed condition of Fort Wayne, he having evaded the besiegers and returned in safety. The afternoon of the 9th September the army encamped at Shane's (Chesne's) Crossing of the River St. Mary, at the present Rockford, where they met Colonel Adams with a good force of Ohio Volunteer Cavalry. From this place the combined forces moved cautiously and in as near battle order as practicable. General Harrison had been an apt student of General Wayne's success. He fortified the camp each night, and marched through the forest in such order by day as to prevent being ambuscaded or attacked unawares; and he kept well-informed regarding the temper and condition of each corps. Captain Logan and another Shawnee acted as guides, while scouts and an advance guard were maintained. These discovered an ambush of savages at the narrow crossing of the marshy ancient channel of the River St. Mary, about five miles southeast of Fort Wayne. As the army approached this place the cavalry under Majors Johnson and Adams were sent around to the right and left. The length of the swampy portion was about one mile and its width about nine hundred feet excepting the part most feared which was about three hundred feet across. But one savage was seen by this force and he a mile distant. They forsook their hiding places on approach of the cavalry.

---

* This half-breed Shawnee was captured when a boy by the Kentuckians, and he lived some years in the family of General Logan, hence his name. He grew to noble stature, and with manly qualities. Upon return to his people in Ohio, he became a chief and governed the sentiments of many of his tribe favorably to the Americans. He will be referred to again.

† Early the next day, the 5th September, General Harrison paraded the remainder of the troops and delivered to them a speech, detailing the duties of soldiers, and stating if there was any person who would not submit to such regulations, or who was afraid to risk his life in defense of his country, he might return home. Only one man desired to return; and his friends having obtained leave, as usual, to escort him on his way, he was hoisted on a rail and carried to the Big Miami, in the waters of which they absolved him from the obligations of courage and patriotism, and then gave him leave of absence—Captain Robert M'Afee's *His. of the Late War* [1812] page 121.

The scouts soon reconnoitered the country around Fort Wayne to find that the savages had made good their escape. That afternoon most of the army encamped near the Fort where a short time before had been a comfortable village. It was now in ruins, having been burned by the savages together with the United States Factory (Trading Agency Building) which had been erected to supply the ungrateful wretches with farming utensils and the comforts of civilized life. The following letter written by Lieutenant Daniel Curtis is here given as a description of the Siege of Fort Wayne by an officer who experienced it:

FORT WAYNE October 4, 1812.

FRIEND CULLEN: As our difficulties for the moment have in some manner subsided and as I have been so fortunate as to survive the seige, it affords me the highest satisfaction to have it in my power to communicate to you some among many of the most important occurrences since my arrival at this place. I arrived here on the 5th of June after a successful passage, and killed two deer on the way. I was on my arrival and still continue to be highly delighted with the place and my situation, except perhaps I might be better suited with a more active employment than I have had till about the fourth of last month.

Shortly after my arrival Lieut. Whistler left this place for Detroit (which perhaps you are acquainted with) and has not yet returned; we presume he has gone to take a peep at Montreal with the other unfortunate beings included in the capitulation of Gen. Hull to the British. Nothing of an important nature transpired till about the 7th of August, when our captain received a note from General Hull stating that Fort Dearborn was to be evacuated and requesting the Captain to communicate the same to Capt. Wells and Mr. Stickney, and ask them to point out the most safe and expeditious route for Capt. Heald to take from Chicago to Detroit. The gentlemen were consulted on the subject, and concluded that by way of this place would be the best route; and in order to secure as much of the public property at that place as possible, Capt. Wells thought proper to use his endeavors to that effect.

Accordingly on the 8th [August, 1812] Capt. [William] Wells, with a party of thirty-five Miami Aborigines with their pack horses, and one of our soldiers with five of our public horses, started to assist Capt. Heald in the evacuation of Chicago. On the morning of the 19th one of the Aborigines that accompanied Capt. Wells returned bringing the intelligence that on the morning of the 15th Capt. Heald and his company with Capt. Wells were all cut off, the particulars of which he then related. They arrived at Chicago on the 13th where were encamped then about 500 Aborigines of different tribes, some of whom were known to be at enmity with our government. Capt. Wells being well acquainted with Aborigine customs and seeing the difficulties likely to attend Capt. Heald in getting away from his post, used every exertion in his power to effect an evacuation without the loss of men. He even gave up the arsenal and magazine stores to satisfy their savage ferocity, [but he poured the large stock of alcoholic liquor into the river and the powder into the water-well. These were the articles most desired by the savages] but to no effect, and then agreed to deliver up all the cattle (about 100 head) and made them several valuable presents, in hope of being permitted to depart in peace.

The fatal morning arrived, and while the blood-thirsty savages were killing and dressing their beeves, the garrison [fort] was evacuated, Capt. Heald and Wells marching in front, the baggage wagons next, the women and children next to them, followed by the soldiers and the thirty-five Miamis with their pack-horses bringing up the rear. They had not passed one mile from their little asylum when the alarm was given that the enemy, about 400 in number, were close upon them. A kind of hollow square was immediately formed encompassing the women and children, and two rounds fired; but being overpowered by numbers, the brave, the innocent, the fair and the helpless fell a prey to the savage cruelty of the tomahawk and scalping knife. We have since been told by another Aborigine that Capt. Heald and wife (both wounded) Mr. Kinzy and wife, Lieut. Helms and wife, and nineteen soldiers were made prisoners and are to be transported to Montreal or Quebec, with other prisoners taken at the capitulation, which perhaps you know better than I do. Thus ends the fate of Chicago and its worthy commander.*

The success of this post [Fort Wayne] and the fate of its great, worthy and intrepid [?] commander I now proceed to relate, and in some instances to particularize. The Aborigines, since the news of Chicago, except some of the Miamis, have expressed and manifest a very different disposition from anything discovered in them previous to that event. Many attempts have been made to send expresses through to Detroit and many failed, either by being killed or driven back by the Aborigines. A Mr. Johnson an express to Piqua, Ohio, was killed on the evening of the 28th [August] before he had gone half a mile from the post. He was shot through the body, tomahawked, scalped, stabbed in twenty-three places, and beaten and bruised in the most cruel and barbarous manner. The next day an Aborigine came within hearing of our sentinels and hailed, requesting admittance into the garrison. This was the first instance since my acquaintance at this place of an Aborigine hesitating or expressing any fear in approaching the garrison. His business was to request of our captain a white flag that some of the chiefs might come and speak with him and the Aborigine agent, a Mr. Stickney. The flag was granted under a promise of its being returned that day; but the rascals kept it several days, during which time they were constantly plundering our gardens and cornfields, and were killing and carrying away our cattle and hogs immediately under our guns and we poor soldiers, either from cowardice or some other agency in our captain, were not suffered to fire a gun but obliged to suffer their repeated insults to pass with impunity.

---

* See Captain Nathan Heald's Report of the evacuation of Fort Dearborn and the subsequent massacre. M'Afee, in his *History of the Late War* (War of 1812) states that Captain Wells started from

On the evening of the 4th of September the flag returned accompanied by several chiefs, and after being asked whether they wished to remain at peace with us or be considered in an open state of warfare, the head chief among them observed: 'You know that Mackinaw is taken, Detroit is in the hands of the British, and Chicago has fallen; and you must expect to fall next, and that in a short time!' Immediately our great captain invited the savage rascal over to his quarters and after drinking three glasses of wine with him rose from his seat and observed: 'My good friend, I love you; I will fight for you; I will die by your side. You must save me!' and then gave him a half dollar as a token of friendship, inviting him at the same time to come and breakfast with him the next morning. The chief and his party retired to their camps, but instead of accepting his invitation to breakfast sent five of their young warriors, who secreted themselves behind a roothouse [house for vegetables] near the garrison, from which they shot two of our men about sunrise as they were passing from a small hotel near that place.

The night of the 5th arrived and our captain had not drawn a sober breath since the chiefs left the garrison the night before. From the movement of the Aborigines in the course of the day, Lieut. Ostrander and myself expected to have some sport before the next morning and were not disappointed in our conjectures, for at about 8 p. m. a general shout from the enemy was heard, succeeded by a firing of small arms on every side of us. The alarm post of every man, as well as the respective duties of Mr. Ostrander and myself having been regulated during the day, the enemy had not time to fire a second round before we were ready and opened three broadsides upon them, and sent them a few shells from our howitzer which we presume must have raked the skins of many. We exchanged three general shots when I discovered from the flash of their guns that they were secreted behind the building, fences and shrubbery near the garrison, and ordered the men to cease firing till further orders, thinking the enemy would conclude that we were either frightened or scarce of ammunition, and perhaps would venture a little nearer. Although our ceasing to fire did not appear to bring them nearer, yet it tended to concentrate them more in a body though they continued an irregular fire about half an hour, without our returning a shot. As soon as a large body

---

Fort Wayne about the 3rd August, 1812, with about fifty Miamis, and arrived at Chicago on the 12th, . . that the garrison of Fort Dearborn numbered seventy soldiers. . . . That at the massacre of the garrison the head of Captain Wells was cut off, and his heart cut out and eaten by the savages who were of the Winnebago, Pottawotami, and Ottawa tribes—principally of the two last named. They were directly incited to this massacre by Tecumseh.

had collected at one point we threw a couple of shells from our howitzers which soon made them disperse, and but few shots were received from them the remainder of the night. The next day they kept up a firing from behind fences, buildings and shrubbery near the garrison, till about 3 p. m. in order, we presume, to disturb our rest, knowing that we had been all night on the alert. Our captain still continued drunk as a fool, and perfectly incapable of exercising rationality on any subject whatever, but was constantly abusing and illtreating everyone that came in his presence. The night of the 6th [September] approached; and as we are told that caution is the mother of safety, we had the roofs of our houses all watered, as well as the pickets on the inside, our water casks all filled, and buckets all ready in case of the enemy's attempting to throw fire, which they had endeavored several times to do without success. This was all done and every man at his post before dark. Between 8 and 9 p. m. we heard a most tremendous noise, singing, dancing and whooping, and when they arrived within a proper distance they hailed and asked us in plain English what we intended to do, whether surrender or to fight? They said they had 500 men with them and that they expected 700 more the next day, and that in three days' time they would show us what they could do. We answered them that we were ready, and bade them to come on; that we were determined to a man to fight till we should lose our lives before we would yield an inch to them, and then we gave a general shout round the works in true Aborigine style, which they instantly returned, commencing at the same time a general fire which was kept up on both sides with much warmth till about 11 o'clock, without the loss or injury of a man on our side; but, from appearance, they must have lost many as they were very quiet till towards night.

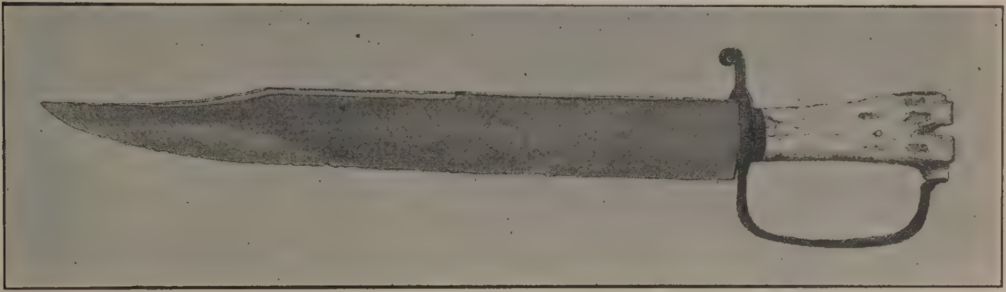
The siege continued from the morning of the 5th till the morning of the 10th, both day and night, much in the manner above described, and the fears and troubles of our great and intrepid commander were continually drowned in the excessive use of the ardents. Our fears and apprehensions from the disorder and confusion he created among the men, were one of our greatest troubles, and we had everything prepared at one time to silence his noise and clamor by coercive measures. He would frequently talk of surrendering if the Aborigines were likely to be too much for us, and particularly if they or the British were to bring one or more pieces of cannon* which they took at Chicago and place them near the garrison, when he knew that the largest piece at Chicago was only a three-pounder; and when told by one of his subalterns, that the first person in the garrison who should offer to surrender to the Aborigines or British at the approach of no heavier piece than a three-pounder should instantly be shot, he offered no resistance, but remained silent on the subject.

After the 10th we rested in tranquility, but could see large bodies of Aborigines between that time and the 12th running in great haste across the prairies, and many without arms. We were at a loss to determine the cause of this movement, but concluded that they must have met with some opposition or discovered the approach of an army between this place and Piqua, as they were running from that quarter. About

---

* The armament of Fort Wayne at this time consisted of four small cannon — M'Afee's *History of the War*, page 127. On the night of the 6th September the whole body of Aborigines, supposed to have been six hundred strong, attacked the Fort. They attempted to scale the palisades, but so vigilant and skillful were the garrison that the savages were not permitted to do any damage. Perceiving such assaults to be useless, they resolved to employ strategy in the morning. Two logs were formed into the shape of cannon and placed in battery before the Fort. A half-breed with a flag approached and informed the commandant that the British, then on the march, had sent them two battery cannon, and if surrender was not immediately made the Fort would be battered down. He also threatened a general massacre of the garrison within three days as a reinforcement of seven hundred Aborigine warriors were expected the next day. The troops were not frightened by the 'Quaker guns' — M'Afee, page 126. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, page 314. Different later writers have amplified their suppositions regarding phases of this siege for local newspapers, and for local addresses.

3 o'clock p. m. of the 12th [September] to our great joy we discovered the approach of a small troop of horses, and on their coming up to the garrison, we learned it was the advance guard of an army of about 5000 men [the number here given is about twice too large] under the command of Brigadier General Harrison. You may rest assured friend C. that we lost no time after the general had pitched upon and regulated his encampment, in making known to him the late conduct of our great, worthy, and mortal Captain James Rhea. The General, after hearing with great attention what we had to relate, expressed his great astonishment at the breach of confidence in the captain, and desired to have everything reduced to writing and the charges produced in regular form, which was done that evening and the next morning handed in. About 10 o'clock the captain was honored with a note from the General, requesting him to deliver the bearer his long knife and consider himself under arrest till his late conduct should be brought to a public investigation. Shortly afterwards the General sent one of his aids to us, requesting to know whether we would withdraw the arrest in case the captain would resign. We at first declined, but on further request of the General, we consented, on the consideration of his having been a long time in the service, but more particularly on account of his having a young family. His resignation was sent in and accepted, to take effect on the 31st of December next, and in two days he left this place for the state of Ohio. Thus ends the success of this place so far, and thus you see the evils, the disappointments and mortifications, attendant upon cowardice and intoxication in mortal men.



A sword twenty-one inches long that was plowed up a few years ago while grading the Lakeside Addition to Fort Wayne on the site of the ancient Miami Village at the head of the Maumee River. See No. 2 A on Map page 97. Probably this weapon was made by a French Armorer (who accompanied some of the early French troops) for a savage warrior who presented a bone from one of his human victims for the handle. Possibly it was made somewhat in imitation of and to cope with the 'long knives' of the Kentuckians which the savages dreaded. In the Author's Collection.

Yours, DANIEL CURTIS.

Major Benjamin Franklin Stickney United States Agent to the Aborigines was stationed at Fort Wayne in 1812 and, in later years, wrote something of a description of the Siege. His manuscript reads, in part, that after the massacre at Chicago, those Pottawotamis engaged in it, and who promised safe escort of the garrison to Fort Wayne, spent some time about Fort Dearborn dividing and enjoying the spoils which had been given to them by Captains Heald and Wells just before the massacre. They then went to the St. Joseph River of Lake Michigan where they were assembled in council by British emissaries who instigated the sieges of Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison on the Wabash. The British agents promised that in case the Aborigines would besiege these forts, and prevent their evacuation by the garrisons, they should be joined in one moon by a large British force from Malden and Detroit with artillery which would be able to demolish the stockades and give up the garrisons to massacre and spoil —and their success in this would expose the whole frontier to their devastation. The siege was to be commenced in twenty days after the council adjourned.

Antoine Bondie, who had lived with the Aborigines from his twelfth year, was at this time about fifty years of age; had married a Miami and been a member of the tribe many years, conforming to their habits and mode of life. He had also been a trader among them in their village near Fort Wayne. He was notified by Me-te-a, Pottawotami chief, of the proposed siege for the purpose of saving him from the destruction they planned for the garrison. Bondie told Mr. Stickney of the designed siege and he informed Captain Rhea, commandant of Fort Wayne, and Captain Zachary Taylor of Fort Harrison, also General Harrison. Captain Rhea discredited the report, but Agent Stickney sent the women and children at Fort Wayne to Piqua; and within a few hours after these several expresses were sent the Aborigines drew their lines of guard around Fort Wayne. On the 5th August Agent Stickney was prostrated by a severe illness from which he became convalescent only after twelve days. He was then conveyed from the Agency House to the Fort for safety. Bondie and his family also moved into the Fort.

The number of the Aborigine warriors around was estimated at five hundred. They were secreted around, hoping to catch the sentries careless or off guard. They essayed strategy. They killed Stephen Johnson clerk in the Agency Store who started for Piqua to visit his wife. They killed the garrison's cattle and hogs, stole the horses, and committed all depredations possible. Both parties wished to delay the final conflict —the Americans for General Harrison's arrival, the Aborigines for the arrival of the British—but they kept up their efforts at strategy.

One day the Aborigines expressed a desire to be admitted to the Fort to see the Agent, to agree upon some terms for 'burying the tomahawk' and asked for a signal by which they might approach the Fort and be permitted to talk with their 'white father.' A white cloth was sent to them to be used as a flag of truce. For several days they delayed making use of the flag, and continued their depredations. Agent Stickney sent a message to them by an Aborigine, that they had soiled his flag and he could not suffer them to retain it any longer; they must return it immediately. The next day the whole body moved up to the Fort bearing the white flag in front. The gates of the Fort had been kept closed but the savages were in hopes by this scheme to obtain the admission of a large number. The Agent, still very weak from his sickness, with difficulty walked to the gate and designated by name the chiefs to be admitted, who upon their entrance within the stockade, one by one, were examined closely and disarmed by the guard. Thirteen were admitted, and they followed the Agent to his sleeping apartment. The officers of the garrison remained in their quarters. The Agent addressed a note to Captain Rhea requesting that the guard be paraded and kept under arms during the continuance of the council. As usual tobacco was given to the chiefs. When their pipes were smoked out, Winnemac arose and, addressing the Agent, said the Pottawotamis did not kill his clerk Johnson; but the young men could not be controlled. The soldiers had been killed, and the horses taken without the knowledge or consent of the chiefs. 'But,' he continued, 'if my Father wishes war, I am a man.' With this expression he struck his hand upon a knife that was concealed under his blanket. The Agent at this time did not understand the language, but saw there was something serious impending. Antoine Bondie, who was present and understood the whole force of what was said, sprang to his feet and, striking his own knife, shouted in Pottawotami 'I am a man also.' This excited the interpreter, but the savages, contrary to Winnemac's expectations, remained quiet. Winnemac, turning to the principal chief, An-ouk-sa, who had been watching the soldiers through the window, received from him signs intimating that their intended strategy was at an end. Their plans as later divulged were for Winnemac to assassinate Agent Stickney, and others to kill the military officers, while the others opened the gates for the outer savages to enter for a general massacre.

About the 1st of September William Oliver, Captain John Logan and thirty other Shawnees, arrived at the Fort on horseback at full speed and 'in full yell' of triumph. Oliver was then about twenty-three years old. He had been a sutler at the Fort, and went to Cincinnati on business before there was a suspicion of siege. After a short rest his escort started southward to hasten forward the relieving army. The garrison was doomed to a longer state of suspense. The anxiety became intense; "and it was through extreme good fortune, perhaps mere accident, that the garrison did hold out with so little good management. The commanding officer was drunk nearly all the time, and the two lieutenants were inefficient men, entirely unfit to hold commissions of any grade.* The non-commissioned officers and privates, eighty in number, behaved very well. The Aborigine Agent was feeble and incapable of much exertion. William Oliver, though a private citizen, was the most efficient man in the Fort after his return."

---

*Probably these extreme statements of Agent Stickney should be received with some allowance. It is significant that neither the letter of Lieutenant Curtis, given in full on preceding pages, nor Captain

During the siege the garrison lost but three men killed. From subsequent information it was believed that the savages lost about twenty-five.

The savages, before retreating from the Siege of Fort Wayne, destroyed all the food they could not take away, cattle and crops. They also burned all the buildings outside the stockade, including those of the United States Trading Agency a little southwest of the Fort, and those belonging to the family of William Wells who met death in the massacre at Chicago.

The next day after his arrival at Fort Wayne General Harrison sent Colonel Payne with troops down Little River to the Wabash. They destroyed several Miami villages and corn, but did not find any Aborigines.* The command of Colonel Samuel Wells was also sent the 13th on like mission to the Elk Heart River, about sixty miles distant, where they destroyed the town and supplies of the Pottawotamis under chief Onoxse or Five Medals.† This was a forced and very exhausting march. Many of the infantry sickened on the return and came straggling in, helped along by the cavalry, after the arrival of the main body on the 18th September. Another detachment under Colonel Simrall, who followed the army to Fort Wayne with three hundred and twenty dragoons with muskets and a company of mounted riflemen arriving on the 17th September, was sent on the evening of the 18th to Eel River about twenty miles to the northwest, where they destroyed Little Turtle's town‡ leaving only the house built for him by the United States in recognition of his adherence to the Treaty of Greenville.

General Winchester arrived at Fort Wayne September 19th to take command of the entire army. James Winchester was born at

---

Robert B. M'Afee who was with the relieving army, do not mention the arrival of William Oliver in company with Captain Logan.

* In one of these villages an unusual mode of burial was recognized in a tomb built of logs with the interstices filled with wet clay. The body was that of a chief and the articles noticed as having been deposited with the body, were a blanket underneath, his gun and pipe by his side, a small tin pan containing a wood spoon on his breast, and a number of ear rings and brooches.

† A pole before the cabin of chief O-nox-se supported a red flag with a broom above. A white flag was waving at the tomb of an old woman. This tomb was not desecrated by the soldiers; but they saw the body in a sitting posture with face toward the east; with a basket at her side containing the bills and claws of owls and hawks, a variety of bones, and bunches of roots tied together, from which it was inferred that she was respected as a sorceress. In one of the huts was found a morning report of one of General Hull's captains at Detroit; a copy of the *Liberty Hall* newspaper printed in Cincinnati which contained an account of General Harrison's army; several coarse bags which appeared to have contained shot; and pieces of boxes with the name London and Malden painted on them—M'Afee, page 130.

‡ Early in the year the Miamis, excepting those associated with Little Turtle, joined Tecumseh and the Prophet and, after the death of Little Turtle 14th July, 1812, and of Captain Wells at Chicago, the others went to the British.

White Level (now Westminster) Maryland, 6th February, 1752. He was appointed a Lieutenant in the Third Regiment Maryland Infantry 27th May, 1778, and served in the Continental Army until captured by the British a few months later. He was exchanged 22nd December, 1780, and soon thereafter he removed to Sumner County, Tennessee, where he married. He there attained a good property and maintained a liberal establishment on a large estate. He was commissioned Brigadier General in the United States Army 27th March, 1812, and after the surrender of General Hull he was directed by the Secretary of War to take command of the Army of the Northwest. With commendable promptitude he started northward, stopping in Kentucky to learn of the preparations there. Upon his arrival at Cincinnati 9th September he wrote to Governor Meigs announcing his mission, asking for reinforcements of Ohio militia, and for a meeting at Piqua. With a small detachment of troops he moved northward along the way of the preceding army to Fort Wayne. General Harrison received him with due deference, and the command of the army was at once given over to him in complete exhibition of the ready obedience of the true soldier to his ranking officer under very trying conditions. General Harrison had been an efficient aide-de-camp to General Wayne in his successful campaign against the Aborigines in this Basin in 1794; later, he served as Secretary of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River; and he had been an efficient first Governor of Indiana Territory, and Superintendent of the Affairs of the Aborigines during the last eleven years. No man knew this frontier and wilderness region, and the Aborigines, better than he from long personal experience. He had met the different tribes of Aborigines in thirteen important treaties and they, to the utmost of their ability and in their calmer moments, had acknowledged his superiority and his fairness. He had later experience in the command of an army against treacherous and impetuous night assault in the Battle of Tippecanoe. The soldiers of Ohio and Kentucky, as well as of Indiana, knew his wisdom and his bravery which inspired confidence, and they wanted him as their commander. The Governors of Ohio and Kentucky were of like mind, and they had commissioned him accordingly. Notwithstanding all this, General Harrison in obedience to the command of the Secretary of War at once accepted as his ranking officer a stranger to himself, to the soldiers, to this wilderness country, to the ways of the Aborigines and to the condition of affairs. He did this September 19th and immediately, after issuing orders to the army introducing General Winchester and urging strict obedience to his commands, started on his return.

At St. Marys General Harrison wrote to Governor Meigs under date of the 20th, and to Governor Shelby the 22nd September, that 'from Fort Wayne there is a path, which has been sometimes used by the Aborigines, leading up to St. Joseph, and from thence by the headwaters of the River Raisin to Detroit. By this route it appears to me very practicable to effect a *coup-de-main* upon that place, and if I can collect a few hundred more mounted men I shall attempt it.'* This route, however, was not entered upon. There had arrived at St. Marys up to this time, of Kentucky troops, Colonel Joshua Barbee's regiment which was ordered to build there a fortification and stockade as a storehouse and protection for supplies, which was named Fort Barbee; Colonel Robert Rogers' regiment, and Colonel William Jennings' regiment of riflemen; also, of Ohio men, a corps of cavalry commanded by Colonel Findlay. The cavalry was ordered to burn the Ottawa towns by the Blanchard River† while Colonel Jennings was ordered to open a direct road toward Defiance, and to build a post by the Auglaise River for the protection of supplies. This post was

A GLIMPSE OF THE VILLAGE OF FORT JENNINGS

Putnam County, Ohio, May 28, 1902. Looking westward up the Auglaise River at low stage of water. The first small building on the right marks the site of the Fort Jennings built in October, 1812, and abandoned late in the year 1814.

---

* Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* page 326.

† There were two Ottawa (often called Tawa) towns by the Blanchard River at this time, the Upper and the Lower, about two miles apart, the lower being at the site of the present Village of Ottawa, seat of government of Putnam County, Ohio.

named Fort Jennings in his honor, which name the pleasant village at its site yet retains.

Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky on the 5th September, 1812, addressed a letter to William Eustis, Secretary of War, suggesting a Board of War for this western country; also recommending General Harrison as commander-in-chief, and mentioned evils that would result from continuing General Winchester as chief in command. Mr. Eustis replied under date of the 17th that General Harrison would at once be given chief command; and at Piqua on the 24th September, General Harrison received a letter from the Secretary of War stating that "the President is pleased to assign to you the command of the Northwestern Army which, in addition to the regular troops and rangers in that quarter, will consist of the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, Ohio, and three thousand from Virginia and Pennsylvania, making your whole force ten thousand men. . . Colonel Buford, deputy commissioner at Lexington, is furnished with funds, and is subject to your orders. . . You will command such means as may be practicable. Exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment." . . Thus General Harrison was invested with all the powers necessary or desired for the proposed Board of War, while immediately subject to the President.

General Winchester wrote from Fort Wayne 22nd September to Governor Meigs that "I rejoice at the prospect of regaining lost territory . . and with hope to winter in Detroit or its vicinity. . . You will please furnish two regiments of soldiers to join me at the foot of the lowest Maumee Rapids about the 10th or 15th of October, well clothed for a fall campaign. Arms and ammunition can be drawn from Newport, Kentucky. It is extremely desirous to me that no time be lost in supplying this requisition. The cold season is fast approaching, and the stain on the American character by the surrender of Detroit not yet wiped away. If you can furnish one regiment to rendezvous at Piqua, and proceed to open and improve the road, by causeways, etc., to Defiance, it would greatly facilitate the transportation of supplies to this army, which is imperatively requisite to its welfare. This latter regiment might then return or proceed on after the army as circumstances should dictate." . . The soldiers forming his advance army, about two thousand in number each carrying six days' provisions, were started down the north bank of the Maumee River, retracing the route of General Anthony Wayne eighteen years before, after issuing the following carefully prepared Order of March:

CAMP HEAD OF THE MAUMEE, 22nd September, 1812.

The front guard in three lines, two deep in the road, and in Aborigine files on the flanks at distances of fifty and one hundred yards, as the ground will admit. A fatigue party to consist of one captain, one ensign, two sergeants, and two corporals, with fifty men, will follow the front guard for the purpose of opening the road. The remainder of the infantry to march on the flanks in the following order: Colonels Wells and Allen's regiments on the right, and Lewis and Scott's on the left. The general and brigade baggage, commissaries' and quartermasters' stores, immediately in the rear of the fatigue party. The cavalry in the following order: Captain Garrard and twenty of his men to precede the guard in front, and equally divided at the head of each line; a lieutenant and eighteen men in the rear of the whole army and baggage; the remainder of the cavalry equally divided on the flanks or the flank lines. The regimental baggage wagons will fall according to the respective ranks of their commanding officers.

The officers commanding corps previous to their marching will examine carefully the arms and ammunition of their respective corps, and see that they are in good order. They will also be particularly careful that the men do not waste their cartridges. No loaded muskets are to be put in the wagons. One half of the fatigue party is to work at one time, and the others will carry their arms.

The wagon master will attend to loading the wagons, and see that the various articles are put in in good order, and that each wagon and team carry a reasonable load. The hour of march will be 9 o'clock this morning. The officer of the day is charged with this order.

The line of battle will be the same as that of General Harrison in his last march to Fort Wayne. J. WINCHESTER, Brig. Gen. Commanding.

These precautions were well taken as companies of Aborigines were several times seen. A volunteer company of spies organized under Captain Ballard and Lieutenant Harrison Munday of the rifle regiment and Ensign Leggett of the 17th U. S. Infantry, marched in advance to reconnoiter the country. Ensign Leggett obtained permission the 25th September to go forward with four men of the Woodford, Kentucky company, as far as the ruins of Fort Defiance. While preparing their evening meal by the way, a Frenchman and eight savages surprised, assailed, and put them to death. The next day Captain Ballard's company discovered their bodies, and savages near who endeavored to draw the Americans into ambush, but they returned safely to the army. Lieutenant Munday with other spies soon discovered the same enemy and charged against them; but discovering their superior number while they were running to ambush, he hastily turned and retreated. Scouts Hickman and Riddle on the 26th crossed to the south side of the Maumee River and passed to the Auglaise which they also crossed and went thence to the Maumee about two miles below Defiance, thence, crossing to the north outer bank, they returned to the army having encircled an invading army without discovering any of its parts. Captain Ballard with his scouts, and forty of Captain Garrard's dragoons, were ordered to bury their dead comrades and, when nearing the Tiffin River on the 27th September, they discovered and charged an ambuscade of the same savages lingering near the bodies the day before, who now fled beyond pursuit. They were the advance line of the army marching against Fort Wayne, composed of two hundred

British Regular troops under Major Muir, and one thousand or more Aborigines under the notorious Colonel Matthew Elliott. A report received at Piqua that this army was about to start from Malden, decided General Harrison to hasten to the protection of Fort Wayne.

WINCHESTER FORD OF THE MAUMEE

At the low place just beyond the Fishing Lodge on the Left. Looking west up the river, in the north central part of Section 30, Defiance Township, Ohio, 31st October, 1902.

They brought four cannon and other heavy equipment by boats as far as the ruins of Fort Defiance, and thence they continued up the south bank of the Maumee on foot. They had advanced about twelve miles above Defiance when their spies captured, and took before Major Muir, Sergeant M'Coy one of General Winchester's scouts who exagerated the strength of the American Army, and reported that it was soon to be reinforced by like numbers coming down the Auglaise River which would cut off the chance of the British retreat. This report agreeing quite well with that of his own spies alarmed Major Muir who ordered a retreat to Defiance where his boats were prepared for hasty return down the Maumee. Desiring to form an ambuscade for General Winchester's army at the ford across the Tiffin, he attempted to gather his forces for that purpose on the 28th but found that his Aborigine allies had largely deserted. The report of Sergeant M'Coy, the retreat to Defiance, the preparation of the boats, and the successful charge of Captain Ballard the 27th, were enough for them. Fresh reports of the advance of the American Army decided Muir and Elliott to hastily retreat; and to facilitate the speed of their boats they threw into the river one cannon, at least, with part of their heavy ammunition. These were thrown into deep water toward the north shore about one-half mile below Fort Defiance point, nearly opposite the mouth of Shawnee Glen; and they were removed from the water and used by the advancing Americans.

General Winchester advanced cautiously and, fearing that the enemy would oppose his crossing Tiffin River, he crossed to the south side of the Maumee four and a half miles above the Tiffin and about six miles by river above Defiance. Here he found the trail of the retreating army, showing signs of artillery. Four mounted squads of soldiers were dispatched, one to notify General Harrison of the enemy and that the army was short of food, and the others to determine the whereabouts of the enemy. These squads soon reported that the British had retreated many miles down the Maumee, leaving some Aborigines on horses to watch the movements of the Americans. General Winchester advanced and September 30th fortified an encampment (Number 1 see map *ante* page 191) on the high south bank of the Maumee opposite the mouth of the Tiffin River. The bushes had grown so thick and high since General Wayne's clearing here in 1794 that it required much labor to clear the desired ground across to the Auglaise River and to Fort Defiance point. The soldiers had been on short rations and, as the work of clearing began, they joyfully hailed the return of Captain Garrard's dragoons which had been sent a day or two before to hasten supplies from Colonel Jennings.

General Harrison received his commission of appointment to succeed General Winchester September 24th while at Piqua, whereupon he renewed his efforts to hasten forward troops and supplies. On the 30th General Winchester's dispatch regarding the enemy was received; and a few minutes afterward a letter was received from Governor Meigs also informing him of the strong British forces opposing General Winchester. There were at this time about three thousand troops at Fort Barbee embracing the cavalry companies of Captains Bacon, Clark and Roper, and the volunteers gathered by Major Richard M. Johnson who had been chosen Colonel of these combined forces; also the Ohio cavalry under Colonel James Findlay. These cavalry commands had been organized into a brigade under the general command of Brigadier General Edward W. Tupper 'a gentleman about fifty years of age of a respectable soldierly appearance' who had gathered a thousand men for the war. General Harrison at once set this army in motion for Defiance with three days rations. Notwithstanding a severe rain they arrived at Fort Jennings the first night and there laid in the cold without tents till early morning on hastily arranged brush from the beech trees used in building the fort. Intelligence was here received that the enemy had retreated without attack.

Colonel Barbee's regiment was ordered back to Fort Barbee, and Colonel Poague was ordered to clear a road to Defiance. After opening this road he was ordered to build a fort at the Ottawa town by the Auglaise River about twelve miles northward from Fort Barbee. This fortification Colonel Poague named Fort Amanda in honor of his wife.*

General Harrison with the cavalry continued down the Auglaise, the latter encamping for the night at Three Mile Creek (see map *ante* page 191) while the General with his guard rode into Winchester's encampment by the Maumee early in the evening of October 2nd. Here he found a sad state of affairs. The food supplies had become very short, and the men were suffering from insufficient clothing and sickness. They had not been favorably impressed by their General; one regiment in particular had become fully discouraged; had murmured, and the men were talking about returning to their homes which they would probably have done but for the efforts of Major Hardin and Colonel Allen. The next morning the cavalry marched by the camp and came to a parade dress. A special call to Winchester's troops promptly brought into ranks every man who was able for duty. They were paraded to the best advantage, and there was read to them the following General Order:

Camp at Defiance, October 3, 1812.

I have the honor of announcing to this army the arrival of General Harrison who is duly authorized by the executive of the Federal Government to take command of the Northwestern Army. This officer is enjoying the implicit confidence of the States from whose citizens this army is and will be collected and, possessing himself great military skill and reputation, the General is confident in the belief that his presence in the army, in the character of its chief, will be hailed with unusual approbation.

J. Winchester, Brig. Gen. U. S. Army.

The soldiers greeted General Harrison with great warmth; and he addressed them as a kind father would talk to his children (Atherton). He told them of expected bountiful supplies. He gave those who desired it liberty to return home; but he could not refrain from alluding to the mortification which he anticipated they would experience from the reception they would meet from the old and the young, who had applauded them on their march for the scene of war, as their gallant neighbors (M'Afee). The food brought with the visitors gave the hungry soldiers a better breakfast than they were accustomed to, which, with the parading and fraternizing of the cavalry, renewed the soldierly spirit; and the fact that General Harrison had been appointed chief in command went yet further to change the resolves of the disaffected ones and to bring about a settled state of feeling among all the men to remain and to endure all hardships.

---

* The site of Fort Amanda is on the left bank of the Auglaise River in the present Auglaise County, Ohio, near its north line. Before the organization of Auglaise it was in Allen County. This was also the site, or near the site, of General Wayne's Fort at the Head of the Auglaise—See *ante* pages 218, 227. There is now nothing to mark the place but remains of the water well, luxuriant vegetation, and grave stones recently erected by the United States Government in the garrison cemetery where seventy-five soldiers were buried. The fort enclosure was quadrangular in form with the usual blockhouse at each corner, the one at the southeast being the largest and used as officers' quarters. There was a well and a large storehouse in the center of the enclosure. This fort was an important station for rest and for the storing of supplies to be boated down the Auglaise River at proper stages of water. The boats for this purpose were built here, and this work, and the transportation of the supplies from Fort Loramie, required a good force of men. The last half of March, 1813, Colonel Miller arrived here from Chillicothe with one hundred and fifty men to build boats. The storehouse and blockhouses were used in after years by families, for religious and other meetings, and as the first postoffice. See J. D. Simkins' *Early History of Auglaise County.*

New plans were entered upon. They found General Wayne's Fort Defiance in ruins; and had it remained in good condition its size would have been inadequate for the demands at this time. The area embraced within the palisades of Fort Defiance was about ten thousand square feet, or about one quarter acre. General Harrison selected the site and drew the plan for a new fort to embrace over twelve times the ground space of Fort Defiance. A fatigue force of two hundred and fifty men was detailed under Major Joseph Robb with axes to cut timber for the buildings and palisades, and the work progressed as fast as the weakened condition of the men and the weather admitted.

A new encampment, Number Two, was established one mile southeast of Number One. It was located on the high left bank of the Auglaise River about one mile and a half above its mouth, by river, and occupied the ground north of Coe Run that is now the north part of Riverside Cemetery of the City of Defiance. A line of trees was felled across the neck of land between Encampments Numbers One and Two, to serve as an abatis and breastworks for the army's outpost guarding the entire peninsula between the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers—see map page 191. General Harrison, accompanied by Colonel Richard M. Johnson and his original battalion including Ward's and Ellison's companies, returned to Fort Barbee where these troops were honorably discharged October 7th, their term of enlistment having expired.

The feelings of General Winchester upon being superseded in command, have not been recorded. General Harrison treated him with great consideration and assigned him to the command of the Left Wing of the Northwestern Army, to include the United States troops and six regiments of Ohio and Kentucky militia. These troops were to superintend the transportation of supplies to the new fort in readiness for the advance movement; and they were instructed to possess the corn and other crops as soon as possible that had been abandoned by settlers along the lower Maumee.

The Right Wing of the Northwestern Army was to be composed of the brigades from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and one brigade from southeastern Ohio. This Wing was to proceed down the Sandusky River. During the latter part of the year 1812 the soldiers of the Right Wing built Fort Feree at Upper Sandusky; Fort Ball at the present Tiffin; and Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Ohio. General Tupper's command was styled the Center of the Northwestern Army, and was to move along Hull's Road by Forts M'Arthur, Necessity, and Findlay.

Looking north of west up the Auglaise River 15 April, 1901, from the foot of Wayne Street, Defiance, Ohio. The distant high bank shows the site of General Winchester's Encampment Number Two, and the Standpipe of the City Water Works toward the right marks the site of his Encampment Number One on bank of the Maumee River. See Map *ante* page 191.

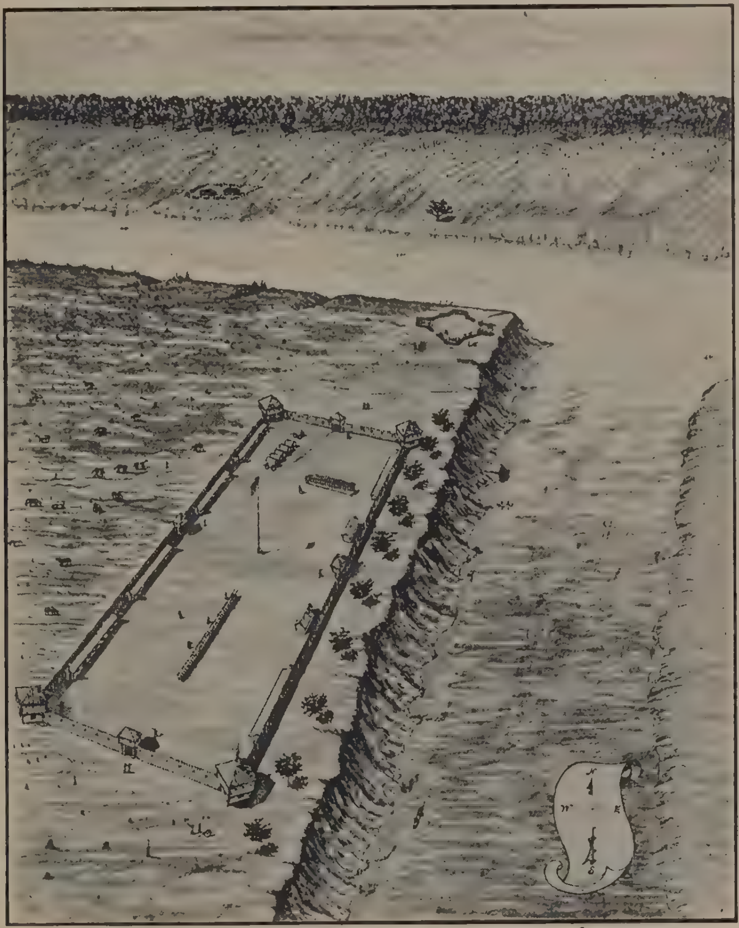
As further evidence of the desire to respect and honor the commander of the Left Wing, the new fort at Defiance was duly christened Fort Winchester. This Fort was completed by the soldiers working with short and often unwholesome rations, thinly clad, and with much suffering from inclement weather; but it was happily completed and fulfilled its mission during the war as an important stronghold for the defense of the territory of the upper rivers, as a rendezvous for troops and, later, for the storing of supplies to be boated down the Maumee River as wanted by the advancing troops. For some length of time it was the only obstruction against the incursions of the British and Aborigines into Northwestern Ohio.

Fort Winchester was styled a beautiful fort by William Atherton who was present during its construction.* It was built along the high and precipitous west bank of the Auglaise River, a line of apple trees planted by the early French alone intervening. Beginning about eighty yards south of the ruins of Fort Defiance, near the present First Street of the City of Defiance, Ohio, Fort Winchester extended southward to, or south of, Third Street a distance of over six hundred feet, and including the highest part of the natural terrace thereabout. Its east line was in or near Washington Street. It was in the form of a parallelogram, and extended in width to about Jefferson Street, its palisades including three acres or more of land. There was a strong two-story blockhouse at each of its four corners, a large gate midway of each side and end with a sentinel house above each one, and all were connected by a strong palisade of logs set on end deep into the ground snugly matched together and extending twelve to fifteen feet above ground, all pointed at the upper ends. A cellar was excavated under the blockhouse at the northeast corner, and from it a passage way under ground was made to the rock-bed of the Auglaise River and was there protected by logs so that abundance of water could be obtained from the river under protection from the enemy. The only ditches made were for drainage.

While at Defiance General Harrison suggested to General Winchester that two regiments of infantry be sent southward to be near the base of food and clothing supplies; and that General Tupper with all the cavalry, nine hundred and sixty in number, be sent down the Maumee beyond the lowest rapids to disperse any of the enemy who could be found, thus saving the crops there abandoned by the American settlers, and to return to Fort Barbee by way of the Ottawa (Tawa) towns by the Blanchard River. These suggested orders were not executed, the last one for several reasons principal among which were, damaged powder and scarcity of food which made it impossible to take adequate supplies for an expedition that might last a week or ten days; also lurking savages who were a constant and harassing menace at Fort Winchester; the dissatisfaction of some of the Kentucky troops with the command of General Tupper of the Ohio Militia; a misunderstanding between Generals Winchester and Tupper and the unfriendly treatment of the latter by the former; the weakening of Tupper's force by the withdrawal of Kentucky troops and Simrall's dragoons; and the dismissal of Tupper from the command of the expedition by Winchester who gave it to Colonel Allen of the regulars, which caused the Ohio troops to recross the Auglaise and positively refuse to march under any other than their own chosen leader.* The quarrel was between the regular and volunteer soldiers as well as their officers; and it defeated the proposed expedition of the Left Wing of the Army, which, Tupper

---

* *Narrative of the Sufferings and Defeat of the North-Western Army* by William Atherton, Frankfort, Kentucky, 1842.



FORT WINCHESTER

With Ruins of Fort Defiance at the junction of the Auglaise River on the right with the Maumee beyond. From personal interviews with persons who saw it, from researches, and from surveys, by Charles E. Slocum. Fort Winchester was completed 15th October, 1812, and was abandoned by United States troops in the spring of 1815.

---

*See General Tupper's report to General Harrison under date of Urbana October 12, 1812, given in full in *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States During the War with Great Britain in the years 1812-13-14 and 1815*, etc., collected and arranged by John Brannan, Washington, 1823. Also *History of the late War in the Western Country* by Robert B. M'Afee, pages 148,149; Brackenridge, page 59; Perkins, page 97; Lossing, page 331.

wrote, was at one time capable of tearing the British flag from the walls of Detroit. The time of enlistment of about three hundred mounted riflemen having expired, they were discharged, and they returned to their homes. Instead of leading his command down the Maumee River and then to St. Marys, as he was ordered to do, General Tupper went direct to Fort M'Arthur by way of the Ottawa towns. General Winchester preferred charges of insubordination against him, and General Harrison ordered his arrest; but at this time he was on an expedition to the lower Maumee and his trial did not occur until the next year after the defeat of Winchester's army at the River Raisin when the witnesses were captives with the British; and he was acquitted.

Ambuscades by the savages continued about Fort Winchester. Five soldiers who had strayed somewhat from their duty to gather wild plums were killed and scalped. Soldiers in Encampment Number Two were also fired upon from across the river, and one was killed. This caused an alarm call to arms, but the enemy escaped punishment. Scouting parties met the savages and suffered wounds from them, resulting in an occasional death. Comparative quiet, however, gradually pervaded the encampment.

Some breaches of discipline were noted, and their punishment relieved the monotony of camp life. On the 8th October Frederick Jacoby, a young man, was found asleep while posted as guard. He was sentenced by court martial to be shot. A platoon was ordered to take places before the paraded army and twenty paces from the prisoner who, blindfolded, was on his knees preparing for the order to the soldiers to fire. A great stillness pervaded the army. Just as the suspense was at its height a courier arrived with an order from General Winchester saving his life by changing the sentence (Atherton). This sentence and scene produced a profound effect upon the soldiers. It was their first real view of the sternness of military discipline; and they recognized its necessity and justness while in the country of the stealthy and savage enemy. Later, as the savages became less numerous, hunting for wild game was permitted, and soon all game was killed, not even a squirrel could be found within reasonable distance of the encampment for the soldiers to hunt.

While on his way from Defiance, General Harrison was informed by express from Fort Wayne that the savages were again besieging that fort. He proceeded to Fort Barbee where he found Colonel Allen Trimble with five hundred Ohio cavalry. This force he immediately ordered to the relief of Fort Wayne, with orders to proceed thence against the town of the Pottawotomi chief White Pigeon by the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan. These troops expected to join General Tupper's command and proceed against Detroit. However, they obeyed orders to march to Fort Wayne, whence the savages fled as they approached. Here about half of the soldiers refused to go further northwest. Colonel Trimble, however, obeyed the orders of his superior officer with those who would accompany him. They destroyed two villages of the savages, but on their approach a treacherous guide gave alarm to the denizens in time for them to escape punishment.

Some sachems of the Miamis, whose warriors had gone to the British, were brought before General Harrison by messengers, for them to show their willingness to live peaceably on the benefactions of the United States. Five of their number were to be sent to Piqua as hostages for the good behavior of the others—but they did not come according to promise.

Fort Winchester was completed the 15th October, 1812. The condition of affairs with General Winchester at this date is set forth in his letter to Governor Meigs, viz:

> . . . Captain Wood, commanding a small party of spies, came into camp yesterday and reports that he was detached from Urbana to visit the [foot of the Maumee] Rapids, etc.; that he fell in with other spies who had just returned from that place, and had obtained all the information that he possibly could. I therefore have directed him to return and report, deeming it unnecessary that he should proceed, as the information required had been obtained, and being desirous too, to communicate to your excellency that this army could immediately march and take possession of the Rapids if supplies of provisions, etc., could certainly reach us in a few days after our arrival. Many days provisions could not be carried with us, because they are not here. Neither have we the means of transportation; but it is important that the corn at that place should be saved if it could be done.
>
> At this place [Defiance] a picketed post with four block houses, two storehouses and a house for the sick, will be finished this day. Then I shall turn my attention to building pirogues for the purpose of transporting heavy baggage and provisions down the river, and anxiously wait your answer with relation to supplies. I shall remain in readiness to march as soon as it is received. If General Harrison is at Urbana, you will communicate the contents of this letter to him. If I knew where he could be found, I would address a letter to him on the subject. . . .

Soon after the completion of Fort Winchester, and the detachment of a garrison for its defense, the army moved to the present central part of Land Section Nineteen in Richland Township on the north side of the Maumee River one mile and a half below the mouth of the Auglaise. This site is on the lower land, and protected from the north and west winds, and it is designated by the letter H on the map *ante* page 191. With continued short rations, delay in the receipt of winter clothing and the increasing severity of the weather, the sufferings and sickness of the soldiers were increasing, and this change of encampment was made for sanitary reasons and that the men might be nearer timber for fuel. The ground of this Camp H proving too wet, the army soon occupied a dryer place two miles further down the Maumee, in the north part of Section Twenty-one. This Camp J soon showing great exposure to the wind yet another site, the historic Camp Number Three, was chosen. Its site is nearly two miles below Camp J, in the present Land Sections Twenty-two and Twenty-three, Richland Township, Defiance County, Ohio. This site proved favorable, with abundance of good firewood, and here the army remained about eight weeks.

SITE OF ENCAMPMENT NUMBER THREE

Of General Winchester's Army from last of October until 30th December, 1812. Looking southwest 27 November, 1902, from the N. W. corner of Land Section 23, Richland Township, Defiance County, Ohio. Graves of Pioneer settlers from 1822 in foreground. The Maumee River in distance, flowing from right to left. The Cemetery of the Encampment is supposed to be near the river, on the left.

At these several encampments of General Winchester's army there was as much suffering as an army could endure, it culminating at Camp Number Three. Hunger impelled many breaches of discipline. Soldiers wandered from camp, against orders, in search of game and fruit. One man started to desert. He was caught and sentenced 'to ride the wooden horse before the whole army.' This penalty consisted in his being placed astride a bent sapling and being there subjected to a series of tossings and joltings to the great amusement of the soldiers who entered with zest into everything affording diversion from their sufferings. We get other glimpses of the life and experiences of Fort Winchester and its neighboring Encampment Number Three. Special orders signed J. Winchester, Brig. Gen'l, and dated Camp Winchester read that "James Givins, private in Captain Croghan's Company, charged with sitting down near his post, apparently asleep with his gun out of his hands, last night, October 25th, 1812, found guilty and sentenced to receive ten cobs on his bare posterior, well laid on with a paddle four inches wide and one-half an inch thick bored full of holes. Thomas Clark, charged with altering his uniform without leave, sentenced to a reprimand on parade."

Sickness increased. The rations were constantly short, being received in small quantities and consisting some days only of beef, and again only of flour, and of some hickory nuts gathered near the camp. The beef was of poor quality, the cattle being greatly reduced from want of food and the cold like the soldiers.* Complaints were also made of the want of salt, to the liberal use of which the Kentuckians had been habituated at their homes. To cheer the discouraged and languishing army by renewing hope there were issued November 1st, 1812, from Fort Winchester the following General Orders:

SITE OF ENCAMPMENT NUMBER THREE

Of General Winchester's Army. Looking northeast 15 May, 1901, from right bank of Maumee River, middle of Section 22, Richland Township, Defiance County, Ohio. The graves of the soldiers buried here are supposed to be near the distant bank of the river.

With great pleasure the General announces to the army the prospect of an early supply of winter clothing, amongst which are the following articles shipped from Philadelphia on the 9th September last: 10,000 pairs of shoes, 5000 blankets, 5000 round jackets, 5000 pairs pantaloons, woolen cloth to be made up, besides the underclothing for Colonel Well's regiment, 100 watch coats, 5000 blankets and 10000 yards of flannel, 10000 pairs wool socks, 10000 wool hose.

---

* When reduced to necessity, the skins of animals were eaten even after being dried. They were cut into pieces, boiled and the soup eaten; and then the pieces were roasted so fully that they could be eaten.

This bountiful supply evinces the constant attention of the government to the comforts of its armies although the immense distance this wing hath been detached into the wilderness has prevented its receiving those comforts in due season, owing to causes not within the control of human foresight, yet a few days and the General consoles himself with the idea of seeing those whom he has the honor to command clad in warm woolen capable of resisting the northern blasts of Canada, either from the bellows of Boreas or the muzzles of British cannon.

These promised supplies of clothing came not to Fort Winchester nor to its neighboring Encampment Number Three. Sickness found the weakened and shivering soldiers an easy prey. Typhoid fever prevailed. The list of those sick increased to over three hundred, with often three or four deaths a day. So many funereal rites had very depressing effects. Everything militated against proper camp sanitation; and probably the efforts to maintain a good sanitary regimen were not so thorough as those in later times; certainly the ways and means were not so ample as now. On account of their hurried march to the relief of Fort Wayne much of the soldiers' clothing was left at Piqua, and many of the men were yet wearing the linen hunting coats in which they started from their homes in Kentucky the 12th August; and these were in rags from natural wear and from the brush and timber with which they had been obliged to contend. Many were so entirely destitute of shoes and other clothing that they must have frozen had they been obliged to go much distance from their campfires.* In fact the sufferings of the soldiers in the fall and winter of 1812 at Fort Winchester and its Encampments, are altogether the saddest that have been experienced in the Maumee River Basin; and these sufferings were probably the greatest of their kind that American soldiers have endured.

General Harrison, at his headquarters in Franklinton now Columbus, kept informed regarding the condition of affairs and put forth great efforts to gather supplies and men and to advance them toward Detroit. The 13th October he wrote to the Secretary of War that 'I am fully sensible of the responsibility invested in me. I accepted it with full confidence of being able to effect the wishes of the President, or to show unequivocally their impracticability. If the fall should be very dry, I will take Detroit before the winter sets in; but if we have much rain, it will be necessary to wait at the Rapids until the Miami of the Lake [Maumee] is sufficiently frozen over to bear the army and its baggage.' The 22nd October he again wrote, 'I am not able to fix any period for the advance of the troops to Detroit. It is pretty evident that it cannot be done upon proper principles until the frost shall become so severe as to enable us to use the rivers and the margin of the lake for transportation of the baggage and artillery upon the ice. To get them forward through a swampy wilderness of near two hundred miles, in wagons or on packhorses which are to carry their own provisions, is absolutely impossible. . . My present plan is to occupy Upper Sandusky, and accumulate at that place as much provision and forage as possible, to be taken from thence upon sleds to the River Raisin. At Defiance, Fort Jennings, and St. Mary, boats and sleds are preparing to take advantage of a rise of water or a fall of snow.

---

*Captain Robert B. M'Afee and William Atherton, who were with General Winchester's army, recount in their books many other details of the sufferings here of this unfortunate army.

After personal examination of diverse reports General Harrison ordered, the latter part of October, General Reazin Beall's command of five hundred men at Mansfield to join General Elijah Wadsworth's command of eight hundred which was near the mouth of the Huron River, Ohio, and General Simon Perkins was given chief command of these and other soldiers composing the Right Wing of the Northwestern Army. This Wing was directed to clear and make a road from Fort Stephenson to the foot of the lowest Maumee Rapids.

Captain Hinkston with a small detachment was sent by General Tupper from Fort M'Arthur, to reconnoiter at these Rapids. He soon returned with a prisoner, one Captain Clarke, who was captured a short distance from his command of about seventy-five British regulars at the foot of the Rapids where they had come in boats for corn there planted by Americans. They also reported a force of three to four hundred Aborigines at the Rapids. General Tupper reported to Governor Meigs November 9th that he had decided to capture these British or drive them from the Rapids and save the corn. He wrote . . 'A moment is not to be lost. We shall be at the Rapids in three days. I have also sent an express to General Winchester, advising him of the situation of the enemy, and of our march; but as we can reach the Rapids one day sooner than General Winchester waiting for my express, I could not think of losing one day, and thereby suffer the enemy to escape with the forage.' He detailed the condition of the forces and the operations at Malden the British headquarters, now Amherstburg, Canada, and to some extent the condition at Detroit, as obtained from Captain Clarke adding 'they [the British at Malden] are apprised of General Winchester's force, but understand he is building a fort at Defiance and is to remain there during the winter. They have no knowledge of any other preparations making in the State of Ohio.' . .

General Tupper proceeded on his march November 10th, along the roadway cut by General Hull's army, with six hundred and fifty men, and a light six-pounder cannon which they were obliged to leave at one of the forts along the way on account of the mud. When within a few miles of the foot of the Rapids his scouts informed him that the enemy was still there. He halted his soldiers until evening and then passed down the Maumee to a ford about two miles above the enemy's camp. Here scouts again reported that the enemy was closely encamped and was singing and dancing. General Tupper decided to cross the river and make ready to attack at daybreak. Leading the van of the first section through the cold, swift current which was waist deep to his men in places, they crossed in safety; but the second section was not so fortunate, some men being carried down by the current, losing their guns, and being themselves rescued by horses with difficulty. The night was passing, the soldiers were fatigued and cold, and those who had crossed were ordered back to the main force on the south bank where all hastily sought a camp in the woods near-by. Early the next morning messengers were dispatched to General Winchester for food and reinforcements. A few scouts were sent down the river opposite the enemy's encampment desiring them to be pursued, but the enemy could not be decoyed.* General Tupper then moved his entire force and displayed it to the enemy, whereupon the squaws ran to the woods, the British ran to their boats and escaped, and the Aborigines, more brave than their allies, paraded and fired across the river at the troops with muskets and a four-pounder cannon, but without doing any damage. The Americans feinted a retreat to draw the savages across the river, but only a few mounted on horses were seen to pass up the river, the main body remaining near their camp. Thinking themselves secure from attack many of the soldiers, contrary to orders, began to gather corn in a near-by field. Others, while endeavoring to catch some hogs that had come in sight, were impetuously attacked by the Aborigine horsemen, and four of their number were killed. The soldiers rallied and repulsed the horsemen, when they were met by the main body of Aborigines led by the noted Chief Split-Log, who had crossed the river above. A sharp engagement ensued with Bentley's battalion and the enemy was soon driven away, but not without some loss to the Americans. The food brought with them was nearly gone. They could have subsisted on the corn and other food growing thereabouts that had been planted and early cared for by the American settlers who had been driven away by the savages; but they decided to return to Fort M'Arthur, and the march was begun that evening 'leaving accidentally in the camp a sick soldier who was unable to march and who fell a prey to the tomahawk and scalping knife'—M'Afee page 171.

When General Tupper's express arrived at Fort Winchester, a detachment of three hundred and eighty of the most able men* was at once equipped at Encampment Number Three to aid Tupper's command at the foot of the Rapids as desired, notwithstanding the great amount of sickness prevailing, and the want of food and clothing. This detachment started down the north bank of the Maumee in the morning of November 15th; and later in the day General Tupper's second dispatch from the Rapids urging re-inforcement and food, arrived at Fort Winchester from along the south side of the river. The information in this dispatch was at once hastened to the marching column, which laboriously forced its way forward until nine o'clock the night of the second day when fatigue necessitated a halt.

---

* It is probable that the enemy's encampment was in the vicinity of the former British Fort Miami.

Colonel William Lewis, who was in command, sent Ensign (afterwards Colonel) Charles S. Todd with a few of the hardier soldiers, preceded by five guides, forward to reconnoiter. They crossed the Maumee, entered the deserted camp of General Tupper's command about midnight, found the deserted American dead and scalped, but found no word of explanation—the road only showing evidence of the hasty retreat. These scouts returned to Colonel Lewis who decided to return to Encampment Number Three. They had not struck fire from fear of discovering the detachment to the enemy's scouts, and they were obliged to keep huddled and stirring to keep from freezing. Their weakened condition before starting on this forced march, the fatigue consequent upon it, the keenness of the cold in their thinly clad condition, their loss of sleep and continued vigils, being prepared every moment for an attack of the savages, all caused acute and intense physical suffering which was not at all alleviated by thoughts of the unnecessary march and of General Tupper's thoughtlessness in not sending them notice of his retreat. Two days were required for many to get back to camp, and the second night was nearly as bad as the first on account of indications continuing of nearness of savages.

There were employed and fed by the armies several scouts, Aborigine as well as American. Captain (John) Logan with a small party of his tribe of Shawnees, including 'Captain John' and 'Bright Horn' were sent by General Harrison to reconnoiter down the Maumee. They soon came to Winchester's Camp Number Three and reported that they had been pursued so closely by overpowering numbers of the enemy that they escaped with difficulty. Their sincerity being questioned Captain Logan, being one of the most sensitive and trustworthy of the Aborigines, felt aggrieved that he was suspected either of cowardice or treachery, and he determined on another scouting expedition to the Rapids, declaring at the time that something should be done before his return that would convince all concerned of his bravery and friendship to the Government of the United States. 'Old Captain John and Lightfoot [or Bright Horn] if I mistake not, accompanied him' —Atherton. They started down the river November 22nd, were soon captured by a British officer, the eldest son of Colonel Elliott, and his escort of five savages including Win-e-mac who recognized Logan and gloried in his capture. The prisoners in due time, when about twenty miles below Camp Number Three, found opportunity to use their code of signs and attack their captors. Logan killed Win-e-mac, or Winnemeg a noted Pottawotami chief and enemy before mentioned, and the others killed Elliott and a young Ottawa chief. Logan was shot through the body and Bright Horn through a thigh; but they were able to mount the empty saddles of the slain and escape to Camp Number Three, where Logan died two days later from his wound notwithstanding careful attention of the surgeon and the soldiers as nurses. His loss was lamented by the whole army. A detachment of troops under Major Hardin bore his body to Wapakoneta the county seat of the present Auglaise County, where his family lived and where he was buried with mixed military honors and savage rites, Captain John carrying at the end of a long limb of a tree the scalp of the young Ottawa that he had slain at the time of their escape. Most of the important information regarding the enemy, however, was obtained by an American 'Old Man—— Riddle' (Ruddle?) who would advance into the region of the enemy and there linger until he learned quite fully the particulars desired.

---

* See the *Narrative of the Sufferings and Defeat of the Northwestern Army* page 20, by William Atherton who was a member of this detachment.

The 15th November General Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War that he thought it unwise to attempt moving beyond the Maumee Rapids before spring on account of the insurmountable difficulties attending the transportation of supplies. And about the same time in a letter to Governor Shelby he wrote . . 'I know it will be mortifying to Kentucky for this army to return without doing anything; but it is better to do that than to attempt impossibilities. I wish to God the public mind were informed of our difficulties, and gradually prepared for this course. In my opinion, we should in this quarter disband all but those sufficient for a strong frontier guard, convoys, etc., and prepare for the next season.' . .

The latter part of November heavy rains were experienced at Fort Winchester and Encampment Number Three and, the prospects of the army's advancing not being improved in any way, the soldiers were ordered about the first of December to build huts from saplings and bark for their better protection from the wet and cold, their frail tents being now of little worth. The supplies that were received continued inadequate, and were seldom varied. Often the army was wholly without food. Again, for eleven days they had nothing but pork, just killed, without salt. Reconnoitering parties kept the vicinity of the camp free from savages, and gathered in everything vegetable and animal that could be eaten.

The difficulties attending transportation of supplies through these 'Black Swamp' regions accounted in most part for these privations and sufferings. The roads were bad beyond description. From Fort Loramie on the south to the River St. Mary, and thence to Defiance at the north, was one continuous swamp knee deep to the packhorses and up to the hubs of the wagons—M'Afee. Most of the time it was impossible to move a wagon through the mud, even without a load; it would mire and become completely blocked. Packhorses were brought into use, but many horses, and their packs, were lost by the thoughtless, careless, and sometimes dishonest, drivers; the depth and consistency of the mud; the want of food for the horses; and the wet, cold weather.* The food supplies that were brought to the army were often in spoiled condition. Nor were the difficulties of transportation by river less, as described by Captain Robert B. M'Afee, viz:

> About the first of December Major Bodley, an enterprising officer who was quartermaster of the Kentucky troops, made an attempt to send near two hundred barrels of flour down the River St. Mary in pirogues to the Left Wing of the army below Defiance. Previous to this time the water had rarely been high enough to venture in a voyage on these small streams. The flour was now shipped in fifteen or twenty pirogues and canoes, and placed under the command of Captain Jordan and Lieutenant Cardwell, with upwards of twenty men. They descended the river and arrived about a week afterward at Shane's Crossing [the present Rockford] upwards of one hundred miles by water [?] but only twenty by land from the place where they started. The river was so narrow, crooked, full of logs, and trees overhanging the banks, that it was with great difficulty they could make any progress. And now in one freezing night they were completely icebound. Lieutenant Cardwell waded back through the ice and swamps to Fort Barbee with intelligence of their situation. Major Bodley returned with him to the flour, and offered the men extra wages to cut through the ice and push forwards; but having gained only one mile by two day's labor, the project was abandoned, and a guard left with the flour. A few days before Christmas a temporary thaw took place which enabled them with much difficulty and suffering to reach within a few miles of Fort Wayne, where they were again frozen up. They now abandoned the voyage and made sleds on which the men hauled the flour to the Fort [Wayne] and left it there.

In a letter to the Secretary of War December 12th, 1812, General Harrison used the following emphatic lauguage:

> . . Obstacles are almost insuperable; but they are opposed with unabated firmness and zeal. . . I fear that the expenses of this army will greatly exceed the calculations of the government. The prodigious destruction of horses can only be conceived

---

* The only persons who could be procured to act as packhorse drivers were generally the most worthless creatures in the community, who took care neither of the horses nor the goods with which they were entrusted. The horses of course were soon broken down, and many of the packs lost. The teams hired to haul were also commonly valued so high on coming into service that the owners were willing to

by those who have been accustomed to military operations in the wilderness during the winter season. . . I did not make sufficient allowance for the imbecility and inexperience of the public agents, and the villainy of the contractors. . . If the plan of acquiring the naval superiority upon the lakes, before the attempt is made on Malden or Detroit, should be adopted, I would place fifteen hundred men in cantonment at the Miami [Maumee] Rapids—Defiance would be better if the troops had not advanced from there—retain about one thousand more to be distributed in different garrisons, accumulate provisions at St. Marys, 'Tawa Town [Fort Jennings] Upper Sandusky, Cleveland, and Presque Isle, and employ the dragoons and mounted infantry in desultory expeditions against the Aborigines. The villages south of Lake Michigan might be struck with effect, by making a deposit of corn and provisions at Fort Wayne. I am dissappointed in the artillery which has been sent me. There are in all twenty-eight pieces of which ten are sixes, and ten twelve-pounders. The former are nearly useless. I had five before, and if I had a hundred I should only take three or four with me. You will perceive by the return of Captain Gratiot, which is enclosed, that all the carriages for the howitzers, and eight out of the ten for the twelve-pounders, are unfit for use. . .

A large number of hostile Miamis, who had lived at the head of the Maumee, at Eel River, and along the Wabash, had been gathering by the Mississinewa River fifteen to twenty miles from its mouth, and had attracted thither the Delawares from the White River in Indiana. In November General Harrison ordered Lieutenant Colonel Campbell of the 19th Regiment U. S. Infantry, with a detachment of Kentucky and Pennsylvania cavalry and infantry, to dislodge those savages if they would not consent to remain peaceful. This command moved from central Ohio rapidly to and down the Mississinewa about the middle of December, each man carrying ten days rations, and as much food for his horse as practicable. They destroyed four villages of the savages, killed eight warriors and took eight more, with thirty-two women and children, prisoners. Early in the morning of December 18th the main body of savages rallied, stealthily approached and impetuously attacked the Americans. The savages fought desperately but were obliged to retreat, leaving fifteen of their killed on the field. The American loss was eight men killed and forty-two wounded; and one hundred and seven horses killed. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell being informed at this time that Tecumseh had been only eighteen miles below him on the river, thought it prudent to return as fast as practicable, and to communicate the presence of Tecumseh's force to General Harrison. The return march to Ohio was very slow and laborious, seventeen of the wounded being carried on litters. The entire command suffered greatly from the cold; and three hundred soldiers were so frozen as to be for some time unfit for duty. This expedition had a wholesome effect on the savages. The Delawares had

---

drive them to debility and death with the view of getting the price [from the Government]. In addition to this no bills of lading were used, nor accounts kept with the wagoners, and of course each one had an opportunity to plunder the public without risk of detection—M'Afee.

before been requested to return to Ohio; and after this chastisement they did return, and settled along the upper Auglaise River.

General Harrison dispatched Ensign Charles S. Todd, with an escort of two soldiers and three Wyandots, from Fort Stephenson to General Winchester; instructing him to advance to the lower Maumee Rapids as soon as he could accumulate twenty days' food supplies, and there to build huts thus to lead the watchful scouts of the enemy to infer that he intended to pass the winter there; then to build sleds to be ready to advance to Malden when ice formed sufficiently to hold. The messengers were instructed to further inform him that the three lines of the Northwestern Army would be concentrated at the Rapids for the advance, and that secrecy regarding these orders and preparations should be maintained.

The 22nd December flour and some other supplies, including a partial supply of clothing from the ladies of Kentucky* were received at Fort Winchester and Encampment Number Three, with the most welcome intelligence that a constant supply would follow. Preparations were at once made for the army's advance. The sick were removed to Fort Winchester, and a sufficient garrison left for their care and protection. The soldiers were greatly inspirited by the order to prepare for the march, and . . . 'On the 25th December, 1812. [M'Afee recorded this march as beginning 30th December] at sunrise we bade adieu to this memorable place, Camp Number Three, where lie [yet undesignated] the bones of many a brave man. This place will live in the recollection of all who suffered there, and for more reasons than one. There comes up before the mind the many times the dead march was heard in the Camp, and the solemn procession that carried our fellow sufferers to the grave; the many times we were almost on the point of starvation; and the many sickening disappointments which were experienced by the army from day to day, and from week to week, by the failure of promised supplies'—Atherton page 26.

Leslie Combs and the noted guide and scout A. Ruddle (Riddle?) were sent to inform General Harrison of the advance; and he, having just received the express from Lieutenant Colonel Campbell that Tecumseh and his large body of savages might invade Ohio along the Mississinewa, sent orders to General Winchester to turn his army southward to Fort Jennings to protect the supplies being gathered along that military road; but General Winchester persisted in his march down the Maumee. Had he followed the orders of his ranking officer the signal defeat and massacre to which he led his army would have been prevented. His soldiers proceeded under great difficulties, and slowly. In addition to the great weakness and insufficient clothing of his men they were obliged to haul much of their provisions and equipment on sleds through a deep snow that had fallen on the wet ground made soft by a general thaw. The gullies and other depressions contained much water which, with the snow, wet the provisions and the men's clothing. The weather soon became colder and there was intense suffering. The clearing of ground for the night encampments, and the making of fires by the uncertain process of sparks from striking flints with steel, and kindling with wet wood, were slow, cold and fatiguing processes. The greatest suffering, however, was at night when they laid down and attempted to sleep.

---

* Much of the clothing sent from Kentucky was lost on the way, like the food, owing to the misconduct of the wagoners and wagon-masters, and the insuperable difficulties of transportation—M'Afee page 183.

Some complaints being made against Doctor William Eustis Secretary of War, he resigned that office, and James Monroe was appointed his successor by President Madison. Secretary Monroe was a practical soldier; was quick to recognize General Harrison's worth and wrote to him to prosecute the campaign in pursuance of his own views. General Harrison replied from Franklinton under date of January 8, 1813, as follows:

> . . When I was directed to take command in the latter part of September, I thought it possible by great exertions to effect the objects of the campaign before the setting in of winter. I distinctly stated, however, to the Secretary of War that there was always a period of rainy weather in this country in the months of November and December in which the roads within the settlements were almost impassable; and the swamps which extend northwardly from about the 40th degree of north latitude, entirely so; and that this circumstance would render it impossible to advance with the army before that period without exposing it to inevitable destruction, unless a sufficiency of provisions could be taken on to subsist it until the severe frosts should remove the impediments to transportation.
>
> The experience of a few days was sufficient to convince me that the supplies of provisions could not be procured for our autumnal advance; and even if this difficulty was removed, another of equal magnitude existed in the want of artillery. There remained then no alternative but to prepare for a winter campaign. But in order to take advantage of every circumstance in our favor, boats and pirogues were prepared in considerable numbers on the Auglaise [at Forts Amanda and Winchester] and St. Marys, in the hope that when the land transportation could not be used, we might by means of these rivers take on large supplies to the Rapids of the Miami [Maumee]. An effort was made also to procure flour from Presque Isle [the present Erie, Pa.] by coasting the lake with small boats. These measures were calculated on as collateral aids only. The more sure one of providing a large number of packhorses and ox teams was resorted to, and the Deputy Quartermaster General, Colonel Morrison, was instructed accordingly.
>
> Considering the Miami [Maumee] Rapids as the first point of destination, provisions were ordered to be accumulated along a concave base, extending from St. Marys on the left to the mouth of Huron River and afterwards Lower Sandusky, on the right. From this base the [foot of the Maumee] Rapids could be approached by three routes, or lines of operation, two of which were pretty effectually secured by the posts which were

established and the positions taken on the third [by way of the Sandusky River]. St. Marys, M'Arthur's Blockhouse, and Upper Sandusky were selected as principal deposits.

The troops, excepting those with General Winchester, were kept within the bounds of the local contractors, that they might not consume the provisions procured by the United States' Commissaries, and which were intended to form the grand deposit at the Miami [Maumee] Rapids. It was not until late in October that much effect could be given to these arrangements; and for the six following weeks little or nothing could be done from the uncommonly unfavorable state of the weather which afforded just rain enough to render the roads impassable for wagons, and not a sufficiency to raise the waters to a navigable state. Great exertions however were made to prepare for the change which might reasonably be expected.

The last twenty days of December were entirely favorable to our views, and were so well employed by Colonel Morrison as to afford the most flattering prospect of being able to take on to the Rapids early in this month [January] a sufficiency of provisions and stores to authorize an advance upon Malden from the 25th instant to the 10th of February. Our hopes were again a little checked by a general thaw, succeeded by a very deep snow whilst the ground was in that soft state. It is however cold again, and we calculate on being able to use with effect the sleds, a considerable number of which I had caused to be prepared. . .

My plan of operation has been, and now is, to occupy the [foot of the] Miami [Maumee] Rapids, and to deposit there as much provisions as possible, to move from thence with choice detachment of the army, and with as much provision, artillery and ammunition as the means of transportation will allow, make a demonstration towards Detroit and, by a sudden passage of the strait upon the ice, an actual investiture of Malden . . . It was my intention to have assembled at [the foot of] the Rapids from 4500 to 5000 men, and to be governed by circumstances in forming the detachment with which I should advance. This is still my plan, and it was always my intention to dismiss at that period all that I deemed superfluous. The nominal amount of the army was ten thousand, but the effective force was much less . . You will read with as much pain as I write it, that a fine body of regular troops belonging to the 17th and 19th Regiments under Colonel Wells, has been nearly destroyed by the want of clothing. The whole of the effective men upon this frontier does not exceed six thousand three hundred infantry.

Upon the whole sir, my reaching Malden this winter depends upon circumstances which I cannot control—the freezing of the strait in such a manner as to enable me to pass over the troops and artillery. General Winchester is I hope now, or will be in a day or two, at the Rapids. Provisions in large quantities are progressing thither. I calculate on being there myself by the 20th [January 1813] instant with the troops which are intended for the march upon Malden. . . Should our offensive operations be suspended until spring, it is my decided opinion that the most effectual and cheapest plan will be to obtain the command of the Lake. This being once effected, every difficulty will be removed. . .

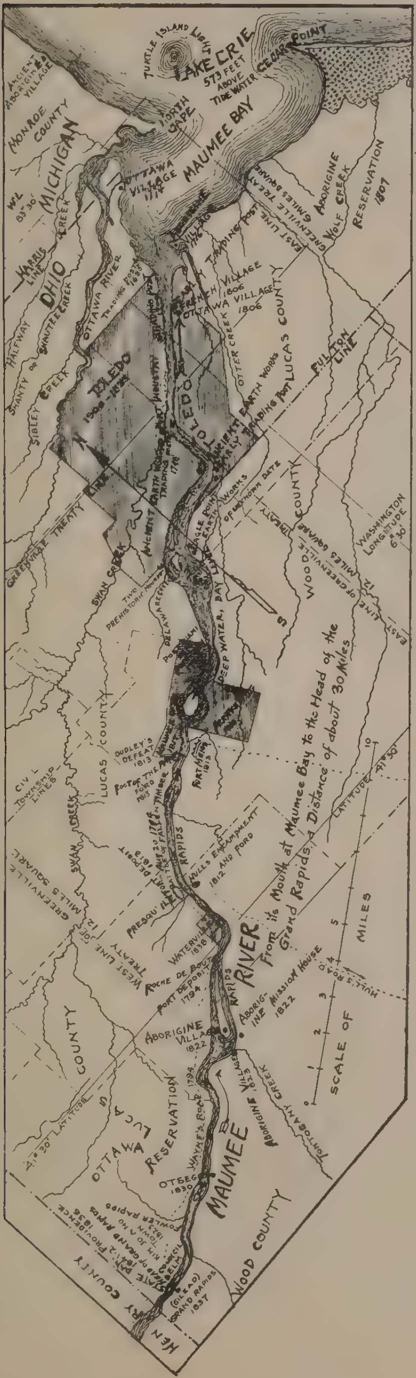
You do me justice in believing that my exertions have been unremitted, and I am sensible of the commission of one error only that has injuriously affected our interests; and that is in retaining too large force at Defiance. The disadvantages attending it were, however, seen at the period of my committing the management of that wing to General Winchester. Possessing a superior rank in the line of the army to that which was tendered to me, I considered him rather in the light of an associate in command than an inferior. I therefore recommended to him, instead of ordering it, to send back two regiments within the bounds of White's contract. Had this measure been pursued, there would have been at Fort Winchester 100,000 rations more than there is at present.

The General, who possesses the most estimable qualities of the head and heart, was deceived as I was with regard to the period when the army could advance, and he did not think that the reduction of issues would be so important as it is now ascertained it would have been. . .

General Winchester's army of about thirteen hundred men, arrived at Presqu'ile on the south-west side of General Wayne's Battle Field of Fallen Timber January 10th. Here an encampment was fortified to some extent and a large storehouse for provisions and heavy baggage was built within the enclosure. This has been termed by the writer Fort Deposit—see accompanying map. It was situated about three miles down the Maumee from Roche de Bout the site of General Wayne's Fort Deposit. Corn (maize) was gathered from a near-by field, hastily boiled whole and greatly relished by the soldiers whose supplies had continued limited in quantity and variety. Devices were soon made for pounding the corn, and from the meal thus obtained bread was made. Additional supplies were here received, including some clothing from their homes and the soldierlyspirit was soon revived.

General Payne with six hundred and seventy soldiers had early been sent forward by General Winchester to rout a gathering of Aborigines which had been reported to General Harrison as gathered 'in an old fortification at Swan Creek.' Possibly the old fortification here mentioned was the remains of Fort Industry of 1805. No Aborigines could be found by General Payne's scouts. Captain Williams with twenty-five men discovered another deserted camp and, following the fresh trail, overtook the Aborigines and hastened their retreat by an exchange of shots from which a few persons were wounded on both sides. The 11th January General Winchester sent notification of his arrival at the Rapids to General Harrison by the persons who were taking in the starved and worn out packhorses to General Tupper's camp at Fort M'Arthur, a place as distant from the Rapids as the headquarters of Harrison, and from which the messenger must then pass through a swampy and pathless wilderness of forty miles to Upper Sandusky, where he did not arrive until General Harrison had left that place; and the notification was ultimately received by him at the Rapids, where it started—M'Afee page 202.

The advance and occupation of the lower Maumee Rapids by General Winchester without opposition by the enemy was reassuring to the officers and to the ranks, and this had much influence in inducing the unwise advance to the River Raisin. In compliance with several requests for protection received from Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan, then a settlement of thirty-three families) Colonel William Lewis was dispatched by General Winchester with five hundred and fifty soldiers January 17th for that purpose. A few hours later Colonel



John Allen followed with a force of one hundred and ten, which overtook the former opposite Presqu'ile of Maumee Bay, where they were informed that there were four hundred Aborigines then at Frenchtown, and that Colonel Elliott was detaching a force at Malden to proceed against the Americans on the Maumee. These rumors were dispatched to General Winchester, and he sent them to General Harrison with a statement of the movement of his main force against the enemy. The sending of this small force with only small arms near Malden the headquarters of the British and their Aborigine allies, without the order of General Harrison and a near reserve force, was the third in the series of grave errors on the part of General Winchester which was soon to cause the complete destruction of his army and to obscure, at least, what little honor was attached to him. Colonels Lewis and Allen rapidly advanced over the ice along the shore of the Lake, engaged the enemy, about one hundred British troops and four hundred Aborigines, near Frenchtown and drove them across the River Raisin notwithstanding their opposing howitzer. They then dispatched for reenforcements and began preparations for defense against oncoming superior numbers.

General Winchester, on learning of the success of his Colonels, left a guard at Fort Deposit, and started January 19th with all the force that could be spared from this Fort, two hundred and fifty in number, for Frenchtown where he arrived in the night of the 20th. There his former thoughtfulness and care for the safety of his command were relaxed. He established headquarters in the comfortable residence of Colonel Francis Navarre on the south side of the river about nine hundred feet from the camp of his soldiers. The next day he was informed by Peter Navarre and his four brothers whom he sent out to reconnoiter, that a large force of British and Aborigines would attack him that night. A Frenchman, Jacques La Salle commonly termed Jocko, who was in sympathy with the British, persuaded the General into a disbelief of the report. His vigilant and successful Colonels also received and communicated to him evidences of the oncoming of large forces of savages and British with artillery. But the General was under an evil spell. The reports were discredited; no other scouts were sent out by him; no definite precautions against a night attack were ordered; nor special preparations for the comfort and safety of his small army. To what subtle and soothingly disastrous influences had the General been subjected by association with his liberal host, and the voluble and genial Jocko! Habituated to an easy, luxurious life, the General had been for many weeks in the midst of forest wilds, privations and sufferings, and now had headquarters in a comfortable house as the guest of a man with similar tastes in a social way, and with well stocked cellar. The successes of his Colonels and his reliance on their vigilance brought relaxation on the part of the General, on whom they relied, and he settled down to some enjoyment, soothed by the kind and ample hospitality of his host and the false assurances of the enemy's friend! He was under the magic spell of security and peace which, like the brief calm preceding a disastrous burst of the tempest, lulled to inactivity! Very early in the morning of January 22nd the brave American troops, yet weak from their former sufferings, were surprised by the stealthy foe and quite overwhelmed by superior numbers with six cannon. About three hundred were killed in the fierce onslaught and later messacred direct and by the burning of buildings in which the wounded were placed; five hundred and forty-seven were taken prisoners by the British and forty-five by the Aborigines; only thirty-three escaped! General Winchester, aroused by the guns, strove in the biting cold to join his army. Mounting his host's horse he rode in what he supposed to be the proper part of the camp of his soldiers — Hosmer. He was soon captured by Jack Brandy, an Aborigine of Round Head's band, who divested him of his outer clothing and led him half frozen to Colonel Proctor the British commander who persuaded him to order his troops to surrender. The white flag was started with this order towards the garden pickets behind which the

Americans were well holding their position. They refused to surrender. Thrice did the flag pass from the British headquarters to the American line* once accompanied by Major Walter H. Overton of General Winchester's staff and by Colonel Proctor, before the courageous Major George Madison would surrender, and he then consented only after promises by Proctor of protection from the Aborigines. How these promises were ignored by the British regarding the wounded and many of those captured by the savages, and how fully the intoxicated savages reveled in the butchery of their helpless victims and left the remains to be eaten by dogs and hogs, has been described by many persons whose writings are readily accessible.

Most of the American prisoners who could march with the British were led to Amherstburg (formerly Malden) the morning of January 23rd. The 26th they were marched to Sandwich, whence some were sent across the river to the British garrison at Detroit, and the others to Fort George at Niagara where nearly all of them were released on parole 'not to bear arms against his Majesty or his allies [the savages] during the war or until exchanged.' General Winchester, Colonel Lewis and Major Madison, were sent to Quebec and, some time later, to Beauport near Quebec, where they were confined until the spring of 1814 when they were exchanged with many others.† Colonel Proctor reported the British loss in this battle at twenty-four killed and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. No accurate estimate of the loss of their savage allies could be made. The enemy numbered about two thousand, one half being British regulars and Canada milita. Round Head and Walk-in-the-Water were the principal chiefs of the savages. Tecumsch was then in Indiana. Proctor's report, and commendation of his savage 'allies' led the Assembly of Lower Canada to extend to him 'and his men' a vote of thanks; and the part he acted also led to his promotion to the rank of brigadier general.

This great disaster at the River Raisin, though most deeply lamented, was not without good results in its lessons. 'Remember the Raisin' became the slogan that spurred many other Kentuckians to enlist in the army and to do valiant service for their country; and it also incited the officers to greater thoughtfulness, and to a greater sense of responsibility.*

---

* *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, volume i page 367. See, also, General Winchester's report to the Secretary of War written at Malden January 23, 1813, while a prisoner — Brannan's *Official Letters* page 132.

†General Winchester was transferred to command at Mobile; and the last report from him seen by the writer was to the Secretary of War announcing, under date of February 17, 1815, 'his duty to communicate the very unpleasant news of the loss of Fort Bowyer' situated by Mobile Bay, which was captured by the British the 12th February with its garrison of three hundred and sixty men — Brannan's *Official Letters*. He resigned his commission in March, 1815, and returned to his home in Tennessee, where he died 27th July 1826. He is described as a 'fussy man, quite heavy in person, and illy fitted for the peculiar service in which he was engaged.'—Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* page 361.

General Harrison, upon receipt at Upper Sandusky of General Winchester's express that he was advancing to the Raisin, urged forward troops and artillery from his headquarters, and from Lower Sandusky. He preceded the troops and, upon his arrival at Fort Deposit, ordered General Payne with the garrison there, forward to the support of his General. The cold was severe, the snow-covered road was rough, and mirey in places, and the troops were slow in arriving at the lower rapids. As they arrived in small bodies they were hastened onward toward the Raisin, led by General Harrison. They had not proceeded far, however, before some fugitives were met and, as they advanced, others confirmed the total defeat of General Winchester's command. A council of officers in the saddle decided to return the main body to Fort Deposit, while scouts were sent forward to aid those escaping.† Upon arrival at Fort Deposit a council of the general and field officers was called. This council decided that

> The position of General Winchester's Camp [Deposit] was injudicious and untenable against any formidable force. The position was on the wrong side of the river; for it frequently happens in the winter that heavy rains suddenly swell the current and break the ice so as to render the stream wholly impassable for many days together. This would prevent the convoys from reaching the camp, whilst the enemy might cross on the ice at the mouth of the Bay and destroy them without opposition. The attempt to fortify the position had also destroyed all its natural advantages. The camp was a parallelogram with its longest side on the river, corresponding to the form of the rise of the ground [Presqu'ile] on which it was placed, the abrupt declivity of which afforded the enemy a better fortification, at point blank shot in the rear, than the breastwork of logs by which the lines were protected. The flanks were also at a convenient distance from the ends of the rise of ground to be annoyed from them by the enemy. By reversing the order and making the flank lines the longest so as to extend quite across the prominence the rear would have been rendered secure, and the flanks would have been at too great a distance to be annoyed from the extremes of the eminence. On the next morning therefore the army abandoned the Rapids, having first set fire to the blockhouse in which there was a quantity of provisions that would be useful to the enemy if they advanced to that place.

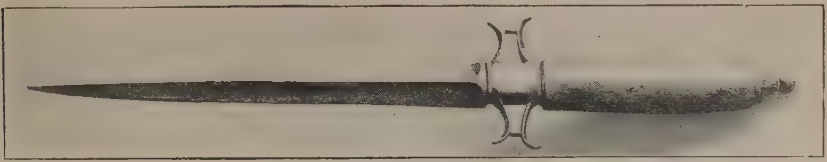
The few troops there assembled retired to the Portage River, about eighteen miles on the road to Lower Sandusky, where they strongly fortified a camp to there await the oncoming regiments, including the artillery, when they would return to the Maumee with all the supplies. Copious rains, however, delayed all the forward movements. Fort

---

*The Legislature of Michigan, session of 1903-04, appropriated five thousand dollars for the erection of a monument at Monroe commemorative of the Americans who were there killed in this battle. The commission awarded the contract to a Toledo firm in February, 1904, and the monument was unveiled the 1st September, 1904, in presence of several thousand people, including prominent Kentuckians.

† See General Harrison's report to the Secretary of War, Brannan's *Official Letters* page 125.

Winchester again became the frontier position of defense in the Maumee Valley, and a shield to the forts and settlers to the south and southwest who were again experiencing great alarm.



Poniard, found without scabbard many years ago southeast of Defiance. The reverse side of blade is hollowed. Length over all eleven inches. In the Author's Collection.

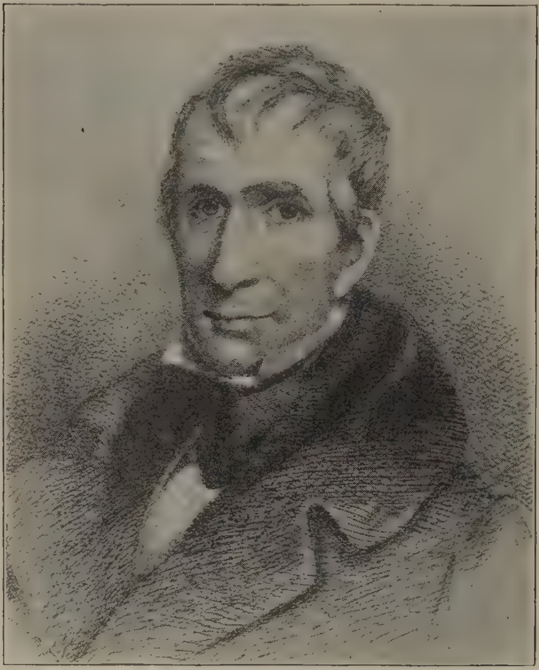
CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND AND THIRD (FINAL) YEARS OF THE WAR OF 1812.

The scouts of the army by the Portage River kept the movements of the savages under observation. The 9th of February they reported about six hundred gathered on the north shore of Maumee Bay. General Harrison detached six hundred soldiers with one cannon, and led them in person to the savage encampment which was abandoned on his approach. The troops were ordered to march in pursuit on the ice near the shore. Near the lowest part of the Bay the horses with the cannon broke through the ice. The cannon was not recovered until the next day and after great exertion and much suffering from the severe cold. Meantime the main body, which had again pressed forward, was met by the scouts with the information that the savages had escaped to Malden, and the detachment returned to camp. General Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War from 'Headquarters, Foot of the Miami [Maumee] Rapids, February 11, 1813,' that

> Having been joined by General Leftwich with his brigade, and a regiment of the Pennsylvania quota at the Portage River on the 30th ultimo, I marched thence on the 1st instant and reached this place on the morning of the 2d with an effective force of sixteen hundred men. I have since been joined by a Kentucky regiment and part of General Tupper's Ohio brigade, which has increased our numbers to two thousand non-commissioned officers and privates. . . I have ordered the whole of the troops of the Left Wing (excepting one company for each of the six forts in that quarter) the balance of the Pennsylvania brigade, and the Ohio brigade under General Tupper, and a detachment of regular troops of twelve-months volunteers under command of Colonel Campbell, to march to this place as soon as possible. . . . The disposition of the troops for the remainder of the winter will be as follows: A battalion of militia lately called out from this State, with a company of regular troops now at Fort

Winchester [Defiance] will garrison the posts upon the waters of the Auglaise and St. Mary. The small block-houses upon Hull's trace [M'Arthur, Necessity, and Findlay] will have a subaltern's command in each. A company will be placed at Upper Sandusky, and another at Lower Sandusky. All the rest of the troops will be brought to this place, amounting to from fifteen to eighteen hundred men.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Major General, and Fourteenth President of the United States. Born at Berkeley, Virginia, 9th February, 1773. Died 4th April, 1841, at Washington, D. C., when one month President.

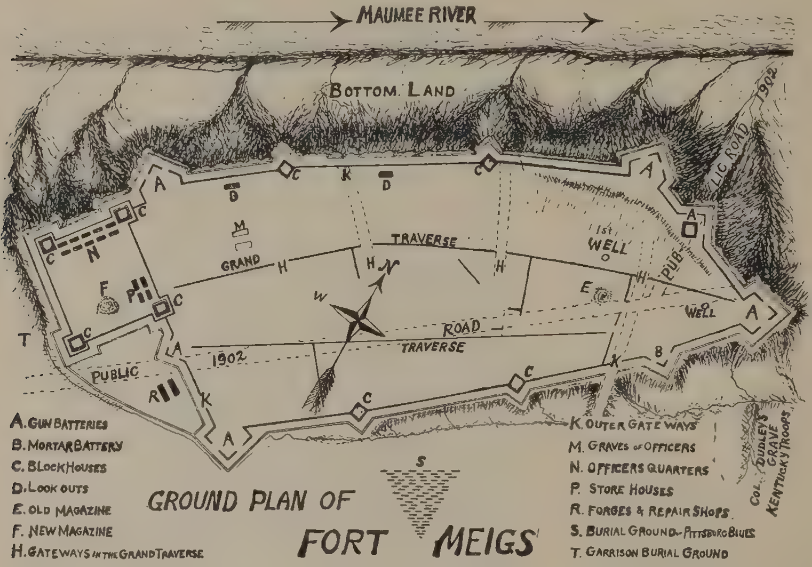
I am erecting here a pretty strong fort [Meigs] capable of resisting field artillery at least. The troops will be placed in a fortified camp, covered on one flank by the fort. This is the best position that can be taken to cover the frontier, and the small posts in the rear of it, and those above it on the Miami [Maumee] and its tributaries. The force placed here ought, however, to be strong enough to encounter any that the enemy may detach against the forts above. Twenty-five hundred would not be too many. But, anxious to reduce the expenses during the winter within as narrow bounds as possible, I have desired the Governor of Kentucky not to call out (but to hold in readiness to march) the fifteen hundred men lately required of him. All the teams which have been hired for the public service will be discharged, and those belonging to the public, which are principally oxen, disposed of in the settlements where forage is cheaper, and every other arrangement made which will lessen the expenses during the winter. Attention will still, however, be paid to the deposit of supplies for the ensuing campaign. Immense supplies of provisions have been accumulating along the Auglaise River, and boats and pirogues prepared to bring them down as soon as the river opens.

The building of the strong fort (Meigs) mentioned in the preceding letter was under the immediate supervision of Captain, afterward Colonel, Eleazer D. Wood chief engineer of the army. General Harrison's experience with General Wayne along the lower Maumee, and his later observations, led him to choose as the site of this fort the high right bank of the river, a short distance below the lowest fording place and near the foot of the lowest rapids. The first plan of this fort and encampment embraced something over eight acres of ground. In the words of Captain Wood

> The camp was twenty-five hundred yards [over one mile and one-third] in irregular circumference. With the exception of short intervals for blockhouses and batteries, this extent was picketed with timber fifteen feet long, from ten to twelve inches in diameter, set three feet into the ground. The army at this camp then numbered about eighteen hundred, and as soon as the lines of the fort were designated, large portions of the labor were assigned to each corps in the army, by which means a very laudable emulation was easily excited. To complete the picketing, to put up eight blockhouses of double timbers, to elevate four large batteries, to build all the storehouses and magazines required to contain the supplies of the army, together with the ordinary fatigues of the camp, was an undertaking of no small magnitude. Besides, an immense deal of labor was likewise required in excavating ditches, making *abatis* and clearing away the wood about the camp; and all this was done, too, at a time when the weather was inclement, and the ground so hard that it could scarcely be opened with the mattock and pickaxe. But in the use of the axe, mattock, and spade consisted the chief military knowledge of our army; and even that knowledge, however trifling it may be supposed by some, is of the utmost importance in many situations, and in ours was the salvation of the army. So we fell to work, heard nothing of the enemy, and endeavored to busy ourselves as soon as possible.

The scouts kept the General informed regarding the enemy; and when they reported the armed vessels of the British frozen in the ice near Malden he conceived a plan for their destruction. A detachment for this purpose was made the 26th February of sixty-eight regulars, one hundred and twenty Pennsylvania and Virginia militiamen, a special company of thirty-two soldiers, twenty-four sled drivers, with guides and twenty-two friendly Aborigines. All were placed under command of Captain Augustus L. Langham of Ohio and M. Madis from France then serving as conductor of artillery. They started March 2nd with sleighs containing provisions for six days and combustibles with which to set fire to the vessels and whatever storehouses they could approach. Their route was eastward and, at the Portage River, the destination and object of the expedition was more fully explained to the soldiers, and permission to return was given to all who desired so to do. Aborigine and French spies abounded, and the project appeared so hazardous that twenty of the militia and six Aborigines returned to the Maumee. The others continued through Lower Sandusky and out on the ice covering Lake Erie. They were to leave the sleighs at Middle Bass Island and proceed noiselessly with moccasins. The next day General Harrison started with a protecting detachment, and at Maumee Bay met Captain Langham's command returning, they being turned back without fulfilling their mission, partly on account of desertions, forerunning spies from the enemy and, principally, by the weakness of the ice from the moderated weather.

Soon after the favorable beginning of the important fortification by the lower Maumee General Harrison started southward to urge forward additional troops in person, and to visit his sick family at Cincinnati. Captain Wood had been sent by him to Sandusky to plan a fortification for that place. General Leftwich of the Virginia militia, whom Captain Wood afterwards called 'an old phlegmatic Dutchman who was not even fit for a packhorse master much less to be entrusted with such an important command' as this, was left in charge of the camp and the building of the fort. He permitted the work to cease and, further, permitted the soldiers to use the gathered timber for fuel while there was much material better adapted to their use, and necessary to be cleared away, within easy distance. Captain Wood returned the 20th February to find, also, that there had been considerable destruction of the work that was done before his departure.



The suggestion of the United States Engineers who made survey of this place in 1888, was the purchase of fifty-five acres of land, the erection of a principal monument within the site of the Fort to cost $10,000 and three minor monuments in the burial places to cost with fences $15,000; but Congress has not made any appropriation for this purpose. The Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association, however, has undertaken to commemorate the history here enacted. In October, 1903, eight and a half acres of the eastern part of Camp Meigs including the burial ground of Kentuckians was purchased, and a United States flag has been raised over it. An Act of the Ohio Legislature of March, 1904, gives historical and like organizations the right of eminent domain; also mention was made of a monument, but without appropriation of money.

The time of enlistment of the Virginians, and some Pennsylvanians, soon expired and they started for home, leaving only about five hundred soldiers at this important camp. Captain Wood, however, recommenced work on the fortifications and pressed it forward as fast as possible. In honor of the Governor of Ohio at this time this, the largest and most important defensive work of the Army of the Northwest, was named Fort Meigs. It was both a fort and a fortified camp. Its limits were extended to embrace fourteen acres or more of land for the purpose of encompassing and protecting the entire army, with the horses, cattle, and all trains and supplies, in case it be besieged. The batteries of cannon and howitzers were distributed around its entire oblong and irregular limits, the largest and strongest being toward the river. The palisades on the north or river side and those on the east end were set in ground declining from the enclosure and nearly perpendicular to the slopes thus being more of a protection against an assailing force than against shot and shell from the opposite bank.

About the first of March a small party of citizens of Detroit arrived at Fort Meigs and reported that General Proctor had ordered the assembling of Canada militia on the 7th April at Sandwich preparatory to an attack on Fort Meigs; and the mode of attack, as discussed by the British officers, would be by constructing strong batteries of cannon on the opposite side of the river to be manned by British artillerists while the savages would invest the fort on the other sides. In the opinion of Major Muir 'a few hours action of the cannon would smoke the Americans out of the fort into the hands of the savages.' Many other boastings of the British were reported.

British scouts, both Canadian and Aborigine, continued active. The 9th of March a small company of soldiers were permitted to shoot some game while reconnoitering. When near the ruins of Fort Miami they were shot at by savages and Lieutenant Walker was killed. Another bullet lodged in a bible or hymn-book carried by a soldier in his breast pocket and he was thus saved from being wounded if not killed. The body of Lieutenant Walker was recovered the next day and buried at Fort Meigs.

Under date of 'Headquarters, Chillicothe March 17th' General Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War opposing Cleveland as a point of embarkation of troops, or depository for provisions, as . . . 'There are already accumulated at the Rapids of the Miami [Maumee] or in situation to be easily sent thither, to an amount equal to the consumption of a protracted campaign. . . I am well aware of the intolerable expense . . . Upon the whole it is my decided opinion that the [foot of the] Rapids of the Miami [Maumee] should be the point of rendezvous for the troops, as well as the principal depot. . . The artillery and a considerable supply of ammunition are already there. Boats and pirogues have been built in considerable numbers on the Auglaise and St. Mary Rivers and every exertion is now making for the double purpose of taking down the provisions to the Rapids, and for coasting the Lake with the baggage of the army in its advance. I had calculated on being able partially to use this mode of transportation, even if the enemy should continue his naval superiority on the lake . . . Amongst the reasons which make it necessary to employ a large force, I am sorry to mention the dismay and disinclination to the service, which appears to prevail in the western country.' . .

Chief among the continued difficulties attending General Harrison's work was the keeping of enough soldiers, and supplies, for an advance movement. The terms of enlistment were short, and often more were departing than arriving. He had early in the winter called on Governor Shelby of Kentucky for fifteen hundred men to report at headquarters immediately. Governor Shelby's special message to the Legislature then in session was well received and promptly favored by an offer of seven dollars a month additional pay to any fifteen hundred Kentuckians already in the service, who would remain until others were sent to relieve them. This information was brought to the troops February 8th by Colonel Anthony Crockett. The Ohio and Pennsylvania troops were similarly appealed to, and fair success resulted. Governor Meigs ordered the organization of two additional regiments, and Kentucky ordered by draft an additional fifteen hundred militia forward to reinforce General Harrison's army.

At this time, when an army of four thousand men was almost assured for an early advance on Malden, a letter was received by General Harrison from General John Armstrong then Secretary of War, requesting him to dispense with militia as much as possible, to fill up the 17th, 19th and 24th Regiments of United States troops, to garrison the forts built, and to make feints toward the enemy, but no actual attack, until the contemplated vessels were ready to advance by the lake. General Harrison replied to this letter with sufficient arguments to prove to the Secretary that he should not urge his plans regarding militia as these plans were inadequate—and the Secretary wisely refrained from further meddling with the conduct of the Army of the Northwest. With date of 21st March, 1813, General Harrison wrote to Governor Shelby that

> Last night's mail brought me a letter from the Secretary of War in which I am restricted to the employment of the regular troops raised in this State to re-inforce the post at the Rapids. There are scattered through this State about one hundred and forty recruits of the 19th Regiment, and with these I am to supply the place of the brigades from Pennsylvania and Virginia whose time of service will now be daily expiring. By a letter from Governor Meigs I am informed that the Secretary of War disapproved the call for militia which I had made on this State and Kentucky, and was on the point of countermanding the orders. I will just mention one fact which will show the consequences of such a countermand. There are upon the [banks of the] AuGlaise and St. Mary Rivers eight forts [Forts Winchester, Brown, Jennings, Amanda, Barbee, Adams, Decatur near the present Decatur, Indiana, and Wayne] which contain within their walls property to the amount of half a million of dollars from actual cost, and worth now to the United States four times that sum. The whole force which would have had

charge of all these forts and property would have amounted to less than twenty invalid soldiers. . .

The garrison of Fort Meigs had enjoyed comparative quiet for two or three weeks when, about the first of April, the soldiers became excited over a desperate encounter of about a dozen French volunteer comrades who, while reconnoitering by boat the channels around the large Ewing Island below the Fort, were surprised and violently assailed at close quarters by two boat loads of savages who were watching for them. In the encounter that ensued but one savage escaped death; several of the Frenchmen were killed and of the others but three escaped wounds.*

Following the moving of the ice from the rivers, advantage was taken of the high stage of water to boat supplies to Fort Winchester and to Fort Meigs from the up-river forts named above. The Kentucky troops were sent northward as fast as possible by way of Hull's road, passing Forts Necessity and Findlay. General Harrison also took up his return march as soon as possible by way of Forts Barbee, Amanda, Jennings, and Winchester and, learning on the way that the enemy was becoming active about Fort Meigs, he dispatched a messenger to Governor Shelby to send him the entire force of three thousand men drafted by Kentucky. He also gathered from the forts last named all the troops that could be spared, about three hundred in number, to accompany him down the Maumee against any of the enemy gathered at Fort Meigs. Upon their arrival April 12th they were pleased to find peace prevailing, and that upwards of two hundred Pennsylvania militia had been influenced to remain past their enlistment time by Doctor Hersey their chaplain. Upon the arrival of three of the advance Kentucky companies, these Pennsylvanians were permitted to return home.

General Proctor had been informed at Malden of the building of Fort Meigs, of the great amount of supplies being there collected, and of the departure of troops. He had been gathering a force sufficient in his opinion for the capture of all; and he boasted to the savages of their easy work to secure the prize. Had the orders of the Secretary of War prevailed, his desire would have been accomplished, not only regarding Fort Meigs but with Fort Winchester and all the other forts throughout this western country.

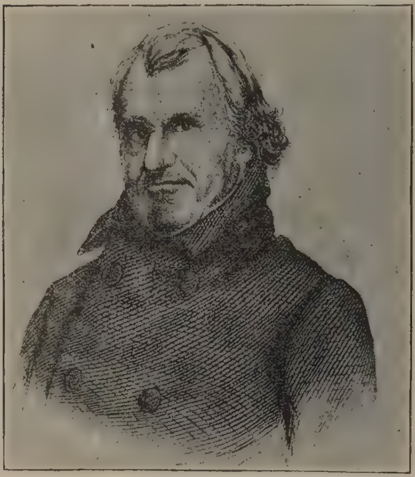
It was gathered from Malden by scouts that about the first of April Tecumseh was there with about fifteen hundred savages, fully six hundred of whom were from the region between Lake Michigan and the Wabash River, and with many others who formerly ranged along the Maumee and its tributaries. The fact of their being collected at Malden, so as not to molest the lightly garrisoned forts and his rear, pleased the General and he notified Governor Shelby that he would not need all the drafted Kentuckians, some of whom he had designed to place at Fort Wayne to keep in check these savages.

---

* Journal of Lieutenant Larwill copied into Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*.

The Canada militia assembled at Sandwich the 7th April and on the 23rd General Proctor's army, consisting of five hundred and twenty-two regulars and four hundred and sixty-one militia, embarked at Malden on a brig and several smaller vessels for Fort Meigs, convoyed by two gunboats with artillery. Nearly all their savage allies, or about fifteen hundred of them* crossed the Detroit River and made their way on foot; others accompanied the British in small boats. The vessels arrived at the mouth of the Maumee River on the 26th, and the army landed the 28th April near the ruins of Fort Miami about two miles below and on the opposite (left) bank of the Maumee from Fort Meigs, where they made and continued their principal encampment on the high ground. General Harrison was kept informed of their approach by Captain Hamilton's small detachment of troops who were reconnoitering along Maumee Bay, accompanied by the serviceable Peter Navarre as runner. The General dispatched Navarre with letters to inform the garrisons at Lower and Upper Sandusky, and Governor Meigs at Urbana, of the formidable force approaching him.

The effective force at Fort Meigs numbered about eleven hundred soldiers which was inadequate to cope with the well-trained and far better equipped enemy, about twenty-five hundred in number. Most of the savages were taken across to the right (Fort Meigs) bank of the Maumee to invest and harass the Fort at every possible point and nothing but their hideous yells and firing of musketry were now to be heard—Lorraine. The ground had been cleared for a distance of six to nine hundred feet of the heavy oak and beech trees excepting stumps



PETER NAVARRE

Born at Detroit about 1785; Died at East Toledo 20th March, 1874.

---

* In this, as in most other events, there are various statements. M'Afee records the British army as composed of six hundred regulars, eight hundred militia of Canada, and eighteen hundred savages; and the American force at about one thousand effectives,

and an occasional log. Behind these the savages would advance in the night and occasionally wound a picket-guard; but generally the savages suffered most during the day. They also climbed the trees back of the Fort, and an occasional one on the other side of the river* from which vantage points they were finally routed.

Knowing that General Green Clay's Kentucky troops were well on their way to Fort Meigs, General Harrison dispatched Captain William Oliver Commissary of the Fort with an oral message to hasten their coming. Oliver and his one soldier and one Aborigine attendants were escorted some distance on their way by a company of Captain Garrard's dragoons, and they hastened without opposition to Fort Winchester where General Clay's command of twelve hundred men had just arrived—a part under Colonel William Dudley by way of the Auglaise and the others under General Clay by way of the River St. Mary, Fort Wayne and the Maumee. They had already heard of General Harrison's danger and, two days before, had sent Leslie Combs then a Captain of riflemen scouts, with soldiers Johnson, Paxton, and two brothers Walker and Black Fish Junior a Shawnee warrior guide, to inform General Harrison of their approach. These messengers were attacked by a superior number of Pottawotamis just as they had sighted the flag of Fort Meigs. Johnson and Paxton were wounded and taken prisoners. The former soon died from his wounds, and the latter was finally restored to his friends. Combs and Black Fish escaped and returned to Fort Winchester about the time of the arrivals there of General Clay and Captain Oliver.

There had been continuous rain, and the efforts of the British to move their heavy cannon (with two hundred men and several oxen to each twenty-four-pounder) and construct batteries, were very laborious and attended with delays. The work was carried forward first only at night and later uninterruptedly day and night with strong relays, notwithstanding the rain and shots from Fort Meigs which killed some of their men and wounded others.

By the early morning of the 30th April they had completed two batteries nearly opposite Fort Meigs, on the sites of the present Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Maumee Village, the first mounting two twenty-four-pounder cannon (the heaviest at Fort Meigs being two eighteen-pounders) and the other mounting three howitzers, one eight inches and the other two five and a half inches caliber. During the mounting of these cannon several more were killed by the good aim of the American artillerymen at the Fort. At the coming of the British, General Harrison issued an address to his soldiers appealing to their patriotism as follows:

---

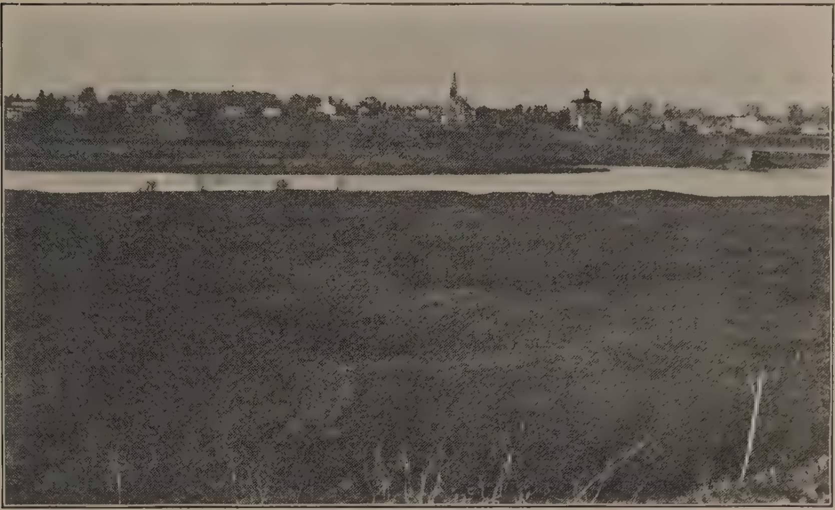
* Residents of the Village of Maumee yet point to 'the old elm' tree on the high bank opposite the site of Fort Meigs, and task the credulity of visitors regarding the shooting qualities of the muskets and rifles of 1813, by repeating to them the tradition of the soldiers at Fort Meigs killing savages who were perched in this tree, and who had from it wounded and killed some of the garrison. It is an aged, large, tall, and fair tree to look at, nevertheless.

> Can you, the citizens of a free country who have taken arms to defend its rights, think of submitting to an army composed of mercenary soldiers, reluctant Canadians goaded to the field by the bayonet, and of wretched naked savages? Can the breast of an American soldier, when he casts his eyes to the opposite shore the scene of his country's triumphs over the same foe [the site of the flight of the enemy from the Battle Field of Fallen Timber] be influenced by any other feelings than the hope of glory? Is not this army composed of the same materials as that which fought and conquered under the immortal Wayne? Yes, fellow soldiers, your General sees your countenances beam with the same fire that he witnessed on that glorious occasion; and, although it would be the height of presumption to compare himself with that hero, he boasts of being that hero's pupil. To your posts, then, fellow citizens, and remember that the eyes of your country are upon you!

Stakes had been placed behind the tents to outline the traverses shown on the accompanying ground plan of Fort Meigs, and the throwing up of earth had progressed rapidly, so that when the first British battery was complete many of its shot were opposed by solid walls of earth twelve feet high and twenty feet thick at the base, behind which the soldiers and the tents were hastily removed, and the main body of the army was thus protected from the heavy guns across the river. Another well for water was also dug behind the Grand Traverse. The British observing these heretofore hidden means of protection sent a detachment of soldiers under Major Muir and of Aborigines under Tecumseh across the Maumee below Fort Meigs, under protection of their gunboats (the shots from which did no damage to the Fort) to build batteries there. General Harrison, understanding this movement, directed the throwing up of other traverses, and the strengthening of the encampment defenses as much as possible. William Christy of Kentucky acting quartermaster was directed by the General to nail an American flag on each of the batteries; and there they remained during the siege.

The rain continued, but it did not stop the cannonading. But little damage was done to the Fort. Two Americans were killed the first of May and Major Amos Stoddard was wounded by a fragment of shell so that he died of tetanus ten days later. It was estimated that the large guns of the British threw not less than five hundred balls and shells at Fort Meigs during the most active day of the siege. The Americans dug holes in the ground and covered them with timber and earth, and some were floored with timber; but when not covered with tents these bomb-proof cellars would leak from the drenching rains, and ditching became necessary.

The American supply of balls and shells for their twelve-pounders was limited to about three hundred and sixty; with about the same number for their eighteen-pounders. These guns, therefore, answered those of the British only occasionally, and then to the best advantage. To increase the supply, a gill of whiskey was offered for every British ball of these sizes delivered to Thomas L. Hawkins the keeper of the magazine. It was estimated that over one thousand balls from the British guns were thrown during the five days' siege. The balls accepted for the reward were from the twelve-pounders and less—the British having no eighteen-pounder cannon, and the Americans having no use for their twenty-four-pounder balls.



THE VILLAGE OF MAUMEE, LUCAS COUNTY, OHIO.

Looking north from the Grand Traverse of Fort Meigs 1st December, 1902. The Presbyterian Church, beyond the end of the bridge on the right, marks the site of the first British battery in the Siege of Fort Meigs; the Methodist Church, the belfried building to the left of the middle distance, is on the site of their second battery, of howitzers; the Roman Catholic Church, with spire, is about the site of their third battery, of cannon; and on the lower land between the end of the bridge and the Public School Building, was placed their fourth battery, of mortars. Something of the earthworks of the batteries of Fort Meigs yet exist, as shown on the proximal river-bluff line.

The British completed a third battery of three twelve-pounder cannon the night of May 1st between the other two. A battery of several mortars was also put in operation nearer the river the 3rd of May; and that night smaller cannon and mortars were taken across the river below the Fort and were mounted on mounds prepared by the soldiers who had crossed earlier—some of which mounds were within two hundred and fifty yards of the rear angles of Camp Meigs. Additional traverses of earth were made so that the shots from these batteries had little effect; and a few well-directed shots from the American guns caused hasty removal of the nearer cannon to the ravine on the east at greater distance.

Reverend A. M. Lorraine, who was at Fort Meigs at the time, published in March, 1845, his recollections of the siege, viz:*

> One of our militia-men took his station on the embankment, and gratuitously forewarned us of every shot. In this he became so skillful that he could in almost every case predict the destination of the ball. As soon as the smoke issued from the muzzle of the gun he would cry out 'shot' or 'bomb' as the case might be. Sometimes he would exclaim 'block-house No. 1' or 'look out, main battery'; 'now for the meat-house;' 'good-by, if you will pass.' In spite of all the expostulations of his friends, he maintained his post. One day there came a shot that seemed to defy all his calculations. He stood silent, motionless, perplexed. In the same instant he was swept into eternity. Poor man! he should have considered that when there was no obliquity in the issue of the smoke, either to the right or left, above or below, the fatal messenger would travel in the direct line of his vision. . .
>
> The Aborigines, climbing up into the trees, fired incessantly upon us. Such was their distance that many of their balls barely reached us but fell harmless to the ground. Occasionally they inflicted dangerous and even fatal wounds.
>
> The number killed in the fort was small considering the profusion of powder and ball expended on us. About eighty were slain, many wounded, and several had to suffer amputation of limbs. The most dangerous duty which we performed within the precincts of the fort was in covering the magazine. Previous to this the powder had been deposited in wagons and these stationed in the traverse. Here there was no security against bombs; it was therefore thought to be prudent to remove the powder into a small block-house and cover it with earth. The enemy, judging our designs from our movements, now directed all their shot to this point [particularly from their twenty-four-pounder battery]. Many of their balls were red-hot. Wherever they struck they raised a cloud of smoke and made a frightful hissing. An officer passing our quarters said, 'boys, who will volunteer to cover the magazine?' Fool-like away several of us went. As soon as we reached the spot there came a ball and took off one man's head. The spades and dirt flew faster than any of us had before witnessed. In the midst of our job a bomb-shell fell on the roof and, lodging on one of the braces, it spun round for a moment. Every soldier fell prostrate on his face and with breathless horror awaited the vast explosion which we expected would crown all our earthly sufferings. Only one of all the gang presumed to reason on the case. He silently argued that, as the shell had not bursted as quick as usual, there might be something wrong in its arrangement. If it bursted where it was, and the magazine exploded, there could be no escape; it was death anyway; so he sprung to his feet, seized a boat-hook and, pulling the hissing missile to the ground and jerking the smoking match from its socket, discovered that the shell was filled with inflammable substance which, if once ignited, would have wrapped the whole building in a sheet of flame. This circumstance added wings to our shovels; and we were right glad when the officer said 'that will do; go to your lines.'

General Proctor sent his Major Chambers with a white flag May 4th, to demand surrender of the Fort. General Harrison promptly replied: 'Tell General Proctor that if he shall take the Fort it will be under circumstances that will do him more honor than a thousand surrenders.' That night about eleven o'clock General Harrison's anxiety regarding reinforcements was largely relieved by the return of Captain Oliver accompanied by Major David Trimble and fifteen soldiers who had evaded the savages, to report that General Green Clay's command, eleven hundred in number in eighteen large flatboats with high sides to protect the soldiers from the bullets of the savages they might meet, were tied on the left bank of the Maumee at the head of the Grand Rapids, the river being so high that the pilot declined to run the rapids in such a dark night unless commanded so to do. Captain Hamilton with a subaltern and canoe was dispatched to meet General Clay and say to him as the command of General Harrison: "You must detach about eight hundred men from your brigade, who will land at a point I [Hamilton] will show, about one or one and a half miles above Fort Meigs and I will conduct them to the British batteries on the left bank of the river. They must take possession of the enemy's cannon, spike them, cut down the carriages, then return to their boats* and cross over to the Fort. The balance of your men must land on the Fort side of the river, opposite the first landing, and fight their way to the Fort through the savages. The route they must take will be pointed out by a subaltern officer now with me, who will land the canoe on the right bank of the river to point out the landing for the boats."

---

* *Ladies Repository*, 1845. Copied into Howe's *His. Collections of Ohio*, vol. ii, pages 868-69.

It was some time after daylight before the oncoming boats arrived at Hamilton's station about five miles above the Fort. Colonel William Dudley was in the first boat and General Clay in the thirteenth from the front. When the orders were delivered to him General Clay ordered Colonel Dudley as the senior Colonel to assail the batteries as directed by General Harrison, with the men in the first twelve boats; while he, with the others, would go forward to the Fort.

Colonel Dudley 'executed his prescribed task most gallantly and successfully' up to the capture of the batteries. His command arrived near the batteries (which were in full action) unobserved, the right led by Dudley the left by Major Shelby and the center as a reserve by Acting Major Morrison. Captain Combs with thirty riflemen, including seven friendly Aborigines, were in front and on the left flank a hundred yards distant. The columns marched so as to present a semicircular front to the enemy, Major Shelby's command passing around between the batteries and the British camp. The orders were to move quietly, but savages fired on Dudley's troops when near the batteries and, with a shout, they charged. The gunners fled, the Americans rushed forward to the guns, spiked eleven of the largest† and hauled down the enemy's flag, which action caused loud applause at the Fort. Not one American had been killed in this successful charge—but dire results awaited the exulting soldiers from their non-compliance with the orders of General Harrison to start for the Fort as soon as the batteries were disabled. Some savages fired at Captain Combs' riflemen, the fire was returned, and others on both sides rushed to the support of their friends. The Americans were anxious for a combat and, notwithstanding their short thirty days presence in the army and want of discipline, they impetuously drove their opposers back into the woods, pursuing them promiscuously until the pursuers were confused, and surrounded by superior numbers of Aborigines and British who rallied, particularly between them and the river, preventing their escape. Major Shelby remained at the captured batteries until a rallying force of British drove his soldiers toward their boats, regaining their batteries; he rallied a few of his men and endeavored to follow after Colonel Dudley, but they, like the main force, were soon involved in disorder and captured.

---

* Writing of General Green Clay May 13, 1813. Brannan's *Official Letters*, page 158.

†Unfortunately, the spikeing of the cannon could then be done only with ramrods (instead of with the usual files or other short, hard pieces of metal that could be broken at level with guns) which were readily removed by the British after their recapture, and the guns were again used against the Americans.

Colonel Dudley landed with eight hundred and sixty-six men—his regiment numbering seven hundred and sixty-one and, in addition there were sixty of Colonel William E. Boswell's regiment and forty-five United States troops. Only one hundred and seventy escaped to Fort Meigs. Many were killed, including Colonel Dudley, in the fierce contest that continued about three hours. Many others were wounded, scalped and stripped of clothing by the savages. Those who could walk were taken prisoners by the British and were started for the ruins of Fort Miami near their encampment. Some were slain by the savages while on this march; and the stripping of Americans dead and alive of their clothing and possessions was freely indulged in. At Fort Miami the prisoners were compelled to run the gauntlet where many more were killed by the savages with war clubs, scalping knives, tomahawks and pistols.

Descriptions of this great tragedy were afterward given by three participants in the battle, and extracts will follow from the writings of each one, to elucidate the foregoing outline, viz: From Joseph R. Underwood First Lieutenant in Captain John C. Morrison's company;* Captain Leslie Combs of the Riflemen Scouts;† and Major Richardson of the British 41st Regiment‡ as follows:

> In effectuating the plan of attack, Captain Morrison's Company was thrown by the river above the battery. While passing through a thicket of hazel, toward the river in forming the line of battle, I saw Colonel Dudley for the last time. He was greatly ex-

---

* Copied from an old public print into Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* volume ii, page 869.

† *Official Report to General Green Clay* 6th May, 1815, Print of Spiller and Gates, Cincinnati, 1869.

‡ Copied into Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, volume ii, page 873, *et seq.*, from the *London New Monthly Magazine* for December, 1826.

cited; he railed at me for not keeping my men better dressed [in better line]. I replied that he must perceive from the situation of the ground, and the obstacles that we had to encounter, that it was impossible. When we came within a small distance of the river we halted. The enemy at this place had gotten in the rear of our line, formed parallel with the river, and were firing upon our troops. Captain Morrison's Company did not long remain in this situation. Having nothing to do, and being without orders, we determined to march our company out and join the combatants. We did so accordingly. In passing out we fell on the left of the whole regiment and were soon engaged in a severe conflict. The Aborigines endeavored to flank and surround us. We drove them between one and two miles, directly back from the river. They hid behind trees and logs, and poured upon us as we advanced a most destructive fire. We were from time to time ordered to charge. The orders were passed along the lines, our field officers being on foot. . . Captain Morrison was shot through the temples, the ball passing behind the eyes cutting the optic nerve and depriving him of sight. . . Having made the best arrangement for the safety of my much esteemed Captain that circumstances allowed, I took charge of the company and continued the battle. We made several charges afterwards and drove the enemy a considerable distance. . . At length orders were passed along the lines directing us to fall back and keep up a retreating fire. As soon as this movement was made the Aborigines were greatly encouraged, and advanced upon us with the most horrid yells. Once or twice the officers succeeded in producing a temporary halt and a fire on the Aborigines, but the soldiers of the different companies soon became mixed, confusion ensued, and a general rout took place. The retreating army made its way towards the batteries, where I supposed we should be able to form and repel the pursuing Aborigines. They were now so close in the rear as to frequently shoot down those who were before me. About this time I received a ball in my back which yet remains in my body. It struck me with a stunning, deadening force, and I fell on my hands and knees. I rose and threw my waistcoat open to see whether it had passed through me. Finding it had not, I ran on and had not proceeded more than a hundred or two yards before I was made prisoner. In emerging from the woods into an open piece of ground near the battery we had taken, and before I knew what had happened, a soldier seized my sword and said to me, 'Sir, you are my prisoner!' I looked before me and saw, with astonishment, the ground covered with muskets. The soldier observing my astonishment, said 'your army has surrendered' and received my sword. He ordered me to go forward and join the prisoners. I did so. The first man I met whom I recognized was Daniel Smith of our company. With eyes full of tears he exclaimed 'good Lord, Lieutenant, what does all this mean?' I told him we were prisoners of war. . . —Underwood.

In small parties, by tens and twenties, they arrived at the batteries, thereby falling an easy prey to the regular force of the enemy who, early in the action, had retaken the batteries from our right columns—Combs.

On our march to the garrison [ruins of Fort Miami] the Aborigines began to strip us of our valuable clothing and other articles. One took my hat, another my hunting shirt, and a third my waistcoat, so that I was soon left with nothing but my shirt and pantaloons—Underwood. Some lost their pantaloons. He who did not instantly give up his clothes frequently paid his life for it. This was done before the British guard, also before General Proctor, Colonel Elliott, and other officers who were riding up the lines. No difference was made between well and wounded in this as well as what followed. It would be almost impossible to relate all the acts of individual outrage that took place. I shall never forget the demoniac look of the villain who stripped me. . . I showed him my wound. 'Twas vain; before I could unfasten the bandage, regardless of my pain, he tore my coat off from my shoulders. I had gone but little further before I saw ten or twelve men lying dead, stripped naked, and scalped—Combs, page 9.

I saved my watch by concealing the chain, and it proved of great service to me afterwards. Having read when a boy Smith's narrative of his residence among the Aborigines, my idea of their character was that they treated those best who appeared the most fearless. Under this impression, as we marched down to the old garrison [ruins of Fort Miami] I looked at those whom we met with all the sternness of countenance I could command. I soon caught the eye of a stout warrior painted red. He gazed at me with as much sternness as I did at him until I came within striking distance, when he gave me a severe blow over the nose and cheek-bone with his [gun] wiping stick, I abandoned the notion acquired from Smith, and went on afterwards with as little display of hauteur and defiance as possible. On our approach to the old garrison [fort] the Aborigines formed a line to the left of the road, there being a perpendicular bank to the right on the margin of which the road passed. I perceived that the prisoners were running the gauntlet and that the Aborigines were whipping, shooting and tomahawking the men as they ran by their line. When I reached the starting place I dashed off as fast as I was able, and ran near the muzzles of their guns, knowing that they would have to shoot me while I was immediately in front or let me pass, for to have turned their guns up or down the lines to shoot me would have endangered themselves as there was a curve in their line. In this way I passed without injury except some strokes over the shoulders with their gun-sticks. As I entered the ditch around the garrison the man before me was shot and fell, and I fell over him. The passage for a while was stopped by those who fell over the dead man and me. How many lives were lost at this place I cannot tell, probably between twenty and forty. The brave Captain Lewis was among the number. . . —Underwood. We heard frequent guns at the place during the whole time the remaining prisoners were coming in. Some were wounded severely with war clubs, tomahawks, etc. The number who fell after the surrender was supposed by all to be nearly equal to the killed in the battle. As soon as all the surviving prisoners got within the stockade the whole body of Aborigines, regardless of the opposition of our little guard, rushed in. There seemed to be almost twice our number of them. Their blood-thirsty souls were not yet satiated with carnage. One Aborigine shot three of our men, tomahawked a fourth, and stripped and scalped them in our presence. . . Then all raised the war-hoop and commenced loading their guns. . . Tecumseh, more humane than his ally and employer [Proctor] generously interfered and prevented further massacre. Colonel Elliot then rode slowly in, spoke to the Aborigines, waved his sword, and all but a few retired immediately. . . —Combs.

When we got within the walls we were ordered to sit down. I lay in the lap of Mr. Gilpin a soldier of Captain Henry's Company from Woodford. A new scene commenced. An Aborigine painted black mounted the delapidated wall and shot one of the prisoners next to him. He reloaded and shot a second, the ball passing through him and into the hip of another who afterwards died of the wound at Cleveland, I was informed. The savage then laid down his gun and drew his tomahawk with which he killed two others. When he drew his tomahawk and jumped down among the men they endeavored to escape from him by leaping over the heads of each other, thereby to place others between themselves and danger. Thus they were heaped upon one another and, as I did not rise, they trampled upon me so that I could see nothing that was going on. The confusion and uproar of this moment cannot be adequately described, There was an excitement among the Aborigines, and a fierceness in their conversation, which betokened on the part of some a strong disposition to massacre all of us. The British officers and soldiers seemed to interpose to prevent the further effusion of blood. Their expression was *Oh nichee wah!* meaning, Oh, brother quit. After the one who had occasioned this horrible scene had scalped and stripped his victims he left us, and a comparative calm ensued. The prisoners resumed their seats on the ground. While thus situated a tall stout Aborigine walked into the midst of us, drew a long butcher knife from his belt and commenced whetting it. As he did so he looked around among the prisoners, apparently selecting one for the gratification of his vengeance. . . After exciting our fears sufficiently for his satisfaction, he gave a contemptuous grunt and went out. About this time, but whether before or after I do not distinctly recollect, Colonel Elliott and Tecumseh rode into the garrison [Fort Miami earthworks enclosure]. When Elliott came to where Thomas Moore of Clarke County stood, the latter enquired if it was compatible with the honor of a civilized nation, such as the British claimed to be, to suffer defenceless prisoners to be murdered by savages? Elliott desired to know who he was. Moore replied that he was nothing but a private in Captain Morrison's company; and the conversation ended. . . Elliott was an old man. His hair was more white than gray, and to my view he had more of the savage in his countenance than had Tecumseh. This celebrated chief was a noble, dignified personage. He wore an elegant broadsword, and was dressed in Aborigine costume. His face was finely proportioned, his nose inclined to be aquiline, and his eyes displayed none of that savage and ferocious triumph common to the other Aborigines on that occasion. . . I saw him only on horseback. . . Upon the arrival of Elliott and Tecumseh we were directed to stand up and form in lines, I think four deep, in order to be counted. After we were thus arranged a scene transpired scarcely less affecting than that which I have before attempted faintly to describe. The Aborigines began to select the young men whom they intended to take with them to their towns. Numbers were taken. I saw Corporal Smith of our company bidding farewell to his friends, and pointing to the Aborigine with whom he was to go. I never heard of his return. The young men, learning their danger, endeavored to avoid it by crowding into the center where they could not be so readily reached. Owing to my wound I could not scuffle, and was thrust to the outside. An Aborigine came up to me and gave me a piece of meat. I took this for proof that he intended to take me with him. Thinking it the best policy to act with confidence, I made a sign to him to give me his butcher knife, which he did. I divided the meat with those who stood near me, reserving a small piece for myself, more as a show of politeness to the savage than to gratify any appetite I had for it. After I had eaten it and returned the knife, he turned and left me. When it was near night we were taken in open boats about nine miles down the river to the British shipping. On the day after, we were visited by the savages in their bark canoes in order to make a display of their scalps. These they strung on poles perhaps two inches in diameter and about eight feet high. The poles were set up perpendicularly in the bows of their canoes, and near the top the scalps were fastened. On some poles I saw four or five. Each scalp was drawn closely over a hoop about four inches in diameter, and the flesh side was painted red. . . We remained six days on board the vessel—those of us who were sick, or wounded. All were discharged on parole. . . The wounded and sick were taken in a vessel to the mouth of Vermillion River and there put on shore—Underwood. [Another report set them ashore at the mouth of Huron River, where General Harrison had them cared for and protected on their way home].

TECUMSEH

In his dress as a British officer. Born near Chillicothe, Ohio (?) about 1770; was killed in the Battle of the Thames October 5, 1813.

The victory obtained at the Miami [Maumee] was such as to reflect credit [sic] on every branch of the [British] service; but the satisfaction arising from the conviction was deeply embittered by an act of cruelty, which, as the writer of an impartial memoir, it becomes my painful duty to record. In the heat of the action a strong corps of the enemy, which had thrown down their arms and surrendered prisoners of war, were immediately dispatched under an escort of fifty men for the purpose of being embarked in the gun-boats, where it was presumed they would be safe from the attacks of the Aborigines. This measure, although dictated by the purest humanity, and apparently offering the most probable means of security, proved of fatal import to several of the prisoners. On reaching our encampment, then entirely deserted by the troops, they were met by a band of cowardly and treacherous Aborigines who had borne no share in the action, yet who now, guided by the savage instinct of their nature, approached the column and, selecting their victims, commenced the work of blood. In vain did the harassed and indignant escort endeavor to save them from the fury of their destroyers. The frenzy of these wretches knew no bounds, and an old and excellent soldier named Russell, of the 41st, was shot through the heart while endeavoring to wrest a victim from the grasp of his murderer.

Forty of these unhappy men had already fallen beneath the steel of the infuriated party when Tecumseh, apprised of what was doing, rode up at full speed and, raising his tomahawk, threatened to destroy the first man who refused to desist. Even on those lawless people, to whom the language of coercion had hitherto been unknown, the threats and tone of the exasperated chieftian produced an instantaneous effect, and they retired at once humiliated and confounded.*

The survivors of this melancholy catastrophe were immediately conveyed on board the gunboats, moored in the river, and every precaution having been taken to prevent a renewal of the scene, the escorting party proceeded to the interment of the victims, to whom the rites of sepulture were afforded, even before those of our own men who had fallen in the action. Colonel Dudley, second in command of General Clay's division, was among the number of the slain.

On the evening of the second day after this event I accompanied Major Muir, of the 41st [British Regiment] in a ramble throughout the encampment of the Aborigines, distant some few hundred yards from our own. The spectacle there offered to our view was at once of the most ludicrous and revolting nature. In various directions were lying the trunks and boxes taken from the boats of the American division, and the plunderers were busily occupied in displaying their riches, carefully examining each article, and attempting to define its use. Several were decked out in the uniforms of officers; and although embarrassed to the last degree in their movements, and dragging with difficulty the heavy military boots with which their legs were for the first time covered, strutted forth much to the admiration of their less fortunate comrades. Some were habited in plain clothes; others had their bodies clad with clean white shirts, contrasting in no ordinary manner with the swarthiness of their skins; all wore some articles of decoration, and their tents were ornamented with saddles, bridles, rifles, daggers, swords and pistols,

---

*A letter from William G. Ewing to John H. James, Esq., of Urbana, Ohio, as quoted in Drake's *Life of Tecumseh*, reads that Tecumseh . . . sprang from his horse, caught one savage by the throat and another by the breast, and threw them to the ground. Drawing his tomahawk and scalping knife he ran in between the Americans and savages, brandishing them with the fury of a madman, and daring anyone of the hundreds that surrounded him to attempt to murder another American. They all appeared confounded, and immediately desisted. His mind appeared rent with passion, and he exclaimed almost with tears in his eyes, 'Oh! what will become of my Aborigines?' He then demanded in an authoritative tone where Proctor was; but casting his eyes upon him at a short distance, sternly inquired why he had not put a stop to the inhuman massacre? Sir, said Proctor, your Aborigines cannot be commanded. Begone! retorted Tecumseh with the greatest disdain, you are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats!

many of which were handsomely mounted and of curious workmanship. Such was the ridiculous part of the picture.

But, mingled with these, and in various directions, were to be seen the scalps of the slain drying in the sun, stained on the flesh side with vermilion dyes, and dangling in air as they hung suspended from poles to which they were attached, together with hoops of various sizes on which were stretched portions of human skin taken from various parts of the human body, principally the hand and foot and yet covered with the nails of those parts; while scattered along the ground were visible the members from which they had been separated, and which were serving as nutriment to the wolf-dogs by which the savages were accompanied.

As we continued to advance into the heart of the encampment a scene of a more disgusting nature arrested our attention. Stopping at the entrance of a tent occupied by the Minoumini [Menomeni] tribe we observed them seated around a large fire over which was suspended a kettle containing their meal. Each warrior had a piece of string hanging over the edge of the vessel, and to this was suspended a food which, it will be presumed we heard not without loathing, consisted of a part of an American. Any expression of our feelings, as we declined the invitation they gave us to join in their repast, would have been resented by the savages without ceremony; we had, therefore, the prudence to excuse ourselves under the plea that we had already taken our food, and we hastened to remove from a sight so revolting to humanity. . . . —Major Richardson, of the 41st British Regiment.

This description does not accord with the previous statement that the British buried the American dead before their own dead. Doubtless the savages took all the bodies of the Americans they desired as food for themselves and their dogs before the burying began. Another report reads that parts of the large, muscular Colonel Dudley was one of those eaten by the cannibals. (See report on a later page of the number of fragmentary bodies afterwards found and buried by the Americans). The foregoing statements by Major Richardson, Captain Combs, and Lieutenant Underwood, corroborate the testimony of many witnesses heretofore mentioned, and of many yet to be mentioned, that the British authorities did not discourage the inhumanities of their savage allies; but that many encouraged their savagery—were even tutors of the Aborigines to make their acts more poignant to the Americans!

The 4th of May was a sad day at Fort Meigs on account of this, the third great loss suffered by the Army of the Northwest in less than one year after the beginning of the War of 1812. General Harrison, from his outlook, saw the beginning of the fatal error of Colonel Dudley's doomed troops. He signaled, repeating his former command to come at once to the Fort, but his signals were lost to the enthusiastic men 'whose excessive ardor . . always the case when Kentucky militia were engaged . . was the source of all their misfortunes'* . . A volunteer was called for to convey to Colonel Dudley the imperative command of the General to retreat to the Fort. Lieutenant Campbell responded; but he arrived near the farther shore too late.

---

* From General Harrison's General Orders, May 9, 1813.

The soldiers in the other six boats of the reinforcing Kentuckians met with better success. General Clay's boat, containing beside himself Captain Peter Dudley and fifty men, was separated by the swollen rapid current from the other five after the detachment of Colonel William Dudley's command, and was carried further down the stream than the others before a landing could be effected; and landing on the right shore opposite Hollister Island, notwithstanding opposition of savages who policed the shores and roads leading to the Fort, General Clay led the soldiers to the Fort without loss of life; but their boat containing four sick soldiers and their baggage became separated from them and was secured by the savages. Colonel William E. Boswell commanding the other five boats landed at Turkey Point above, formed his men in open order, rapidly crossed the flood-plain intervening, charged the savages who were firing on them from among the trees of the slopes and, being reinforced by Majors Alexander and Johnson's commands, and the companies of Captains Nearing and Dudley sent out of the Fort by General Harrison, they drove the savages, though superior to them in numbers, half a mile into the woods. General Harrison seeing from his high point of observation that they were going too far and that the British and their main body of savage allies nearest the Fort desired to involve them in a dangerous ambuscade, at once sent a volunteer, John T. Johnson, to recall them with imperative orders. Johnson started on this perilous mission on horseback and succeeded, notwithstanding the killing of his horse by the enemy. General Harrison also ordered John Miller, a native of Ohio and Colonel of United States troops, to sally from the Fort and do what he could, safely, to attract the enemy's attention. Three hundred and fifty soldiers, regulars and Captain Uriel Sebree's company of Kentucky militia, were hastily chosen, and they were soon impetuously charging the battery nearest the Fort. The enemy at that point, estimated at eight hundred and fifty British and savages, were driven back into the ravine, their cannon were spiked and, before the enemy could rally in force, the victorious Americans returned to the Fort with forty-three prisoners. This brilliant sortie resulted, however, in the loss of twenty-eight Americans killed and twenty-five wounded. Captain Sebree's company would have been entirely cut off but for the timely charge against four times their number of investing enemy by Lieutenant Gwinn's squad from the 19th United States regiment.*

---

* At this moment a white flag was observed waving on the ramparts of the Fort, and the courage and perserverance of the [British] troops appeared about to be crowned with the surrender of the fortress, the siege of which had cost them so much toil and privation. Such, however, was far from being the

Following these engagements General Proctor again sent Major Chambers with a white flag to demand that General Harrison surrender. The reply was such as to indicate that the demand was considered as an insult. When this reply was received by the British commander he began preparations to raise the siege. His efforts to remove his siege guns, however, were delayed by the American cannon, although his gunboats were taken as near Fort Meigs as practicable to divert their attention. The last shot from the boats killed several Americans, including Lieutenant Robert Walker of the Pittsburg Blues. In his report to Governor Sir George Prevost, General Proctor wrote regarding his raising the siege as follows: . . "I had not the option of retaining my position on the Miami [Maumee]. Half of the militia had left us. . . Before the ordinance could be withdrawn from the batteries I was left with Tecumseh and less than twenty chiefs and warriors—a circumstance which strongly proves that, under present circumstances at least, our Aborigine force is not a disposable one, or permanent, though occasionally a most powerful aid." . . Notwithstanding this, Governor Prevost was led by a later report, and perhaps by his own want of accuracy of statement, to proclaim that the battles on the Maumee 'terminated in the complete defeat of the enemy, and capture, dispersion, or distruction of thirteen hundred men.' The British loss was reported as fifteen killed, forty-seven wounded, and forty-four taken prisoners. The Americans acknowledged a loss of eighty-one killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded, of which number seventeen were killed and sixty-five wounded within the enclosure.

Proctor made a proposition to exchange the American prisoners for the Aborigines of the frontiers who were not prisoners of the United States but nominally friends. Whether he made this proposal for an insult, or for the purpose of recruiting his allies, is known only to himself. General Harrison, through courtesy, told him he would refer the subject to the President—M'Afee, page 272.

The savages kept between thirty and forty American prisoners,

---

intentions of General Harrison. Availing himself of the cessation of hostilities which necessarily ensued, he caused Lieutenants M'Intyre and Hailes and the privates he had just captured to be sent across the river for the purpose of being exchanged ; but this was only a feint for the accomplishment of a more important object. Drawing up his whole force, cavalry and infantry, on the plain beneath the fortress, he caused such of the boats of General Clay's division as were laden with ammunition, in which the garrison stood in much need, to be dropped under the works, and the stores immediately disembarked. All this took place in the period occupied for the exchange of prisoners. The remaining boats [probably those lost of Colonel Dudley's command and one of General Clay's, are here referred to] containing the private baggage and stores of the division, fell into the hands of the Aborigines still engaged in the pursuit of the fugitives, and the plunder they acquired was immense. General Harrison having secured his stores, and received the officers and men exchanged for his captives, withdrew into the garrison, and the bombardment was recommenced—From the British Major Richardson's account, published in the *London New Monthly Magazine* for December, 1826.

concealing them after the battle, and hurrying them away the next day. The main body of savages now retired, temporarily, from the British command on account of their being tired of the continued siege, and sated with their butchery and booty from stripping the captured Kentuckians. An ignoble part of the character of Tecumseh is demonstrated by his continued adherence to Proctor, probably not from any valid respect for the man but for the emolument he might receive. General Proctor, on giving up the siege, returned with his remaining force to Amherstburg (Malden) where he disbanded the militia. The savages remained near enough to receive regular rations; and some of them were constantly employed as spies.

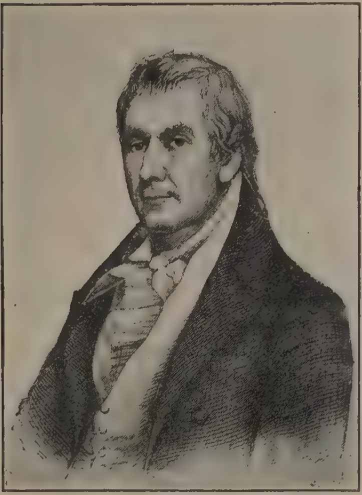
View Northeast from the Grand Traverse of Fort Meigs 1st December, 1902. Perrysburg at extreme right, Ewing Island in middle distance, and site of Fort Miami beyond and left of the center.

General Harrison on May 9th, immediately after the departure of the enemy, sent out a detachment to gather all the bodies of the killed that could be found—and the search was successful; but general mutilations marked the work of the savages. The indifference or oversight of the British in their nominal burying of the dead of Colonel Dudley's command, in contradiction to Major Richardson's statement, was shown by finding fragments of forty-five Kentuckians, which the Americans conveyed across the river and buried with the honors of war like the others near Fort Meigs.*

---

* These different burial places are indicated on the ground plan of Fort and Camp Meigs *ante* page 316. These graves remain without monument up to the time of this writing (summer of 1904) but the Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Society (organized May 7, 1864; reorganized and incorporated in 1902) has taken up the work of the extinct Maumee Valley Monument Association (incorporated July 28,

In his reports of the siege to the Secretary of War, General Harrison described the enemy and mentioned the savages as the most efficient force. He commended the efficiency of his entire besieged force, and made special mention of Colonel John Miller and Major Todd of the 19th Regiment United States Infantry; Major Ball of the dragoons and Major Sodwick, Colonel Mills and Major Ritzer of the Ohio Militia, and Major Johnson of the Kentucky Militia, and Adjutant Brown; Captains Eleazer D. Wood, Engineer, Gratiot and Cushing of the Artillery; Mr. Timberlee and sergeants Henderson, Tommes and Meldrum, each in charge of Battery or Blockhouse; Captain Sebree's company of Kentucky Militia; the Pittsburg Blues under Lieutenant M'Gee; the Pittsburg Volunteers and Lieutenant Drum's detachment; Captains Croghan, Bradford, Langham, Elliott, Nering, and their detachments of the 17th and 19th Regiments; Lieutenants Campbell, Gwinn, Lee, Kercheval and Rees; Ensigns Shep, Hawkins, Harrison, Mitchell and Stockton: To General Clay, Colonel Boswell, Major Fletcher, Captains Dudley, Simons and Medcalf, Kentuckians. Also to members of his Staff, Major Hukill Aide-de-camp, Acting Inspector General, Major Graham Aide-de-camp, J. Johnson, Esq., volunteer Aide-de-camp, Lieutenant John O'Fallon Acting Assistant Adjutant General, and Deputy Quartermaster Eubank.



GENERAL GREEN CLAY

Born 14 August, 1757, in Powhatan County, Virginia. Died 31 October, 1826, in Kentucky.*

The injuries received by the Fort during the siege were carefully examined by the Generals and Engineers, and methods of repairs and strengthening devices were discussed and the work at once entered upon.

Leaving General Clay in command of Fort Meigs, General Harrison started eastward with an escort of cavalry (mounted riflemen) under Captain Robert M'Afee. He arrived at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont, Ohio) May 12th and there met Governor Meigs with a strong

---

1885) and in October, 1903, purchased eight and fifty-five one-hundredths acres of land embracing the burial ground of the Kentuckians. Communications have been had with the Governors and Legislatures of Kentucky and Ohio and, notwithstanding present disappointments, strong hopes are entertained that not only a monument will eventually be built on this ground, but that all the historic places along the Maumee River will be purchased and appropriately marked.

* From *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History.* Copyright, 1901, by Harper & Brothers.

force of Ohio volunteers who were hastening to reinforce Fort Meigs in answer to the message carried by Peter Navarre. The army not being prepared for an advance against the enemy, these troops were returned southward to conserve food supplies. After providing for a continued careful watch of the south shore of Lake Erie, General Harrison went southward to further provide for the defenses, and for the advance.

We catch glimpses of the soldiers' later experiences within the fortified encampment at Fort Meigs from the manuscript 'Book of General Orders' kept by Adjutant Samuel Bayless, who also served as Judge Advocate in court martials, viz:* On May 15th a Regimental Court Martial composed of Captains Patrick Shaw, Nathan Hatfield and Theophilus Simonton, sat in trial of Samuel Stewart, charged by Major Anthony Pitzer with exploding a bombshell in camp on the 11th. This was probably one of the British shells that lodged in the camp during the siege. Alexander Tucker, J. Boggs, and E. Sprig, were sworn but their evidence not being explicit against the defendant, he was declared not guilty; and James Mills, Colonel 1st Regiment, 3rd Department Ohio Militia, approved the finding. May 24th James Kelley Corporal in Captain Simonton's company was charged before a court composed of Major J. Lodwick and Captains P. Shane and N. Hatfield 'with having suffered public whiskey to be used from the barrel under his charge on the night of the 22nd inst.' The testimony of J. Davis, the only witness, was not strong enough to convict, and the accused was declared not guilty. A garrison order with date May 24, 1813, reads that "The commandants of the different corps at this place will make out and deliver to Major Pondell, Acting Adjutant General, complete returns of their respective commands on the 5th day of June ensuing, for the month of May, instant. Fighting is especially forbidden after this date unless authorized. Every soldier shall be entitled to one gill of whiskey for every cannon ball or bomb [British] he may find and deliver to Captain Cushing or Lieutenant Hawkins. [Signed] John Miller, Colonel Nineteenth Regiment Infantry, Commandant." June 4th first Sergeant John Haines complained to a court martial of abusive language used to him by private Galloway. The accused plead guilty and was sentenced to 'parade with the general fatigue on the 5th and 6th inst. and do that duty faithfully these two days.' Sergeant Haines also complained, June 26th, of Thomas Gregory for using toward him abusive and threatening language. The accused plead not guilty but, on testimony of Adam Stonebraker and Robert Jordan he was declared guilty and sentenced 'to acknowledge his fault to and ask forgiveness of his Orderly Sergeant in presence of the battalion, or be compelled to go on fatigue for three days and be put in the guard house each night, at his option; and that this sentence shall be read on battalion parade by the Adjutant this evening.'

---

* See Knapp's *History of The Maumee Valley*, page 179 *et sequentia*.

Proctor's and Tecumseh's emissaries to the distant tribes of Aborigines had gathered large numbers of them, and in June, 1813, over one thousand of the most savage and depraved were marched from their rendezvous at Chicago to Amherstburg by their chiefs and a Scotch trader, Dickson. Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who had left Congress and organized a regiment of seven hundred mounted Kentuckians, was directed to move around the headwaters of the Auglaise and Maumee. About the time of the passing of these savages through southern Michigan Colonel Johnson was circulating through northern Indiana, meeting and dispersing savages near Fort Wayne and to the northwest with the noted French-Shawnee Anthony Shane as one of his scouts; but he did not learn of his nearness to the route of the western savages until later and far distant.

Meantime supplies were being hastened forward with good success* and everything seemed favorable to an early advance of the army, when General Harrison received at Franklington an express from General

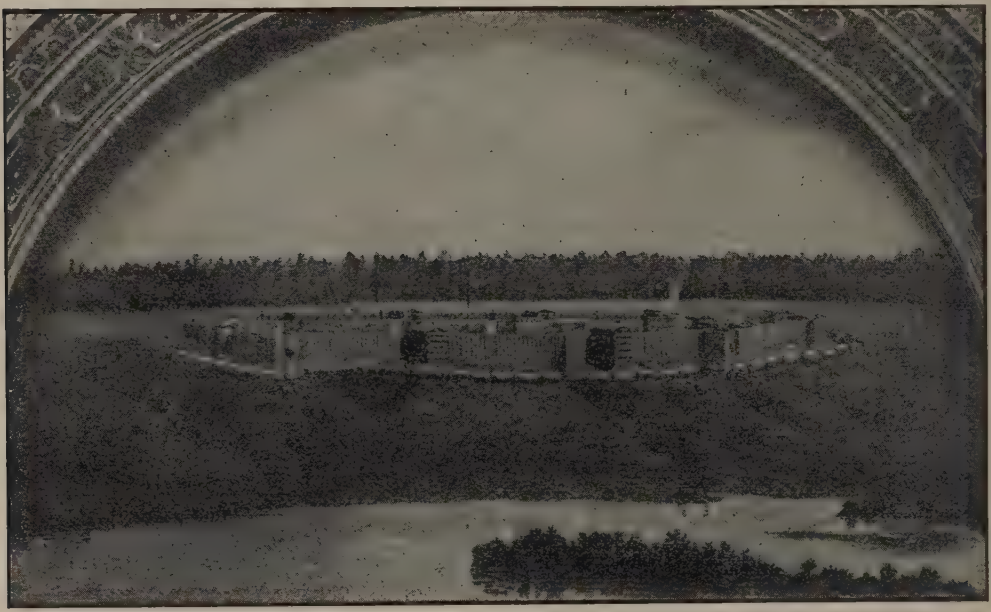
---

* REPORT OF PROVISIONS REMAINING AT DIFFERENT POSTS ON THE CENTER AND LEFT WINGS OF THE NORTHWESTERN ARMY (THE PURCHASES OF JOHN H. PIATT DEPUTY PURCHASING COMMISSARY) ON THE 24TH DAY OF JUNE, 1813.

Names of Posts.	Bbls. Flour.	Bbls. Biscuit.	Bbls. Whiskey.	Bbls. Salt.	Bbls. Pork.	Pounds Bacon.	Boxes Soap.	Boxes Candles	Remarks.
Fort Winchester,	1,209		247	119	13	20,000	10	18	†
" Jennings,	26		3½	15		600		1	Good Order
" Amanda,	400	20	69	45		110,000	14	23	"
" Barbee,	106	83	9	½		8,000	3	6	"
" Loramie,	1,590		153		15		5	5	"
" Greenville,		90				18,360			"
" Piqua,	332		28	6		1,200	8	4	"
" Dayton,	163		25	3		4,000	6	4	"
" Findlay,	60		30	50		500	28		"
" M'Arthur,	536		43	14			21	12	"
	4,422	193	607½	252½	28	162,660	95	73	

† Part of the flour damaged, being sunk in the river after leaving Amanda and St. Marys, and for the want of proper care after it arrived at Fort Winchester. At all of the above mentioned Posts I have appointed Issuing Commissaries, agreeably to your Excellency's [Governor Meigs] order, at thirty dollars per month, who will take every necessary care until your excellency may think proper to give the Provisions into the hands of the contractors. [Signed] JOHN H. PIATT — *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, volume i, page 653.

General Clay, writing at Fort Meigs to General Harrison under date 20th June, 4 days before the above inventory, states that . . "By different detachments sent from this place, we have received from Fort Winchester about one thousand and two hundred barrels of flour, including that escorted from [Fort] Amanda by Ensign Gray," Clay informing him that a Frenchman whom the British captured at Dudley's defeat had escaped from Amherstburg and informed him that Proctor was preparing for a second attack on Fort Meigs with an increased force; and that he, Clay, had ordered to Fort Meigs Colonel R. M. Johnson's regiment, then at Fort Winchester after guarding boatloads of supplies from Forts Barbee, Wayne and Amanda.



FORT MEIGS AND FORTIFIED ENCAMPMENT

Photograph of the large wall painting in the upper hall of Wood County's new Court House, Bowling Green, Ohio. This painting is evidently not a fair portrayal of this important fortress. The blockhouses are not of sufficient height, nor is the contour of the river-bluff satisfactory. Other criticisms can readily be named from descriptions on other pages. The logs at the base of the palisade were hollow and filled with stone and gravel; and were held in place by ropes which were to be cut to let the logs roll upon and overwhelm the army attempting to capture the Fort by assault. Built from February to May, 1813. Besieged by British and Aborigines 1st to 8th May, inclusive, and by feint 25th to 27th July, 1813. Abandoned by United States soldiers 15th May, 1815.

Colonel Johnson, upon receiving General Clay's dispatch in the afternoon, although his horses were all much worn and some disabled by their continuous marchings, gave orders for the march down the Maumee, and within half an hour most of the force began to ford the river just above Fort Defiance point, leaving those unable to march, with the garrison of Fort Winchester. The provisions and baggage in the boats soon followed the cavalcade and all stopped for the night at General Winchester Camp Number Three. Early next morning the forward movement was resumed, and they arrived at Grand Rapids at five o'clock that evening. Here another dispatch was received from

General Clay, cautioning against ambuscades by savages who were lying in wait by their course. This information was communicated to the soldiers, who seconded the desire to proceed notwithstanding the savages. A guard was left at Grand Rapids with the boats which were to continue the journey at daylight the next morning, and the main body resumed the march, arriving opposite Fort Meigs at ten o'clock and there encamped for the night on the lower land. The Fort's daylight gun so frightened the horses that they ran through the camp, and over several of the soldiers hurting them severely, and continued to run down the river for a half mile or more, being caught after much trouble and risk. About ten o'clock the order of march was given and, passing above the foot of the rapids, the Maumee was forded, and the regiment encamped just above Fort Meigs 'in a handsome plain clothed with blue grass'—M'Afee.

SITE OF FORT MEIGS FROM OPPOSITE SIDE OF RIVER.

Looking east across the Maumee River Valley 13th November, 1902, from above the sites of the British Batteries. The Fort and Encampment extended along the high bank from near the right side of view to the bluff of the broad erosion of the creek in the central distance. Note the flood plain 'bottom land' under the bluff. Bridge and Perrysburg in the left distance. The upright poles on the proximal side of the river mark the course of the Maumee Valley Electric Railway built in 1901.

Fort Meigs was now in better condition for defense than before its siege. The damages done by the British guns had been repaired, the trees, logs, and stumps, had been cleared away for a greater distance, and the British battery mounds leveled. Better drainage and sanitary conveniences had also been established. The garrison had suffered much sickness, and during June and July intermittent and virulent remittent fevers prevailed which, with dysentery and other complications, proved very fatal. Several soldiers died each day and night for some length of time; and the aggregate number increased to over one hundred deaths in a period of six weeks.

The 24th Regiment United States Infantry under Colonel Anderson was hurried forward from Upper Sandusky, also Major George Croghan with part of the 17th Regiment, and Colonel Ball with his squad of cavalry. General Harrison also started northward and, overtaking Colonel Anderson the evening of June 26th, detached three hundred soldiers to make a forced march to Fort Meigs on account of being informed that savages were gathering below the fort. Finding quiet prevailing along the Lake to the eastward, General Harrison proceeded to Fort Meigs where he arrived the 28th to find that Colonel Johnson had recently arrived. A detachment of one hundred and fifty from this regiment under Colonel Johnson in person was ordered to reconnoiter the country to the River Raisin, which they did without discovering any of the enemy; but their march temporarily thwarted the designs of a party of savages who had started from Amherstburg to harass the Americans wherever possible.

The extent of frontier under the surveillance of General Harrison was great; and it required constant watchfulness and great executive ability to guard against invasion and to gather, and keep, the means for the desired advance against the enemy. The 1st July the General again went eastward to arrange the defenses and garrisons along the Lake to the Cuyahoga River. He directed Colonel Johnson to take post at the Huron River. On the Colonel's way thither he arrived at Fort Stephenson the 4th of July where the soldiers of that garrison were celebrating this National Holiday and, upon urgent request, he delivered a stirring address. At Fort Meigs, also, there was a grateful celebration of this day as expressed in the following General Order, viz:

> Camp Meigs, July 4, 1813.
>
> The General commanding announces to the troops under his command the return of this day, which gave liberty and independence to the United States of America; and orders that a national salute be fired under the superintendence of Captains Gratiot and Cushing. All the troops reported fit for duty shall receive an extra gill of whisky. And those in confinement and those under sentence attached to the corps, be forthwith released and ordered to join their respective corps.
>
> The General is induced to use this lenience alone from consideration of the ever memorable day, and flatters himself that in future the soldiers under his command will better appreciate their liberty by a steady adherence to duty and prompt compliance with the orders of their officers by which alone they are worthy to enjoy the blessings of that liberty and independence, the only real legacy left us by our fathers. All courts martial now constituted in this camp are hereby dissolved. There will be no fatigue this day.
>
> [Signed] Robert Butler, A. Adjt. Gen,

And so at the different military posts in this Basin the hearts of the soldiers were cheered, and they were made more contented with their condition, by these simple yet effective celebrations in the forest that gave a renewed and a broader significance to their service.

The term of enlistment of some of the soldiers at Camp Meigs having expired, a little diversion was planned to start them homeward with good cheer. General Clay, therefore, issued the following General Order, with date July 8th, viz: 'The commanding General directs that the Old Guard, on being released, will march out of camp and discharge their guns at a target placed in some secure position; and as a reward for those who may excel in shooting, eight gills of whiskey will be given to the nearest shot, and four gills to the second. The officer of the guard will cause a return, signed for that purpose, signifying the names of the men entitled to the reward.'

The savages were becoming more numerous and troublesome along the Maumee River. Fourteen soldiers whose term of enlistment had expired at Fort Meigs, desired to return home on foot by way of Fort Winchester. They were attacked by savages a few miles above Fort Meigs and but two escaped. Eighteen cavalrymen under Lieutenant Craig while passing up the river to guard some flour at the Grand Rapids, were attacked by these savages. A retreat was ordered, and obeyed by all but three men who pursued the enemy. One of these three, ——— Wyant by name, wounded a savage who seemed likely to escape until he dismounted, followed him through the close brush where he was conquered and his weapons were taken as trophies. For this courageous act Wyant was promoted to the rank of Ensign; while Lieutenant Craig was cashiered by a court martial.

Colonel Johnson continued his march to the Huron River; but, notwithstanding the mischief liable to be done by the War Department giving orders for the field, he was ordered by this Department to proceed at once to the protection of the Illinois and Missouri Territories against the same savages that Trader Dickson had brought to Detroit. This fact being presented to the Department at Washington by General Harrison, Colonel Johnson was recalled after he had well advanced southwestward.

The General had, before leaving Franklinton now Columbus, Ohio, again held a council with the Delaware, Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandot Aborigines remaining accessible to him, some of them being reported as desirous of going to the British. In order to more carefully stimulate and guard their constancy to the United States he established headquarters at the Seneca town on the Sandusky River, nine miles above Lower Sandusky and nine miles below Fort Ball on the site of the present Tiffin, Ohio, and there he built Fort Seneca during the middle and latter part of July.

About this time General Proctor started from Amherstburg, and the 20th July he arrived at the mouth of the Maumee River with an army estimated to number at least five thousand; and the next morning a picket guard of a corporal and ten soldiers about three hundred yards from Fort Meigs were surprised by savages and all but three were killed or captured. The number of savages now with the British was evidently greater than they had ever before gathered; and it was probably one of the greatest collections of such warriors ever assembled in America—the number being variously estimated at from two to four thousand. M'Afee records the number of warriors as about two thousand and five hundred, and the number of Aborigines fed each day by the British from Amherstburg as seven thousand including the women and children. It was also reported that there were with the regulars and militia from Amherstburg, one thousand British regulars from Niagara. The savage allies of the British succeeded in capturing some horses and oxen belonging to Fort Meigs, but their shots were not effective on the garrison.

After midnight Lieutenant Montjoy with twenty United States troops arrived at the Fort from the Portage River blockhouse, having escaped the savages with the loss of one man. General Clay at once sent Captain M'Cune of the Ohio militia to inform General Harrison of the approach of the enemy. This messenger was returned to Fort Meigs to report that reinforcements would soon be forthcoming, and with repeated caution to guard against surprise. Lieutenant Colonel George Paul with his United States Infantry and Colonel Ball with his dragoons, together numbering four hundred and fifty, were ordered forward; also Brigadier Generals M'Arthur and Cass (who had recently been promoted) with their Ohio troops. Five hundred additional United States troops were approaching from Fort Massac under Colonel Theodore Deye Owings (Owens?). These, with the one hundred and forty regulars who were building Fort Seneca and those at Forts Stephenson and Meigs, would have been a sufficient number for the defense of these posts and lines had they arrived in time.

On July 23rd General Clay again sent Captain M'Cune with report that a collection of about eight hundred savages were passing up the opposite (left) bank of the Maumee, possibly to attack Fort Winchester. General Harrison believed, correctly, that this movement was only a feint but, after a council with his staff, scouts were sent out, and M'Cune was again sent back to Fort Meigs with this information and with further precautionary suggestions regarding the wily enemy. The sequel proved the wisdom of the Commander-in-Chief. Accompanied by James Doolan a French-Irish Canadian, M'Cune arrived near the Fort about daybreak, they having lost their way in the night. At the edge of the Fort's clearing they were beset by savages, who were also on horseback, and were pursued several miles up the river. Coming to a deep ravine they entered it and passed out its mouth and along the narrow lowland until their course was impeded by the river. They retraced their course and found that the savages had turned up the ravine. This enabled them to gain upon their pursuers who, however, with their unwearied horses regained upon them the distance lost in the ravine. When again closely pressed they turned to the right into a thicket. The savages thinking to gain by turning among the bushes at once, the pursued turned at once to the clearing and were thus enabled to arrive under the protection of the guns of the Fort. The pursuers, evidently desiring to capture them alive to be questioned by the British, had not before this time discharged their guns at them, and now their bullets were non-effective. The report to the garrison was that General Harrison had as yet no troops to spare, but upon the arrival of the expected forces he would move to the support of the Fort if necessary.

The evening of July 24th Colonel Gaines with two hundred soldiers made a detour of the edge of the woods from Fort Meigs to reconnnoiter the enemy and any batteries they might be constructing. A stronger detachment was started from the British encampment to intercept his return, but it did not arrive in time for an engagement. The British moved their main force to the right bank of the river on the 25th, but did not approach within good range of the Fort's cannon.

Proctor and Tecumseh formulated an ingenious strategic plan for the capture of Fort Meigs at night with little fighting. The British secreted themselves in the deep ravine near the Fort to the eastward. Tecumseh, with a large number of savages opened a brisk sham battle along the road to Lower Sandusky as near the Fort as practicable, to make it appear to the garrison that they were attacking an American force coming to reinforce the Fort. This ruse was for the purpose of drawing the garrison from the Fort when the British, as with Colonel Dudley's command, would cut off their return and leave them to be surrounded and massacred by the horde of savages while they would enter the gates under cover of the darkness take the garrison by surprise and thus capture the Fort. Many of the garrison desired to sally forth and succor their supposed hard-pressed comrades, but the firmness of General Clay, supported by the memory of repeated cautionings of his Commander-in-chief, prevailed. Rain, and several discharges of cannon from the Fort, soon put a stop to the sham battle.* The enemy departed from Fort Meigs July 27th without further effort to mislead or capture the garrison, having been in its vicinity about thirty hours.*

---

* See account of the British Major Richardson in the *London New Monthly Magazine* for December, 1826. Also Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio.*

After leaving Fort Meigs for the second time, part of the British force sailed around through Lake Erie, through Sandusky Bay and up the Sandusky River to Fort Stephenson, expecting to find it an easy prey. Upon their arrival they found it already invested by their allies, the savages who had marched across from Fort Meigs. Here was another illustration of the good grasp of the general situation and the excellent judgment displayed by General Harrison. He did not expect, nor fear, that the enemy would expend much more effort for the capture of Fort Meigs, but he did expect them to direct their energies to the Right Wing of his defenses which possessed large stores and were not so strongly fortified. Their investment of Fort Stephenson the first and second days of August, and their repulse by that garrison of but one hundred and sixty men with but one small cannon under the brilliant, young (about twenty-one years of age) courageous and most patriotic Captain (afterwards Major) George Croghan, nephew of General William Clark, is one of the most remarkable events in the War of 1812. It was preposterous to presume that such small garrison in such weak fortification could withstand such a large, well-equipped, and experienced investing force; hence General Harrison had ordered young Croghan to burn the small amount of stores with the Fort, and take the garrison to Fort Seneca if the enemy approached; but Captain Croghan was surrounded by savages before the British advanced up the Sandusky River, and he with his garrison preferred to die, if die they must, at their post rather than be massacred by the savages in an effort to escape. This determination, and their alertness and good judgment to take advantage of every opportunity, led to one of the most brilliant victories of American arms, with the loss of but one man killed and seven slightly wounded while inflicting a loss on the enemy of one hundred and twenty. Late in the afternoon of August 1st the British troops and gunboats came within sight of Fort Stephenson. They had made sure against retreat of the garrison, and to intercept reinforcements. Captain Croghan was summoned to surrender, but replied that he and the garrison were determined to defend the Fort. After some parleying by the British with efforts to intimidate, their cannon and howitzers for twenty-four hours threw balls and shells with little effect until they concentrated on the northwest angle of the Fort, evidently to form a breach for assault. The effect of their shot was here guarded against to some extent by bags of sand and sacks of flour being piled against the palisade. The single six-pounder cannon in the Fort was fired only at long intervals from scanty ammunition. Toward evening of August 2nd an assailing party of the enemy advanced in the direction expected, and to command which the only cannon had been placed, masked, and doubly charged with slugs and grapeshot. At an opportune moment, when the first column of the enemy had advanced into the ditch within ten to fifteen paces of the six-pounder, the masked port was opened and the cannon discharged with dire effect. The second column that advanced to take the place of their fallen comrades, soon met great loss and confusion from the small arms of the garrison which completed the disastrous work of the defense. The remnant of the assailing columns retreated precipitately and in confusion. Two hundred grenadiers who were to assail the south side of the Fort, did not attain their position until later. They were so warmly opposed by the small arms of the garrison that they soon withdrew.

---

* The report to the Department of War for July, 1813, which is the only one showing stations of troops in the Eighth Military District now on file there for that year, shows the following named troops at Camp Meigs, viz: Captain Cushing's Artillery; Colonel Miller's 17th and 19th Regiments Infantry; Colonel Anderson's 24th Regiment Infantry; Captain Butler's Volunteers; and Lieutenant Mills' Ohio Militia. The book entitled *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States During the War with Great Britain in the years 1812 to 1815*, collected and arranged by John Brannan, contains all that is found of record in the War Department regarding the losses in the Siege of Fort Meigs, as given on preceding pages. See also the *American State Papers*, Military Affairs; Niles's *Register*; and Lossing's *Field Book of the War of 1812.*

During the night, which was now come, General Proctor sent savages to gather the wounded and dead, which they did without the range of the garrison's muskets in the darkness. About daylight the British and their savage allies departed, leaving a small vessel containing clothing and military stores, their retreat being hastened by reports of rallying Americans from Fort Seneca. The garrison supplied the wounded enemy with water, at first in pails let down outside the stockade and, later through an opening made under the stockade, through which they were later taken within the enclosure and well cared for. The British left behind of their killed three officers and twenty-five privates; and of their wounded twenty-six who were taken prisoners.

Scouts were sent in the morning down the river to the bay; but no enemy was discovered other than a few straggling British soldiers who were surprised and captured by the Wyandot Aborigine scouts, recently admitted to the American Army, who quickly surrendered them at headquarters. These prisoners evidently expected to be massacred like the American prisoners captured by the British allies; and their trepidation and anxiety produced much merriment among their captors who enjoyed the recollection for a long time.

General Proctor sent Doctor Banner to the Fort to enquire after his wounded soldiers. He was treated courteously and given every opportunity for personal examination, which was in great contrast to the treatment by the British of Doctor M'Keehan of the Ohio Militia who was sent by General Harrison to Amherstburg 31st January to enquire after the wounded of General Winchester's army after the defeat and massacre at the River Raisin. Surgeon M'Keehan after receiving much discourteous treatment, was arrested by order of Proctor and sent to a dungeon in Montreal.

General Harrison was informed that many of the savages with the British were discouraged and dissatisfied with the war since the repulse at Lower Sandusky. He therefore sent to them at Brownstown, below Detroit, some of his most confidential Wyandot chiefs, to confer with Chief Walk-in-the-Water and the Wyandot warriors under him for the purpose of spreading the disaffection toward the British, and of securing their neutrality. Such was the alertness and discipline of the British, however, that Colonel M'Kee and Captain Elliott were at once notified of the visit and were present to prevent or neutralize the proposition. The British thereupon renewed their work among the Aborigines, extending it to the neutrals by the headwaters of the Auglaise River, the St. Mary, and the Miami to the southward.

The signal success of Captain Croghan at Fort Stephenson ended the invasion of Ohio by the British; and it was soon succeeded by other triumphs of American prowess that even drove the British from Upper Canada. The former suggestions of General Hull of a United States fleet or squadron of armed vessels on Lake Erie, were reported upon favorably and, in the spring of 1812, Commodore Stewart took action for this purpose. There was, however, but little result from this effort. In September Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott was sent to Black Rock, now part of the City of Buffalo, for the purpose of building such vessels. The 8th October two armed vessels, the *Detroit* and *Caledonia*, arrived from Detroit and anchored under the guns of the British Fort Erie across the Niagara River and a little above Black Rock. Lieutenant Elliott planned their capture at night and, by the aid of Lieutenant Colonel (afterward General) Winfield Scott, he succeeded after a series of remarkable experiences and escapes. The *Detroit* was partly built by General Hull and went to the British with his surrender, and her first name, *Adams*, was changed by her captors. The British rallied in such force and so persistently from Fort Erie to her relief that the Americans burned her on the Niagara River to prevent her recapture. They were more successful in getting the *Caledonia* away from the British. Little was accomplished on new vessels, however.

General Harrison had urged the building of vessels sufficient to cope with the increasing British squadron. This work was seriously undertaken in the spring of 1813 under the direction of Commodore Isaac Chauncey. This officer settled upon Master-Commander Oliver Hazard Perry of Newport, Rhode Island, to produce the desired squadron. Erie, Pennsylvania, the historic Presque Isle, had been selected as the place of rendezvous, and Commander Perry arrived there the 27th March, 1813. The work, already well begun, now progressed rapidly. The British Fort George on the Niagara River was captured the 27th May, Perry there acting an important part. The Niagara frontier now being free from the enemy, five small vessels (the *Caledonia* the small brig captured at Fort Erie, three schooners named the *Somers*, *Tigress* and *Ohio*, that had been purchased, and a sloop, the *Trippe*) were thus liberated from service on the Upper Niagara River, and were taken by Perry to his rendezvous at Erie, barely evading on the way the British squadron that was on the lookout for them.

Many obstacles and delays attended Commander Perry's efforts; and when his boats were ready (they being, in addition to those named above, the *Lawrence*, flagship, and *Niagara*, both twenty-gun brigs, and the schooners *Scorpion*, *Porcupine*, and *Ariel* which was clipper-modelled) there were only men enough at hand to officer and man one of the brigs despite his importunities to the contrary. While in this predicament Perry was annoyed—almost taunted—by letters from the Navy Department and from General Harrison, urging him to proceed against the enemy; also by the British squadron remaining in sight of his Erie Harbor, threatening to attack him. A few men came straggling in 'a motley set, blacks, soldiers, and boys' and there was much sickness. The second movement of the British against Fort Meigs, described on preceding pages, occurred at this time, and the British vessels moved from the offing to the west end of the Lake in support of it.

Master Commander Perry's force increased, by frontiersmen and soldiers volunteering, until at the close of July it numbered about three hundred. On August 1st it was decided to get his ten vessels from the Erie harbor into the Lake but, owing to the shallow water on the bar, five days elapsed before his largest vessels when empty were gotten across by great efforts of buoying with 'camels' or large deep scows on each side filled with water to the brim and uprights connecting them with horizontal timber through the forward and after ports, and then pumping the water from the scows. Just as the vessels were in deep water, with their armament and stores placed, some of the British vessels appeared to the westward on their return. The *Ariel* and *Scorpion* were sent forward and, upon their exchanging a few shots, the British Captain, Robert Heriot Barclay, turned his vessels around and retreated to Amherstburg. The sailing and maneuvering qualities of Perry's squadron were then tried, and the mixed crews were given some much-needed practice and discipline. The 9th August Captain Jesse D. Elliott joined Commander Perry at Erie with about one hundred officers and men of some experience, and he was given command of the *Niagara*.

The squadron left Erie on the 12th August, 1813, and sailed to the western part of Lake Erie, casting anchors on the 15th in a pleasant harbor that was soon to be christened by this naval force as Put-in Bay. Communications with General Harrison had been continued, and the 16th Commander Perry sailed toward the south shore and, when off the mouth of Portage River the 17th, he fired the signal guns agreed upon as notice to the General of his approach. Direct communications were established; and the 19th Generals Harrison, Cass, and M'Arthur, escorted by a company from the 28th Regiment United States Infantry under Colonel Owings (Owens?) of Kentucky together with all the seamen that could readily be found among the troops and twenty volunteers under Lieutenant Coburn of Payne's company and Johnson's regiment of cavalry, started for a visit with Perry on board the flagship *Lawrence.* These mixed troops were the best that could be secured to bring the number near to that necessary for the different vessels. They sailed the 20th to Put-in Bay to consider Put-in Bay Island as a station for the army in its advance on Amherstburg. Commander Perry kept the British vessels in the Detroit River under observation, but unfavorable winds and much disability among his men, many of whom were prostrated with remittent fever which serious disease he was also experiencing, prevented his attacking them. The 31st General Harrison reinforced the naval squadron with thirty-six more men. September 1st Perry again moved to within sight of the enemy's vessels, but they were arranged under cover of the strong shore batteries and would not answer his challenge.

The British had been building at Amherstburg a vessel, the *Detroit,* larger than either of those under Perry's command. At the time of her completion provisions had become scarce at Amherstburg and, on Friday the 10th September, the British squadron was obliged to move eastward for supplies. The vessels were early sighted by the Americans who decided to give battle, and prepared accordingly. Perry hoisted on his flagship, the *Lawrence,* his battle-flag bearing the dying command of Captain James Lawrence in the contest of the Chesapeake with the Shannon 'Don't Give Up the Ship.'

The battle was begun by a long range gun of the *Detroit,* the missile from which fell short of its mark. Master Commander Perry reserved his fire for short range. His flagship, the *Lawrence,* was the target for most of the British shot and the results to the brig and crew were widespread and direful. All of her guns became dismounted or useless and only fourteen unhurt men remained on her deck, and only nine of these were seamen. The room below, to which the wounded had been taken, was above the water line and the enemy's shot frequently passed through it continuing the work of destruction to life and vessel. Being unable to do more in the *Lawrence*, Perry ordered a boat lowered while putting on his full uniform and, giving the brig in charge of Lieutenant Yarnell with discretionary powers, he with his small brother and four oarsmen entered the boat and passed to the *Niagara*. He persisted in standing most of the fifteen minutes required to make the transit, being the target of many British guns, large and small. Taking command of the *Niagara* he sent Lieutenant Elliott in small boat to bring into close action the more distant vessels and, raising the Commodore pennant, changed the course of the brig and broke through the British line pouring at short range the full force of the guns right and left into the disconcerted enemy with great effect. The other American vessels followed the leader and, in eight minutes after the *Niagara* passed through the line the four principal British vessels surrendered. The other two, the *Chippewa* and *Little Belt*, attempted to escape, but the *Scorpion* and *Trippe*, giving chase, soon brought them back to American possession. Lieutenant Yarnell lowered the colors of the Lawrence soon after the departure of Commander Perry, and the enemy's fire was thereafter directed elsewhere, they being kept too busy to take possession of the wreck. Immediately after the surrender of the British, was written with a firm hand those model dispatches which have been familiar to all, the first to General William H. Harrison, viz:

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY

Master-Commander and, later, Captain in the United States Navy. Born South Kingston, Rhode Island, 23rd August, 1785. Died 23rd August, 1819, in Port Spain, Trinidad Island.

SIR: We have met the enemy and they are ours: Two Ships, two Brigs, one Schooner and one Sloop. Yours with great respect and esteem,

O. H. PERRY.

U. S. BRIG *Niagara*, OFF THE WESTERN SISTER [ISLAND]
HEAD OF LAKE ERIE, September 10, 1813, 4 P. M.

SIR: It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command after a sharp conflict.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Honorable William Jones, Secretary of the Navy. O. H. PERRY.

Commander Perry decided to formally receive the surrender of the British officers on board the disabled *Lawrence* which he did, they wending their way between the dead Americans whose bodies yet remained on the deck. The British commander Captain Barclay was wounded and unable to appear. At twilight the non-commissioned dead of friend and foe, enveloped in shrouds with cannon balls at the feet, were dropped one by one into the Lake after the reading of the burial service of the Episcopal Church. This sad service being completed the vessels slowly made their way to that beautiful near-by bay which has since been known as Put-in Bay; and the dead officers were buried on the land which received the name Put-in Bay Island. The losses were: American, twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded of whom twenty-two killed and sixty-one wounded were aboard the *Lawrence*; British, forty-one killed and ninety-four wounded.

There are various reports regarding the relative strength of the contending squadrons. The British had six vessels carrying sixty-three carriage guns, one on pivot, two swivels, and four howitzers. The Americans had nine vessels with fifty-four carriage guns and two swivels. The British squadron had thirty-five long guns and the American fifteen, which explains the advantage of the former in the early part of the action. In close action the weight of metal was favorable to the Americans. The British crews possessed far more naval experience than the American.[*]

This capture of the entire squadron, the first instance in the history of America's brilliant successes on the water, had a very depressing effect on the British and, *per contra*, a very enthusing effect upon the three American Armies (the Northwestern, the Central, and the Eastern) and upon the entire populace as well. This was the continued work of young officers—Perry being but twenty-seven years of age, and his subordinates yet younger. Perry was immediately promoted to Captain, and Congress gave him a vote of thanks and a medal. Captain (acting Commodore) Barclay, in his report to the British Government,

---

[*] AMERICAN SQUADRON, MASTER-COMMANDER OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

Name of Vessel.	Rigging.	Tons Register.	Total Crew.	Crew fit for Duty.	Broadside Pounds.	Armament.
1. *Lawrence*,	Brig.	480	136	105	300	2 Long 12's, 18 Short 32's.
2. *Niagara*,	Brig.	480	155	127	300	2 Long 12's, 18 Short 32's.
3. *Caledonia*,	Brig.	180	53	184	80	2 Long 24's, 1 Short 32.
4. *Ariel*,	Schooner.	112	36		48	4 Long 12's, (1 burst early).
5. *Scorpion*,	Schooner.	86	35		64	1 Long 32, 1 Short 32.
6. *Somers*,	Schooner.	94	30		56	1 Long 24, 1 Short 32, 2 Swivels.
7. *Porcupine*,	Schooner.	83	25		32	1 Long 32.
8. *Tigress*,	Schooner.	96	27		32	1 Long 32,
9. *Trippe*.	Sloop.	60	35		24	1 Long 24.
		1671	532	416	936	54 Guns, 2 Swivels.

The schooner *Ohio* was gone to Erie for supplies, expressed high praise of Commander Perry for his thoughtful and kind attention to the wounded and the prisoners, and for his magnanimity. He not only declined to take the swords of the British officers, but he loaned to them one thousand dollars to be expended for their comfort. The prisoners who were able to travel were taken to Pittsburg by way of Lower and Upper Sandusky, and Franklinton. The wounded and sick were taken to Erie in the hospital vessels, the *Detroit, Queen Charlotte,* and *Niagara.* It not being practicable to repair the two first named vessels they were left in Little Bay, Erie Harbor, where they finally went to the bottom, followed a few years later by the *Niagara* which had in the interim been doing good service as a receiving ship.

Colonel Richard M. Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry being recalled from the southwest, was ordered to escort the army supplies down the St. Mary, Auglaise and Maumee from Forts Barbee, Amanda and Winchester. During its sojourn in Kentucky this regiment had been recruited to over full numbers and, by their Lieutenant Colonel James Johnson, brother of the Colonel, their discipline was brought to a high state. About the 1st of September they, with the train of thirty wagons and a brigade of packhorses, started northward arriving at Fort Winchester the 9th, the day appointed by President Madison according to the Act of Congress for fasting, humiliation and prayer. "Those who chose to observe the day in that manner were encouraged to do so; and although there is in general but little religion to be found in the army, yet in the evening of this day a number of little parties were seen in different parts of the lines paying their devotions to the God of armies, and chanting his praises with plainness, sincerity and zeal; whilst their less pious but moral and orderly compatriots

---

BRITISH SQUADRON, CAPTAIN-COMMANDER ROBERT HERIOT BARCLAY.

Name of Vessel.	Rigging.	Tons Register.	Crew.	Broadside Pounds.	Armament.
1. *Detroit,*	Ship.	490	150	138	1 Long 18, 2 Long 24's, 6 Long 12's, 1 Short 18, 1 Short 24, 8 Long 9's, 1 Gun on Pivot, and 2 Howitzers.
2. *Queen Charlotte,*	Ship.	400	126	189	1 Long 12, 2 Long 9's, 14 Short 24's, and 1 Howitzer.
3. *Hunter,*	Brig.	180	45	30	4 Long 6's, 2 Long 4's, 2 Long 2's, 2 Short 12's.
4. *Lady Prevost,*	Schooner.	230	86	75	1 Long 9, 2 Long 6's, 10 Short 12's, 1 Howitzer.
5. *Chippewa,*	Schooner.	70	15	9	1 Long 9, and 2 Swivels.
6. *Little Belt,*	Sloop.	90	18	18	1 Long 12, 2 Long 6's.
		1460	440	459	63 Guns, 4 Howitzers, 2 Swivels.

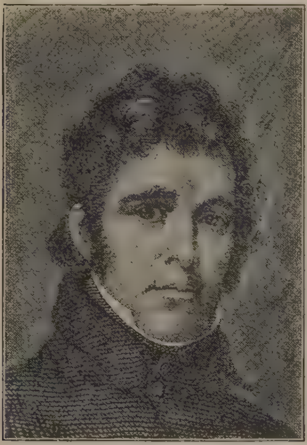
Compare *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States During the War with Great Britain in the Years 1812-13-14 and 1815,* by John Brannan, Washington, 1823, page 207; Lossing's *War of 1812* page 520; and *The Naval War of 1812* by Theodore Roosevelt, volume i pages 311, 312.

preserved around them the strictest order and decorum. A pleasing tranquility pervaded the ranks, and the patriot soldier seemed to feel a cheering confidence that the God of battles would shield him in the hour of danger—Captain Robert B. M'Afee who was present. The 10th of September, the day of the complete victory on Lake Erie, a spirited and valuable disciplinary sham battle was fought in the vicinity of Fort Winchester between the infantry and cavalry, in which the horses participated with but little less zest than their riders, being thus taught not to fear the noise and smoke of the guns of the infantry as their riders directed the rapid charge between their ranks.

General Harrison had invited the venerable Governor Isaac Shelby the hero of King Mountain, South Carolina in 1781, to accompany his Kentucky troops to the invasion of Canada, and this invitation was accepted. Announcement that the Governor would be present on the march and in the field, caused great enthusiasm in Kentucky, and nearly double the number of volunteers called for, responded giving General Shelby the proud command of about three thousand mounted men, exclusive of Colonel Johnson's Regiment. The United States Arsenal at Newport was emptied of arms and many of the Kentucky troops were supplied at Upper and Lower Sandusky, these troops coming through Ohio along the course of the Right Wing of the Northwestern Army. Upon the arrival of General Shelby and staff at Fort Ball, the present Tiffin, they learned of Perry's victory. A dispatch was at once sent to Major General Henry in command of the advancing army at Upper Sandusky to hasten forward the troops. General Shelby met General Harrison at Fort Seneca and, passing on, arrived September 14th at the present Port Clinton, and during the next two days the troops arrived.

General M'Arthur was ordered to take command of Fort Meigs and to send General Clay and his troops with those of the United States to the rendezvous at the mouth of the Portage River where the fresh Kentucky men were gathering; also to embark artillery and provisions from Fort Meigs (which was then reduced to the principal blockhouses in the southwest corner of the enclosure) to join the consolidated army on the Lake, having Colonel Johnson with his mounted Regiment go along the left bank of the Maumee River, Bay and Lake, keeping abreast of the boats. Thus all of the Northwestern Army that could be spared from garrison and guard duty was mobilized and concentrated.

The army also now embraced two hundred and sixty Aborigine warriors of the Wyandot, Shawnee and Seneca tribes which General Harrison had been placating. As a result of the desire of the British to get these tribes as allies and of their desire to be engaged in the strife, the United States Government decided to enlist them into its service, but with the injunction, and full understanding on their part, that they must conform to the modes of civilized warfare. General Harrison positively pointed out to them that they must not kill nor injure defenseless prisoners, old men, women or children. And, if those fighting with him would forbear such conduct it would prove that the British could also restrain the Aborigines with them if they desired so to do. He greatly pleased them by humorously telling them that, inasmuch as he had been informed that General Proctor had promised to deliver him (General Harrison) into the hands of Tecumseh if he succeeded in capturing Fort Meigs, to be treated as that warrior might desire, he would promise to let them have General Proctor as their prisoner, if they could take him, provided they would only put petticoats on him and treat him as a squaw. These Aborigines accompanied the American army into Canada and, impliedly, were present at the Battle of the Thames, but no savage act has been imputed to them, nor to those that were subsequently subject to American command. This has been taken as additional evidence that if the British officers did not directly instigate, they at least very willingly permitted the savages to massacre the prisoners who had surrendered, not to the savages but to themselves after a solemn promise of protection. Compare M'Afee's *History of the War of 1812* page 303.



RICHARD MENTOR JOHNSON

Member of Congress and Colonel of Kentucky Cavalry. Born near Louisville 17th October, 1780. Died 19th November, 1850, at Frankfort, Kentucky.*

General Harrison was much in the saddle, personally attending to all delinquents, and business. September 22nd he addressed the following note from Franklinton to Governor Meigs, viz: . . Be pleased to send a company of one hundred men to Fort Meigs. Thirty or forty will do for Lower Sandusky. I am informed that the term of the garrison at Fort Findlay will expire on the 22nd instant. Will you be pleased to order there twenty or thirty men? . .

The army commenced to embark at the mouth of the Portage River, the present Port Clinton, on the 20th September. The vessels under command of Captain Perry were used as transports, excepting the wrecks *Lawrence*, *Detroit*, and *Queen Charlotte*, which contained the wounded and sick, they being now very airy and good hospitals. All these vessels were viewed with great interest by the soldiers, many of whom had never before seen such broad water and such large boats; and the many marks they bore of the fierce battle were associated with thoughts of the complete victory they represented of American arms, to the enthusing of the soldiers who grew impatient for an opportunity to show their prowess in battle for their country's honor. All the horses, even those of the officers, were left on the mainland. It required four days to transport the army of nearly five thousand men with armament and supplies to Put-in Bay Island by the slow moving sail vessels. The 25th the army encamped on Middle Sister Island which, being but six or eight acres in size, afforded only close quarters.

---

* From *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History*, vol. v. Copyright, 1901, by Harper & Brothers.

General Harrison in company with Captain Perry on the *Ariel* reconnoitered the enemy at Amherstburg and returned in time to issue a general order to embark against them the next morning. He also prepared for issue the next day the following General Order: The General entreats his brave troops to remember that they are the sons of sires whose fame is immortal [soldiers of the Revolutionary War] that they are to fight for the rights of their insulted country, whilst their opponents combat for the unjust pretensions of a master. Kentuckians, remember the River Raisin, but remember it only whilst the victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified upon a fallen enemy—By command, Robert Butler Acting Adjutant General.*

The weather continued favorable and, after seven hours sail September 27, 1813, in sixteen armed vessels and near one hundred smaller boats, the army landed about four o'clock in the afternoon on the sandy shore of Canada about three miles below Amherstburg, formerly the ill-famed Malden. There was no enemy found to dispute the landing nor the entrance into the town. The British troops and their savage allies had hastily departed after setting fire to the army and navy buildings, and to all the public stores they could not carry away. A few troops were hurried forward and they prevented the British from destroying the bridges. Upon inquiring among the few people remaining in the town for horses on which to mount the general officers, it was ascertained that Proctor had taken them all, more than one thousand, and only one small pony could be found by the Americans and this was taken for General Shelby's use.

---

* The sad massacre of Kentuckians at the River Raisin nine months previous to this date by the savage allies of the British had, like most stirring events in war, been commemorated in song. A stanza of one of the songs often heard around the campfires of the Northwestern army of these times runs as follows:

Freemen! no longer bear such slaughters;
Avenge your country's cruel woe;
Arouse, and save your wives and daughters!
Arouse and smite the faithless foe!

Chorus—Scalps are bought at stated prices,
Malden pays the price in gold.

The British policy toward the Colonies, and also toward the United States had been, as expressed in the *New Quarterly Review and British Colonial Register* No. 4, London, following Perry's victory, as follows: . . We dare assert, and recent events have gone far in establishing the truth of the proposition, that the Canadas cannot be effectually and durably defended without the friendship of the Aborigines and command of the lakes and the River St. Lawrence. . . We must consider the interest of the Aborigines as our own; for men whose very name is so formidable to an American, and whose friendship has recently been shown [in the savage massacres of Winchester's and Dudley's troops] to be of such great importance to us, we cannot do too much. . . —Compare Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, page 536.

Leaving Colonel Smith's regiment of riflemen at Amherstburg to guard the smaller boats and the town against prowling savages, the Americans pressed forward the next morning, and soon after midday of the 29th September they arrived at Sandwich, Captain Perry's vessels arriving about the same time.

General M'Arthur with seven hundred men was sent across the river to Detroit to guard against the large number of savages reported in the woods near-by; and they drove away a band of savages in the town and found that Fort Lernoult had been abandoned by the British and partly burned, the fire having been extinguished by the citizens who now generally welcomed the Americans. A few days later the Aborigines who had become discouraged with the British on account of their disaster at Lower Sandusky, on Lake Erie, and at Amherstburg, and who did not follow Proctor's retreating columns—the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawotamis, Miamis and Kickapoos—came to General M'Arthur for peace, and he reported to the Secretary of War October 6th that he had agreed with them that hostilities should cease for the present on their agreeing 'to take hold of the same tomahawk with us, and to strike all who are or may be enemies of the United States, whether British or Aborigines. They are to bring in a number of their women and children and leave them as hostages whilst they accompany us to war. Some of them have already brought in their women, and are drawing rations.' . . The Wyandots were soon added to the above mentioned tribes sueing for peace; but no effort was made to marshal any of them against the British.

The martial law that had been enforced by the British at Detroit was now declared ended by proclamation of General Harrison who also reproclaimed the civil government of the Territory of Michigan which ended with the surrender of Hull in June, 1812. Colonel Johnson's regiment arrived at Detroit the 30th, having brought along four pieces of light field artillery from Fort Meigs, and they were ordered across the river the 1st October. A council of officers decided to continue the pursuit of the enemy by land rather than by water. General M'Arthur and his brigade remained at Detroit; a brigade and one regiment were left at Sandwich, and the main body of the army, numbering about three thousand and five hundred, started the 2nd of October again on the track of the British, having obtained some horses in addition to those ridden to Detroit by Colonel Johnson's regiment. Captain Perry took the heavy baggage and much of the supplies on some of his vessels to the mouth of the Thames River in Lake St. Clair; and he there learned that some small vessels bearing the British cannon and heavy baggage had just escaped him and passed up the river beyond where his vessels could go. Evidently the British did not expect to be pursued beyond Sandwich as they did not destroy the bridges. The road being good, the army was enabled to progress rapidly without the artillery and baggage carried by Perry's vessels. Seven deserters from the enemy were met, and the situation of the enemy was learned from them. The next day a small detachment of the enemy which had been sent to destroy some bridges, was captured.

Captain Perry received permission to accompany the army, leaving his boats well guarded. The Americans passed up the River Thames, their cannon driving Aborigines and others away from partially destroyed bridges which were speedily repaired for the army's use. The Wyandot Chief Walk-in-the-Water with sixty of his warriors reported as deserters from the British to the General who, being intent after the main foe, told the Aborigines to keep out of the way of the American Army; and they returned to Detroit. The British attempted to destroy their stores and whatever was burdensome to them. They set fire to a house near Chatham which contained near a thousand muskets. These were saved by the Americans. They burned other buildings and three of their small vessels, which contained artillery and heavy munitions—from which our army saved two twenty-four-pounder cannon and considerable ammunition; and early in the morning of the 5th two of the enemy's gunboats and several bateaux laden with supplies were captured, with more prisoners. The Thames was crossed at Arnold's Mill, partly by each cavalryman taking an infantryman behind him on his horse, and partly by means of the bateaux. Early in the afternoon scouts reported the position of the British and savages as near and well chosen for defense. The Americans at once advanced to the battle which was sharp and decisive. The mounted regiment of Colonel R. M. Johnson broke the British lines by its impetuous charge and in less than five minutes after the first shot near the entire British force threw down their arms and surrendered. The savages started their part well but were after a few minutes unable to withstand the rifles of the Kentuckians. Tecumseh was killed, whether by Colonel R. M. Johnson or other is not known; and no one could for long rally the savages against the victorious Americans. General Proctor with a few followers attempted to escape in his carriage, but he was so closely pressed that he rushed into the forest on foot and, later finding a horse, was sixty-five miles from the battle-field within twenty-four hours. His carriage and private papers, and much valuable military material, were captured including six brass cannon, three of which were captured from the British in the Revolutionary War and were surrendered to them by Hull at Detroit.

The American loss in the Battle of the Thames was about fifteen killed and thirty wounded including the brave Colonel R. M. Johnson. The British loss was about eighteen killed, twenty-six wounded, and six hundred prisoners including twenty-five officers. The savages left thirty-three of their dead on the field. Further is not definitely known, but their loss must have been large from wounds and want of proper care. Some of the severely wounded and dead were doubtless carried away, including Tecumseh.

The American army started on its return to Detroit the 7th of October. General Harrison went before at a more rapid pace, leaving General Shelby in command. They arrived at Sandwich on the 10th in a cold, driving snow storm. This storm injured some of the vessels on their return from the Thames and caused the loss of much of the military property captured from the British. It also put a stop to the contemplated movement against Mackinaw; but report was soon received that the small British garrison had abandoned that post, which was probably not correct, as this point was the key to the northern and northwestern fur trade. The reports of the signal victory at the Thames were received throughout the United States with illuminations, bonfires, and patriotic addresses in which General Harrison was much lauded. Congress afterwards gave him a vote of thanks, and a gold medal.

General Harrison appointed General Lewis Cass civil and military Governor of Michigan, and directed him to retain his brigade of soldiers, numbering about one thousand men, to guard against the savages and to hold the Territory against invasion by the British. This appointment was confirmed by the United States Senate, and General Cass continued in this office several years. The fort at Detroit was repaired and the name Fort Lernoult, which it had borne since 1778, was changed to Fort Shelby in honor of Kentucky's distinguished Governor. The Kentucky volunteers were permitted to return home. They stopped at the River Raisin on their way and there buried such remains as could be found (sixty-five skeletons) of the massacred soldiers of General Winchester's army of the previous January—See *ante* page 311. They also stopped at the mouth of the Portage River to get their horses.

The garrisoning of the several forts in this Basin being provided for, General Harrison sailed with about thirteen hundred soldiers in

Captain Perry's squadron for Buffalo* where they arrived the 24th October to co-operate with the Army of the Center; but he did not there remain as a party to the resulting defeats. On account of antagonisms in the War Department his able and successful work in the War of 1812 had been nearly completed. He returned to his family in Cincinnati where he retained headquarters until he resigned his commission 11th May, 1814, to take effect on the 31st of that month.

The Northwest experienced comparative quiet after the pursuit and defeat of the British by the Thames, but not for long. Food and money became scarce and some successes of the British over the Army of the Center, again brought anxiety to this region. The following extracts from a letter to Governor Meigs written by General John S. Gano under date of Headquarters Ohio Militia, Lower Sandusky January 16th, 1814, show something of the condition of affairs at that date, viz:

I have the pleasure to inform you that after repeated solicitations, and much delay, the paymaster has succeeded in obtaining two month's pay for the troops under my command. I have sent him on to Detroit, as the men there are in great want of money to purchase necessaries, etc.† Yesterday the Lieutenant and Surgeon of the Navy, Champlain and Eastman, left this post for Put-in Bay. They arrived the evening before, and report they have everything arranged to give the enemy a warm reception should they visit them. About forty pieces of cannon can be brought to play upon them at any point. I find, however, they want men. I shall send in the regulars from Seneca as soon as possible, to reinforce them which is absolutely necessary from the Lieutenants representations to me. We have not had the detailed account from Buffalo, etc. Majors Vance and Meek have just arrived from Detroit, and give me a favorable account from that quarter as to the exertions of Colonel Butler, to whom I sent Major Vance as an express. There is a detachment under Major Smiley up the River Thames who will, I hope, fare better than Larwell. The militia are very tired of the service there, and all are beginning to count days. They have had an immense deal of fatigue and severe duty to perform. The fort at Portage is progressing and is the best piece of work in the Western country as to strength. The men draw the timber to admiration — eighty or ninety logs a day without a murmur. The teams have been, and are, useless for want of forage. The greatest part have actually died. I wrote in November to Quartermaster Gardiner for funds to be sent to the Quartermaster's assistant here to purchase forage, which could have been obtained two or three hundred miles from here. If three hundred dollars could have been sent on, I think it would have saved the United States three thousand; and I assure you I have used every exertion to preserve and protect the public property. As I before observed, nothing will induce the militia to remain after their term of service expires, which will be the last of next month. Is there any information from General Harrison or the Secretary of War on this subject? I am only anxious on account of the public property that may be left exposed. I have this post in a tolerable state of defense, as well as all the posts I command, which, you know, are scattered from Dan to Beersheba; and each must rely on its own strength for its defense. I have had an immense detail business in communication, etc.

---

* General Harrison received, by messenger Lieutenant Le Breton, a letter from Major General Proctor dated October 18th (place of writing not given) addressed to him at the Moravian towns by the Thames, but delivered at Detroit before his departure from that place. This letter requested the return of private papers and property captured by the Americans at the Battle of the Thames; also a request for mild treatment of the British prisoners and subjects. This writing of General Proctor was considered by General Harrison unnecessary as such requests had been already provided for; and, further, it was asking from him what General Proctor had not been known to accord to Americans. Lieutenant Le Breton was given good opportunity to see that the proprieties of civilization had been complied with in regard to the British. He was not permitted to return by land, however, but was taken across Lake Erie in boat with General Harrison. He was given in reply a letter dated Headquarters, Fort George, November 3, 1813, addressed, not to Proctor but to Major General Vincent the ranking officer. This letter cited three instances, of the many in addition to Winchester's and Dudley's troops, of atrocious savage murders and mutilations committed on inoffensive American men, women and children by savage members of the British army whose officers were at least privy to the deeds and did not subject their perpetrators to discipline. Eloquent protest was again made against such atrocious warfare, and demand for its cessation, truthfully adding that 'the effect of these barbarities will not be confined to the present generation. Ages to come will feel the deep rooted hatred and enmity which they must produce between the two nations.' He also declared that, if the British persisted in such inhumanities, retaliation would be the result — *Official Letters*, etc., by John Brannan, 1823.

† The procuring of the necessaries of life was difficult during all these early years; but the years 1814-15 were classed as years of unusual scarcity. Ohio money had been at twenty-five per cent or more discount for several years, and now it was very difficult to get. Individual due-bills had also been in extensive circulation, and attended with much loss.

Flour is very scarce at all the frontier posts. I have been between 'hawk and buzzard'—the commissary and contractor; and between the two, as is usual, must fail. What a wretched system of Warfare. . .

P. S. An express by a naval officer has just arrived from Erie. Lieutenant Packet has given me a full account of the loss of the posts below, at Niagara. The enemy possessed themselves of the artillery, military stores, etc., etc., to a large amount; and there is no doubt but an attempt to take or destroy the vessels at Put-in Bay will be attempted, and Captain Elliott has requested a reinforcement of two hundred men to send to the Island, which I have not the power to furnish. I have ordered a few regulars from Seneca, and will send a few militia. My troops are so scattered, I have no disposable force without evacuating some of the posts that contain considerable military stores. I wrote some time since to General Harrison, recommending him to send on the recruits. They certainly will be wanted as soon as the British can move on the ice or by water to Detroit or the Islands. I fear we shall lose all that has been gained, unless great exertions are used to reinforce; and supply of provisions is much wanted.

Fort Meigs had suffered much from short rations and, about the middle of January, some of the soldiers of the garrison were sent up the river to Fort Winchester where they obtained as much as they could carry, and transported it to Fort Meigs as best they could. The quantity of flour at Fort Winchester the latter part of January was mentioned by General Gano as 'two or three hundred barrels' while Fort Meigs continued very short. General Gano wrote to General Harrison the 27th that . . 'I think I would hang half of the quartermasters and all the contractors If I was to remain in service much longer; and I am astonished how you have managed with them to effect the objects you have, for there appears no system or regularity with any of them.' . . Eighty soldiers were reported sick at Fort Meigs the 27th January, 1814. 'March and May, 1814,' there were reported at Fort Meigs 9461 rations of meat; 29,390 of flour; 25,688 of whiskey; 1271 quarts salt; 1018¾ pounds soap; 948 lbs. candles; and 1584 lbs. tallow and grease.*

---

* *American State Papers*, Military Affairs volume ii page 661.

The fears of attack by the enemy expressed by General Gano were not realized; but fears were often again excited during the summer and fall. Lieutenant Colonel Butler, in temporary command at Detroit, being informed the last of January or early in February that a body of British and Canadian soldiers, and savages, were by the River Thames near Chatham, sent Captain Lee with a squad of cavalry to investigate. The Americans went around the enemy, attacked them fiercely, scattered them, and took several prisoners, including Colonel Babie (Bahbie) who led a band of western savages to the New York frontier the summer or fall of 1813. A little later in February Lieutenant Colonel Butler sent one hundred and sixty soldiers, with two six-pounder cannon, under Captain Jeremiah Holmes, against the British Fort Talbot one hundred miles or more from Detroit on the north shore of Lake Erie. Deeming it unwise to attack that Fort, Captain Holmes passed across country to Delaware on the Thames when the enemy, superior in numbers, led him on to the Longwoods where they gave battle for an hour about dark on March 3rd. Both parties withdrew during the night. The Americans lost seven in killed and wounded.

Early in July, 1814, a small squadron of vessels left Detroit for the capture of Fort Mackinaw and other posts in that region important to the British fur trade. Some time had been given to preparation for this expedition. Arthur St. Clair was in command of the vessels *Niagara, Caledonia, Scorpion, St. Lawrence* and *Tigress,* and George Croghan, now a Lieutenant Colonel, in command of the five hundred United States troops and two hundred and fifty militia which had quarters on the vessels. When the squadron arrived at Fort Gratiot, recently built by order of General M'Arthur at the head of St. Clair Strait or River, Croghan's force was augmented by Colonel William Colgreave's regiment of Ohio volunteers and Captain Gratiot. A desired attack on a new British post on Matchadach Bay was abandoned after several days' trial to get through the narrow channels between the islands in the fogs, and without a familiar pilot. Sailing to Fort St. Joseph, toward Lake Superior, they found it abandoned. The buildings here were destroyed by part of the expedition while others pressed forward to the Saut Ste. Marie where they arrived July 21st to find that John Johnson 'a renegade magistrate from Michigan' agent of the British Northwest Company, had just departed with his assistants, carrying away all the property possible, but setting fire to the company's sloop. This fire was extinguished by the Americans but the vessel proving unseaworthy she was again fired. After destroying the buildings, the Americans returned to St. Joseph, and the squadron arrived at Mackinaw July 26th, where they were to suffer repulse. Deciding it unwise for the vessels to attack the fort in front, Croghan's men were landed and proceeded to a rear attack. They were met, however, by such severe fire by the British and concealed savages, that they retreated to the boats with a loss of thirteen killed, including Major Holmes, and fifty-five wounded, including Captains Van Horn and Desha, and Lieutenant Jackson. Two were missing. Passing to the Nautawassaga River, they captured the blockhouse three miles from its mouth, but the valuable furs of the Northwest Company had been removed, and their vessel burned. The vessels now sailed for Detroit excepting the *Tigress* with Captain Champlin, and the *Scorpion* with Captain Turner, with crews of near thirty men each, which were left as a blockade to cut off supplies from the garrison at Mackinaw. This they did effectually until the night of the 3rd September when the *Tigress*, being alone, was captured by a stealthy and overwhelming force; which force, in turn, deceived the *Scorpion's* officers and crew to a close contact when she was also boarded and overwhelmed. These disasters, with the loss of the post at Prairie du Chien on the 17th July, again increased the apprehensions of the Americans throughout the Northwest.

The savages becoming more aggressive around Lake Michigan, General M'Arthur was directed to gather mounted men to proceed against them. He arrived at Detroit through Ohio the 9th October, with about seven hundred men gathered from Ohio and Kentucky. The American army under General Jacob Brown being sorely pressed on the Niagara frontier, General M'Arthur, deciding to divert some of the British forces from that point, executed the most daring raid of the war through Canada. Starting northward from Detroit after the middle of October with seven hundred and fifty men and five field cannon, he circled around Lake St. Clair, crossed the River St. Clair on the 26th, moved rapidly through the Scotch settlement of Baldoon, the Moravian Towns on the Thames, and London, arriving at Oxford the 4th November. Here he found a considerable force of militia which he disarmed and paroled; and he punished those who viciously opposed him by burning their houses. He moved eastward and passed through Burford to Brantford on the Grand River. Here, being opposed by the Iroquois Aborigines resident there, the militia and British, he turned southward, attacked the militia at Malcolm Hill by the Grand River, killing and wounding seven and taking one hundred and thirty-one prisoners. The only American loss on this raid was one killed and six wounded at this point. The flouring mill and its belongings were here destroyed; also several mills on his way to Dover on Lake Erie. These mills had been the chief source of supply to the British in their operations against the Central Army. At Dover General M'Arthur turned westward passing through Simcoe, St. Thomas, and near the

Thames, being pursued some distance by eleven hundred British regular troops. The 17th November this successful American raid ended at Sandwich, where all the volunteers so desiring were discharged.

Returning to Ohio, from this most daring of marches through the enemy's country, Brigadier General Duncan M'Arthur, then commanding the 8th Military District, wrote a confidential letter to Thomas Worthington, then Governor of Ohio, under date Chillicothe, December 13, 1814, as follows:

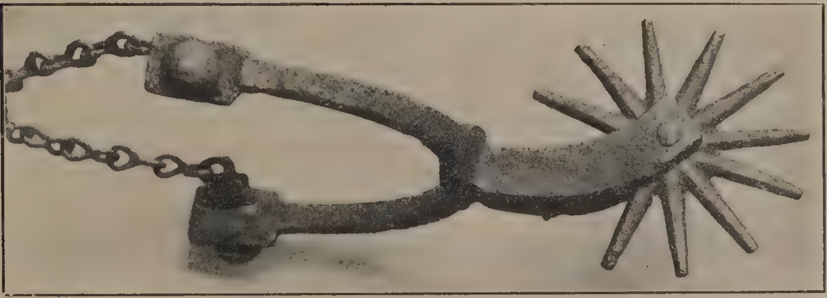
> With serious concern for the safety of the Northwestern frontier, I have the honor to submit to your consideration, and that of the Legislature of Ohio, a statement in relation to the situation of affairs in this district. The contractor failed in November to supply the troops at Detroit with the flour part of the ration, and they are now subsisting upon the immediate resources of the adjacent country. The advanced state of the season precludes the hope that any flour can be forwarded by lake transportation, should it have been collected at Erie, of which there is no authentic account. A considerable supply is reported by the contractor to be in readiness to be taken down the St. Mary and Miami of the Lake [Maumee] as soon as practicable, of which there can be no certainty until April. Three or four thousand hogs are reported by the contractor to be in readiness to proceed to Detroit by the route of the Auglaise, or Hull's Road. Subsequent information as to the number collected, and the price allowed to sub-contractors, induces a belief that not more than one thousand will reach that place. These facts have been communicated to the Government, with a request that funds might be transmitted to this place to enable a special commissary to endeavor to supply the troops of the frontier. There is reason to presume that a delay for an arrangement of this kind would be fatal; more especially as it is the intention of the Government to increase the military force of the Northwestern frontier.
>
> I have, therefore, to request of your Excellency to solicit the Legislature of Ohio to aid the United States in effecting this important object in such a manner as they, in their wisdom, may deem most expedient. The loan of thirty thousand dollars would probably enable a person duly authorized to forward to Detroit, by way of Sandusky, five hundred barrels of flour, and fifteen hundred hogs.

Overtures for peace having been made, however, and peace commissioners appointed by the United States and Great Britain, a treaty closing the war was signed at Ghent, Belgium, December 24, 1814. And now came the time when the United States first entered into the full, peaceable, continued possession and jurisdiction of the territory of the Maumee River Basin and to the northward and westward—rights that should have been fully accorded this Government by Great Britain over thirty years before according to the Treaty of Paris. The infamy of the British Government during these thirty-eight years—from 1776 to 1815—is but sketched in minor part on the preceding pages. The strongest of language is necessary for its proper characterization. The later offenses were all the more reprehensible from the British being obliged November 30, 1782, to recognize in treaty the rights of the struggling patriots whom they had impoverished by many years of continued violation of civilized warfare! And then, after becoming somewhat recuperated, they acted the part of a conscienceless bully yet thirty years, harassing personally and with the savages whom they continued to encourage to the commitment of the most inhuman butcheries and atrocities!*

The discharge of volunteers and drafted militiamen followed the receipt of the news of peace as soon as practicable for the preservation of the public property; and all classes of people united in the general rejoicings. The forts were rapidly dismantled and abandoned, only the principal ones being continued during the winter. Fort Winchester was abandoned in the spring of 1815, the equipment being taken down the Maumee to Fort Meigs, and thence to Detroit. The garrison of Fort Meigs had been reduced to forty men under command of Lieutenant Almon Gibbs, and the ordnance to four cannon. These, with the military stores, were loaded on the schooner *Blacksnake* under Captain Jacob Wilkinson, in May, 1815, and taken to Detroit, thus leaving but one military post, Fort Wayne, in this Basin.

---

* Thomas Jefferson fully understood the British Government. In August, 1812, he wrote that . . the regeneration of the British government will take a longer time than I have to live. . , . I shall make my exit with a bow to it as the most flagitious of governments I leave among men. . . . Also after the Treaty of Ghent, in 1815, he wrote: . . We know that the government of England, maintaining itself by corruption at home, uses the same means in other countries of which she has any jealousy, by subsidizing agitators and traitors among themselves to distract and paralyze them. She sufficiently manifests that she has no disposition to spare ours. . . . Also in 1816, . . . Great Britain in her pride and ascendency, has certainly hated and despised us beyond every earthly object. Her hatred may remain, but the hour of her contempt is passed and is succeeded by dread; not a present, but a distant and deep one. It is the greater as she feels herself plunged into an abyss of ruin from which no human means point out an issue. We also have more reason to hate her than any nation on earth. . —*The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia*, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1900, pages 298, 299.



A Cavalryman's Spur, found many years ago near the Maumee River below Defiance. Diameter of wheel about three inches. In the Author's Collection.

CHAPTER XII.

LATER DESCENDANTS OF THE ABORIGINES—FINAL TREATIES—THEIR REMOVAL WESTWARD.

The savages, the much valued allies of the British, were left without means of obtaining food for the winter after the Battle of the Thames. As at the close of the Revolutionary War they turned at once, and with as little apparent regret for their past hostilities, to the Americans for their support—anxious to be fed, even if their savage propensities could not be gratified as they had been by the British. As formerly they gathered at Detroit in such great numbers that they could not be fully fed, and they went about the streets gathering and devouring so far as they could the rinds of pork, crumbs, bones, and everything thrown out by the citizens and soldiers.* The decrepit, the women, and the children began to gather around General M'Arthur soon after the American army started from Sandwich for the Thames; and representatives of the Miamis, Ottawas, Pottawotamis, Chippewas and Kickapoos, all soon desired to be recognized in treaty council—and to be fed.

Upon their delivering hostages for their good behavior, and agreeing to deliver all their prisoners at Fort Wayne, General Harrison arranged for a treaty council to be held at Greenville, Ohio, the following summer; and his pacific as well as disciplinary work among these Aborigines was attended with such success that he and General Cass met the representatives of several tribes and their families, numbering about four thousand (?) at Greenville, Ohio, July 22, 1814, according to agreement, and there effected a treaty as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The United States and the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, give peace to the Miami nation of Aborigines, formerly designated as the Miami, Eel River, and Wea tribes; they extend this indulgence, also, to the bands of the Pottawatamies which adhere to the grand sachem Tobinipee, and to the chief Onoxa; to the Ottawas of Blanchard River who have attached themselves to the Shawanese tribe, and to such of the said tribe as adhere to the chief called the Wing in the neighborhood of Detroit, and to the Kickapoos under the direction of the chiefs who sign this Treaty.

ARTICLE 2. The tribes and bands abovementioned, engage to give their aid to the United States in prosecuting the war against Great Britain and such of the Aborigine tribes as still continue hostile, and to make no peace with either without the consent of the United States. The assistance herein stipulated for, is to consist of such number of their warriors from each tribe as the President of the United States, or any officer having his authority therefor, may require.

ARTICLE 3. The Wyandot tribe, and the Senecas of Sandusky and Stony Creek [Michigan] the Delaware and Shawanese tribes who have preserved their fidelity to the United States throughout the war, again acknowledge themselves under the protection of the said States, and of no other Power whatever, and agree to aid the United States in the manner stipulated for in the former article, and to make no peace but with the consent of the said States.

---

* Compare Samuel R. Brown's *Views on Lake Erie*, page 95.

ARTICLE 4. In the event of a faithful performance of the conditions of this treaty, the United States will confirm and establish all the boundaries between their lands and those of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Miamis, as they existed previously to the commencement of the war.

A large number of Pottawotamis, Winnebagoes and Chippewas, yet adhered to the British. The Agency for the payment of annuities to these people had been kept open during the war, first at Fort Wayne and later at Piqua, Ohio. The following list of payments by John Johnston Agent, show which tribes remained more generally within the American lines, the vacant spaces indicating which tribes followed the fortunes of the British, viz:

ANNUITIES DUE, PAID AND DELIVERED TO THE DIFFERENT ABORIGINE TRIBES FROM 3RD MARCH, 1811, TO 3RD MARCH, 1815.

Tribe	Annual Amount Appropriations by Different Acts of Congress	Amount Paid 1811	Amount Paid 1812	Amount Paid 1813	Amount Paid 1814
Miami	$ 2,300.00	$ 2,948.89			
Eel River	1,100.00	1,100.10			
Shawnee	1,000.00	1,000.75	$ 1,500.00	$ 1,500.82	$ 1,500.00
Pottawotami	2,400.00	1,000.54	400.00		
Delaware	1,800.00	1,799.24	1,800.00	1,393.04	1,300.00
Wea	1,150.00	750.00			
Kickapoo	1,000.00	500.00			
Piankeshaw	1,000.00	1,000.00			
Kaskaskia	1,000.00	900.00	1,000.00	400.00	1,000.00
Wyandot	1,400.00	1,400.00	1,010.28		
Ottawa	1,800.00	1,800.00	1,800.00		
Chippewa	1,800.00	1,800.00	1,800.00		
Six Nations	4,500.00	4,500.00	4,410.00	4,500.00	2,300.00
To more distant Tribes		28,239.25	21,033.83	19,631.88	20,451.00
Total payments		$ 48,738.77	$ 34,754.11	$ 27,425.74	$ 26,551.00

The Presents, Provisions and other supplies furnished Aborigines from 4th March, 1811, to 4th March, 1815, in addition to the foregoing amounted as follows: For Tribes on North and Northwestern Frontiers $225,788,02; Western Frontier $32,116.53; Southern Frontier $150,523.87; Those Visiting Seat of Government $30,350.94; At Detroit Agency $11,233.55; At Fort Wayne $32,175.14; At Kaskaskia $10,410.36; At Vincennes $1,671.18; and at Chicago $2,377.55. Property within the Fort Wayne Agency taken and destroyed by the Aborigines, Listed 31st March, 1814, $5,500.00; Chicago $13,074.47; Michilimackinac $12,961.31; Sandusky $6,333.83.* After the driving of the British from Amherstburg and Detroit, and particularly after the Treaty of Greenville in 1814, the amount expended for the Aborigines by the United States increased materially.

---

* *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume ii pages 29, 30.

During the summer and fall of 1815 nearly all the Mississippi tribes were gathered into councils and treaties and, in these as in all other similar acts of the United States, great magnanimity was manifested—no penalty was exacted but, in the language of each treaty 'every injury or act of hostility was forgiven and forgotten.' These tribes were the Iowas, Kickapoos, Sioux of the Lakes, Sioux of St. Peters, Piankeshaws, Great and Little Osage tribes, Yanctons, Mahas, Foxes, Teetons, Sacs, and Kansas. A treaty was also held 8th September, 1815, at Spring Wells, Michigan, at which 'the United States gave peace to the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawotami tribes' and restored to them their former possessions 'they agreeing again to place themselves under the protection of the United States, and of no other Power whatsoever.' And 'in consideration of the fidelity to the United States which has been manifested by the Wyandot, Delaware, Seneca, and Shawnee tribes throughout the late war, and of the repentance of the Miami tribe, as manifested by placing themselves under the protection of the United States by the Treaty of Greenville in 1814, the said States agree to pardon such of the chiefs and warriors of said tribes as may have continued hostilities against them until the close of the war with Great Britain, and to permit the chiefs of their respective tribes to restore them to the stations and property which they held previous to the war' they renewing and confirming the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, and all subsequent ones. A treaty with the Weas and Kickapoos, like those here mentioned was entered into at Fort Harrison by the middle Wabash 4th June, 1816. And a renewing of treaties was industriously sought and entered into with all the other tribes, east and west, north and south.

The Aborigines generally, sated with war, had been comporting themselves in comparative quiet under the paternal ministrations of the United States since the close of the War of 1812.[*] The principal

---

[*] The number of Aborigines 'of all ages and sexes within the State of Ohio in 1816' was reported to be, with their locations, as follows:

Wyandots, by Sandusky River and its tributaries,	695
Shawnees, by the upper Auglaise River, and by the upper Miami, principal village Wapakoneta,	840
Delawares, by the head waters of the Sandusky and Muskingum Rivers	161
Senecas, and others of the Six Nations, between Upper and Lower Sandusky at and near Seneca Town,	450
Senecas, Munseys, and Delawares, by the headwaters of the Miami at and near Lewiston, 30 miles northeast of Piqua,	434
Ottawas, about Maumee Bay and Lake Erie, near Fort Meigs, and by the Auglaise River — numbers not stationary — about	450
Total	3036

(Completed on opposite page)

difficulties in civilizing them at this time as heretofore, are portrayed in a letter addressed 27th August, 1817, to Thomas L. M'Kinney Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs, Washington, by Benjamin F. Stickney then Agent to the Miamis and Pottawotamis at Fort Wayne. These difficulties were the same among all the tribes, and were in addition to their native savage instincts, viz:

> I shall pay every attention to the subject of your letter, developing the exalted views of philanthropy of the Kentucky Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. The civilization of the Aborigines is not a new subject to me. I have been, between five and six years, in the habit of daily and hourly intercourse with the Aborigines northwest of the Ohio, and the great question of the practicability of civilizing them ever before me. That I might have an opportunity of casting in my mite to the bettering of the condition of these uncultivated human beings, and the pleasure of observing the change that might be produced on them, were the principal inducements to my surrendering the comforts of civilized society.
>
> Upon my entering on my duties, I soon found that my speculative opinions were not reducible to practice. What I had viewed at a distance as flying clouds, proved upon my nearer approach to be impassible mountains. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, I am ready to aid your views by all proper means within my power; and in so doing believe I embrace the views of the United States Government of which I am Agent. . . It will be proper for me to be more particular, and give you something of my ideas of the nature and extent of the obstacles to be met.
>
> Firstly. The great, and I fear insurmountable, obstacle is THE INSATIABLE THIRST FOR INTOXICATING LIQUORS that appears to be born with all the yellow-skin inhabitants of America; and the *thirst for gain* of some of the citizens of the United States appears to be capable of eluding all the vigilance of the Government to stop the distribution of liquor among them. When the Aborigines cannot obtain the means of intoxication within their own limits, they will travel any distance to obtain it. There is no fatigue, risk, or expense, that is too great to obtain it. In some cases it appears to be valued higher than life itself. If a change in habit in this can be effected, all other obstacles may yield. But if the white people can not be restrained from furnishing them spirituous liquors, nor they from the use of them, I fear all efforts to extend to them the benefits of civilization will prove fruitless. The knowledge of letters serves as the medium of entering into secret arrangements with white people to supply the means of their own destruction and, within the limits of my intercourse, the principal use of the knowledge of letters or civilized language has been for them to obtain liquor for themselves and others.
>
> Secondly. The general aversion to the habits, manners, customs, and dress of civilized people; and, in many cases, an Aborigine is an object of jealousy for being acquainted with a civilized language, and it is made use of as a subject of reproach against him.
>
> Thirdly. General indolence, connected with a firm conviction that the life of a civilized man is that of slavery, and that savage life is manhood, ease and independence.
>
> Fourthly. The unfavorable light in which they view the character of the citizens of the United States—believing that their minds are so occupied in trade and speculation, that they never act from any other motive. . . Their opinion of the Government

---

Total white population of Ohio believed to amount to about 450,000 souls—Statement of John Johnson, Aborigine Agent at Piqua, Ohio, in *The Western Gazeteer, or Emigrants' Directory, etc.*, Auburn, N. Y., 1817. See Index references to other enumerations of Aborigines of different dates.

of the United States is, in some degree, more favorable; but secretly they view all white people as their enemies, and are extremely suspicious of everything coming from them.

All the Miamis, and Eel River Miamis, are under my charge, about one thousand four hundred in number; and there are something more than two thousand Pottawotamis who come within my agency. The proportion of children can not be ascertained, but it must be less than among the white inhabitants of the United States. They have had no schools or missionaries among them since the time of the French Jesuits. [Major Stickney overlooked the efforts of the Society of Friends by Little River in 1804 and afterward. See Index.]

They have places that are commonly called villages, but perhaps not correctly, as they have no uniform place of residence. During the fall, winter, and part of the spring, they are scattered in the woods, hunting. The respective bands assemble in the spring at their several ordinary places of resort, where some have rude cabins made of small logs covered with bark; but more commonly some poles stuck in the ground and tied together with pliant slips of bark, and covered with large sheets of bark, or a kind of mat made of flags. [See *ante* page 67 where this style of hut is described as being in use two hundred years before the date of this letter.] Near these places of resort they plant some corn [*zea mays*]. There are eleven of these places of resort within my agency. The Miamis and Eel River Miamis reside principally by the Wabash, Mississinewa, and Eel River, and at the head of White River. The Pottawotamis reside on the Tippecanoe, Kankakee, Iroquois, Yellow River, St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, the Elkhart, Miami of the Lake [the Maumee] and by the St. Joseph and the St. Mary emptying into it.

They all believe in a God as creator and governor, but have no idea of His will being communicated to a man, except as it appears in the creation, or as it appears occasionally from his providential government. Some of them had been told of other communications having been made to the white people a long time since, and that it was written and printed; but they neither have conception nor belief in relation to it. [This was probably the faint remembrance of the teachings of the Society of Friends twenty to twenty-two years before by Little River.] Their belief in a future existence is a kind of transubstantiation—a removal from this existence to one more happy, with similar appetites and enjoyments. They talk of a bad spirit, but never express any apprehensions of his troubling them in their future existence. *

---

*It is obvious that the mind of the Aborigines has never seriously occupied itself with any of the higher themes of thought. The beings of its belief are not impersonations of the forces of Nature, the courses of human destiny, or the movements of human intellect, will and passion. In the midst of nature, the Aborigine knew nothing of her laws. His perpetual reference of her phenomena to occult agencies forestalled inquiry and precluded inductive reasoning. If the wind blew with violence, it was because the water-lizard, which makes the wind, had crawled out of his pool; if the lightning was sharp and frequent, it was because the young of the thunder-bird were restless in their nest; if a blight fell upon the corn, it was because the Corn Spirit was angry; and if the beavers were shy and difficult to catch, it was because they had taken offense at seeing the bones of one of their race thrown to a dog. Well, and even highly developed in a few instances—I allude especially to the Iroquois—with respect to certain points of material concernment, the mind of the Aborigine in other respects was and is almost hopelessly stagnant. The very traits that raise him above [against] the servile races are hostile to the kind and degree of civilization which those races have attained. His intractable spirit of independence, and the pride [?] which forbids him to be an imitator, reinforce but too strongly that savage lethargy of mind from which it is so hard to rouse him. No race [people] perhaps, ever presented greater difficulties to those laboring for its [their] improvement.

To sum up the results of this examination, this primitive man was as savage in his religion as in his life. He was divided between fetich-worship and that next degree of religious development which consists in the worship of deities embodied in the human form. His conception of their attributes was such as might have been expected. His gods were no whit better than himself. Even when he borrows from Christianity the idea of a Supreme and Universal Spirit, his tendency is to reduce Him to a local habitation and a bodily shape; and this tendency disappears only in tribes that have been long in contact

It had constantly been the policy of the United States to keep spirituous liquors from the Aborigines; to discourage their wandering habits by narrowing their range, and to incline them more and more to agricultural pursuits. This would admit of parcelling the adjoining lands to citizen settlers who, by their industry, would be exemplars for the self-support and civilizing of the Aborigines. Naturally the greater the number of such settlers the more secure should peace and prosperity become. With these results yet in view, a treaty and purchase council was called to meet at the 'Foot of the Rapids of the Miami [Maumee] of Lake Erie' probably on the left bank of the river at the site of the present Village of Maumee, the 29th September, 1817. Here Generals Lewis Cass and Duncan M'Arthur met the sachems and other chiefs, with the warriors of the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Pottawotami, Ottawa and Chippewa tribes and completed a treaty ranking in importance, particularly to Ohio, only second to the great Treaty at Greenville in 1795. The provisions of this treaty are as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The Wyandot tribe of Aborigines, in consideration of the stipulations herein made on the part of the United States, do hereby forever cede to the United States the lands comprehended within the following lines and boundaries: Beginning at a point on the southern shore of Lake Erie where the present Aborigine boundary line intersects the same, between the mouth of Sandusky Bay and the mouth of Portage River; thence, running south with said line to the line established in the year 1795 by the Treaty of Greenville which runs from the crossing place above Fort Laurens to Loramie's Store; thence westerly with the last mentioned line to the eastern line of the Reserve at Loramie's Store; thence, with the lines of said Reserve, north and west to the northwestern corner thereof; thence to the northwestern corner of the Reserve on the River St. Mary, at the head of the navigable waters thereof [site of the present City of St. Marys] thence, east to the western bank of the St. Mary River aforesaid; thence, down on the western bank of the said river to the Reserve at Fort Wayne; thence, with the lines of the last mentioned Reserve, easterly and northerly, to the north bank of the River Miami of Lake Erie [Maumee]; thence down on the north bank of the said river to the western line of the land ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Detroit in the year 1807; thence, with the said line south to the middle of said Miami [Maumee] River, opposite the mouth of the Great Au Glaise River; thence down the middle of said Miami [Maumee] River and easterly with the lines of the tract ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Detroit aforesaid, so far that a south line will strike the place of beginning.

ART. 2. The Pottawatomie, Ottawa and Chippewa tribes of Aborigines, in consideration of the stipulations herein made on the part of the United States, do hereby

---

with civilized white men. The Aborigine, yielding his untutored homage to One All-pervading and Omnipotent Spirit, is a dream of poets, rhetoricians, and sentimentalists — *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* by Francis Parkman, Little, Brown and Company, 1898.

The lives of the American Aborigines fully illustrate the great power of heredity and early environment in the formation of habit (character) that longest endures — and the lower in the scale of barbarism and savagery was the tribe, the more difficult it was to effect improvement toward civilization. These characteristics yet exist, markedly among the more secluded tribes; and the missionary school teacher is not yet receiving the ready and full seconding of his efforts that he is entitled to from the various kinds of white men found around their campfires, some bent on personal adventures and others under pay of museums and societies for gathering relics, myths and what not from these poor people.

cede to the United States the land comprehended within the following lines and boundaries: Beginning where the western line of the State of Ohio crosses the River Miami of Lake Erie [Maumee] which is about twenty-one miles above the mouth of the Great Au Glaise River; thence down the middle of the said Miami [Maumee] River to a point north of the mouth of the Great Au Glaise River; thence with the western line of the land ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807, north forty-five miles; thence west so far that a line south will strike the place of beginning; thence south to the place of beginning.

ART. 3. The Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippewa tribes of Aborigines accede to the cessions mentioned in the two preceding articles.

ART. 4. In consideration of the cessions and recognitions stipulated in the three preceding articles, the United States agree to pay to the Wyandot tribe, annually forever, the sum of $4000 in specie at Upper Sandusky; to the Seneca tribe, annually forever, the sum of $500 in specie at Lower Sandusky [now Fremont]; to the Shawnee tribe, annually forever, the sum of $2000 in specie at Wapakoneta; to the Pottawatomie tribe, annually for the term of fifteen years, the sum of $1300 in specie at Detroit; to the Ottawa tribe, annually for the term of fifteen years, the sum of $1000 in specie at Detroit; to the Chippewa tribe, annually for the term of fifteen years, the sum of $1000 in specie at Detroit; to the Delaware tribe, in the course of the year 1818, the sum of $500 in specie at Wapakoneta, but no annuity; and the United States also agree that all annuities due by any former treaty to the Wyandot, Shawnee, and Delaware tribes, and the annuity due by the Treaty of Greenville to the Ottawa and Chippewa tribes, shall be paid to the said tribes, respectively, in specie.

ART. 5. The schedule hereunto annexed is to be taken and considered as part of this treaty; and the tracts herein stipulated to be granted to the Wyandot, Seneca, and Shawnee tribes of Aborigines are to be granted for the use of persons mentioned in the said schedule agreeably to the descriptions, provisions, and limitations therein contained.

ART. 6. The United States agree to grant by patent in fee simple to Do-an-quod, How-o-ner, Ron-ton-dee, Tau-yau, Rod-ta-yau, Daw-a-tont, Ma-no-cue, Tau-yau-dau-tau-son, and Hau-dau-u-waugh, chiefs of the Wyandot tribe, and their successors in office chiefs of the said tribe for the use of the persons and for the purposes mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land twelve miles square at Upper Sandusky the center of which shall be the place where Fort Ferree stands; and also a tract of one mile square to be located where the chiefs direct on a cranberry swamp on Broken Sword Creek and to be held for the use of the tribe.

The United States agree to grant by patent in fee simple to Taw-aw-ma-do-yaw, Captain Harris, Isa-how-mu-say, Joseph Tawgyou, Captain Smith, Coffee-house, Running-about, and Wiping-stick, chiefs of the Seneca tribe and their successors in office chiefs of the said tribe, for the use of the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land to contain thirty thousand acres, beginning on the Sandusky River at the lower corner of the section granted to William Spicer; thence down the said river to the east side, with the meanders thereof at highwater mark, to a point east of the mouth of Wolf Creek; thence and from the beginning, east so far that a north line will include the quantity of thirty thousand acres aforesaid.

The United States also agree to grant by patent in fee simple, to Ca-te-we-ke-sa or Black Hoof, By-a-se-ka or Wolf; Pom-the or Walker; She-men-etoo or Big Snake, Otha-wa-keseka or Yellow Feather, Cha-ka-lo-wah or the Tail's End, Pemthala or John Perry, Wabepee or White Color, chiefs of the Shawnee tribe residing at Wapakoneta, and their successors in office chiefs of the said tribe residing there, for the use of the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land ten miles square the center of which shall be the council-house at Wapakoneta.

The United States also agree to grant by patent in fee simple, to Pe-eth-tha or Falling Tree, and to Onowas-kemo or the Resolute Man, chiefs of the Shawnee tribe residing on Hog Creek [the present Ottawa River in Allen County, Ohio] and their successors in office chiefs of the said tribe residing there, for the use of the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land containing twenty-five square miles to join the tract granted at Wapakoneta, and to include the Shawnee settlement on Hog Creek and to be laid off as nearly as possible in square form.

The United States also agree to grant by patent in fee simple, to Qua-ta-wa-pee or Captain Lewis, She-kagh-ke-la or Turtle, Ski-lo-wa or Robin, chiefs of the Shawnee tribe residing at Lewistown; and to Mesomea or Civil John, Wa-kaw-ux-she-no or the White Man, Oquasheno or Joe, and Willaquasheno or When You are Tired Sit Down, chiefs of the Seneca tribe residing at Lewistown, and to their successors in office chiefs of the said Shawnee and Seneca tribes, for the use of the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land to contain forty-eight square miles, to begin at the intersection of the line run by Charles Roberts in the year 1812 from the source of the Little Miami River to the source of the Scioto River, in pursuance of instructions from the commissioners appointed on the part of the United States to establish the western boundary of the Virginia military reservation with the Aborigine boundary line established by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 from the crossings above Fort Laurens to Loramie's Store, and to run from such intersection northerly with the first mentioned line, and westerly with the second mentioned line, so as to include the quantity as nearly in a square form as practicable, after excluding the section of land hereinafter granted to Nancy Stewart.

There shall also be reserved for the use of the Ottawa Aborigines, but not granted to them, a tract of land on Blanchard's Fork [tributary] of the Great Au Glaise River, to contain five miles square the center of which tract is to be where the old trace crosses the said Fork [about the present Ottawa, Putnam County]; and one other tract to contain three miles square on the Little Au Glaise River, to include Oquanoxa's village.*

Art. 7. And the said chiefs or their successors may, at any time they think proper, convey to either of the persons mentioned in the said schedule, or his heirs, the quantity secured thereby to him, or may refuse so to do. But the use of the said land shall be in the said person; and after the share of any person is conveyed by the chiefs to him, he may convey the same to any person whatever. And anyone entitled by the said schedule to a portion of the said land may at any time convey the same to any person by obtaining the approbation of the President of the United States, or of the person appointed by him to give such approbation. And the agent of the United States shall make an equitable partition of the said share when conveyed.

Art. 8. At the special request of the said Aborigines, the United States agree to grant by patent in fee simple to the persons hereinafter mentioned, all of whom are connected with the said Aborigines by blood or adoption, the tracts of land herein described:

To Elizabeth Whitaker who was taken prisoner by the Wyandots and has ever since lived among them, twelve hundred and eighty acres of land on the west side of the Sandusky River below Croghansville [now Fremont] to be laid off in a square form as nearly as the meanders of the said river will admit, and to run an equal distance above and below the house in which the said Elizabeth Whitaker now lives.

---

*The name of this Ottawa chief has become fixed at Defiance in name of Street and Masonic Chapter as Oc-co-nox-ee. It is spelled variously in treaties and references to hostilities as Knoxas, Onoxa, and 'Ou-que-nog-seh, or the Ugly Fellow.' He was an inebriate, and very quarrelsome. The village here referred to was situate at the present Charloe, Paulding County, Ohio, on the left bank of the Auglaise River, several miles below the mouth of the Little Auglaise.

To Robert Armstrong who was taken prisoner by the Aborigines and has ever since lived among them and has married a Wyandot woman, one section to contain six hundred and forty acres of land on the west side of the Sandusky River, to begin at the place called Camp [Fort] Ball and to run up the river with the meanders thereof one hundred and sixty poles; and from the extremity of these lines west for quantity.

To the children of the late William M'Culloch who was killed in August, 1812, near Mauguagon, and who are quarter-blood Wyandot Aborigines, one section to contain six hundred and forty acres of land on the west side of the Sandusky River adjoining the lower line of the tract hereby granted to Robert Armstrong and extending in the same manner with and from the river.

To John Vanmeter who was taken prisoner by the Wyandots and who has ever since lived among them and who has married a Seneca woman, and to his wife's three brothers, Senecas, who now reside on Honey Creek, one thousand acres of land to begin north forty-five degrees west one hundred and forty poles from the house in which the said John Vanmeter now lives, and to run thence south three hundred and twenty poles; thence, and from the beginning, east for quantity.

To Sarah Williams, Joseph Williams, and Rachel Nugent late Rachel Williams, the said Sarah having been taken prisoner by the Aborigines and ever since lived amongst them and being the widow, and the said Joseph and Rachel being the children of the late Isaac Williams a half-blood Wyandot, one quarter-section of land to contain one hundred and sixty acres on the east side of the Sandusky River below Croghansville and to include their improvements at a place called Negro Point.

To Catherine Walker a Wyandot woman, and to John R. Walker her son who was wounded in the service of the United States at the Battle of Mauguagon in 1812* a section of six hundred and forty acres of land each, to begin at the northwestern corner of the tract hereby granted to John Vanmeter and his wife's brothers, and to run with the line thereof south three hundred and twenty poles; thence, and from the beginning, west for quantity.

To William Spicer who was taken prisoner by the Aborigines and has ever since lived with them and has married a Seneca woman, a section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres, beginning on the east bank of the Sandusky River forty poles below the lower corner of said Spicer's corn field, thence up the river on the east side with the meanders thereof one mile, thence, and from the beginning, east for quantity.

To Nancy Stewart daughter of the late Shawnee chief Blue Jacket one section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres on the great Miami River below Lewistown to include her present improvements, three-quarters of the said section to be on the south-east side of the river and one-quarter on the northwest side thereof.

To the children of the late Shawnee chief Captain Logan or Spa-ma-ge-la-be, who fell in the service of the United States during the late war, one section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres on the east side of the Great Au Glaise River adjoining the lower line of the grant of ten miles at Wapakoneta and the said river.

To Anthony Shane [Chesne] a half-blood Ottawa Aborigine one section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres on the east side of the River St. Mary and to begin opposite the house in which said Shane now lives, thence up the river with the meanders thereof one hundred and sixty poles, and from the beginning down the river with the meanders thereof one hundred and sixty poles, and from the extremity of the said lines, east for quantity.

---

* Maguaga, Monguaga or Mauguagon, was an Aborigine village fourteen miles below Detroit. This battle 8th August, 1812, was by the small American force led by Lieutenant Colonel James Miller, from Hull's Command at Detroit, when moving down the Detroit River to open the way to the Raisin for reinforcements and supplies under Captain Brush. They were opposed by the British Major Muir's troops and Aborigines under Tecumseh, Walk-in-the-Water, etc. Compare *ante* page 273.

To James M'Pherson who was taken prisoner by the Aborigines and has ever since lived among them one section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres in a square form adjoining the northern and western line of the grant of forty-eight miles at Lewistown, at such place as he may think proper to locate the same.

To Horonu or the Cherokee Boy, a Wyandot chief, a section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres on the Sandusky River to be laid off in a square form and to include his improvements.

To Alexander D. Godfroy and Richard Godfroy, adopted children of the Pottawatomie tribe and at their special request, one section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres in the tract of country herein ceded to the United States by the Pottawatomie, Ottawa and Chippewa tribes, to be located by them the said Alexander and Richard after the said tract shall have been surveyed.

To Saw-en-de-bans or the Yellow Hair or Peter Minor [Manard, Manor] an adopted son of Tondaganie* or the Dog, and at the special request of the Ottawas, out of the tract reserved by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807 above *Roche de Boeuf*† at the village of the said Dog, a section of land to contain six hundred and forty acres to be located in a square form on the north side of the Miami [Maumee] at the Wolf Rapids [at the present Providence, Lucas County].

ART. 9. The United States engage to appoint an agent to reside among or near the Wyandots, to aid them in the protection of their persons and property, to manage their intercourse with the Government and citizens of the United States, and to discharge the duties which commonly appertain to the office of Aborigine Agent; and the same agent is to execute the same duties for the Senecas and Delawares on the Sandusky River; and an agent for similar purposes and vested with similar powers shall be appointed to reside among or near the Shawnees whose agency shall include the Reservation at Wapakoneta, at Lewistown, at Hog Creek [Ottawa River] and at Blanchard River; and one mile square shall be reserved at Malake for the use of the agent for the Shawnees. And the agent for the Wyandots and Senecas shall occupy such land in the grant at Upper Sandusky as may be necessary for him and the persons attached to the agency.

ART. 10. The United States engage to erect a saw-mill and a grist-mill upon some proper part of the Wyandot reservation for their use; and to provide and maintain a blacksmith for the use of the Wyandots and Senecas upon the Reservation of the Wyandots; and another blacksmith for the use of the Aborigines at Wapakoneta, Hog Creek, and Lewistown.

ART. 11. The stipulations in the Treaty of Greenville relative to the right of the Aborigines to hunt upon the land hereby ceded while it continues the property of the United States, shall apply to this treaty; and the Aborigines shall for the same term enjoy the privilege of making sugar upon the same land, committing no unnecessary waste upon the trees.

ART. 12. The United States engage to pay in the course of the year 1818 the amount of the damages which were assessed by the authority of the Secretary of War in favor of several tribes and individuals of the Aborigines who adhered to the cause of the United States during the late war with great Britain and whose property was, in consequence of such adherence, injured or destroyed. And it is agreed that the sum thus assessed shall be paid in specie at the places and to the tribes or individuals hereinafter mentioned, being in conformity with the said assessment, that is to say: To the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, four thousand three hundred and nineteen dollars and thirty-nine cents; to the Senecas at Lower Sandusky, three thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine dollars and twenty-four cents; to the Aborigines at Lewis and Scoutashas towns, twelve hundred and twenty-seven dollars and fifty cents; to the Delawares for the use of the Aborigines who suffered losses at Greentown and at Jeromestown, three thousand nine hundred and fifty-six dollars and fifty cents to be paid at Wapakoneta; to the representatives of Hembis, a Delaware Aborigine, three hundred and forty-eight dollars and fifty cents, to be paid at Wapakoneta; to the Shawnees an additional sum of four hundred and twenty dollars to be paid at Wapakoneta; to the Senecas an additional sum of two hundred and nineteen dollars, to be paid at Wapakoneta.

---

*This name like all others has been spelled variously. It is perpetuated in Tontogany Creek and the Village of Tontogany, both in Wood County, Ohio, across the Maumee River eastward from this land.

†This name is generally known along the Maumee and properly written as *Roche de Bout*, meaning the point or bit of rock which stands separated from the crag on shore. See engraving on later page.

ART. 13. And whereas the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars has been paid by the United States to the Shawnees, being one-half of five years' annuities due by the Treaty of Fort Industry; and whereas the Wyandots contend that the whole of the annuity secured by that treaty is to be paid to them and a few persons of Shawnee and Seneca tribes; now, therefore, the commissioners of the United States, believing that the construction given by the Wyandots to the said treaty is correct, engage that the United States shall pay to the said Wyandot tribe in specie in the course of the year 1818, the said sum of two thousand five hundred dollars.

ART. 14. The United States reserve to the proper authority the right to make roads through any part of the land granted or reserved by this Treaty; and also to the different agents the right of establishing taverns and ferries for the accommodation of travelers, should the same be found necessary.

ART. 15. The tracts of land herein granted to the chiefs for the use of the Wyandot, Shawnee, Seneca and Delaware Aborigines, and the Reserve for the Ottawa Aborigines, shall not be liable to taxes of any kind so long as such land continues the property of the said Aborigines.

ART. 16. Some of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomie tribes being attached to the Catholic religion, and believing they may wish some of their children hereafter educated, do grant to the rector of the Catholic church of St. Anne of Detroit for the use of the said church, and to the corporation of the college at Detroit for the use of the said college, to be retained or sold as the said rector and corporation may judge expedient, each one-half of three sections of land to contain six hundred and forty acres of land on the River Raisin at a place called Macon, and three sections of land not yet located, which tracts were reserved for the use of the said Aborigines by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807. And the Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs in the Territory of Michigan [Governor Lewis Cass] is authorized on the part of the said Aborigines to select the said tracts of land.

ART. 17. The United States engage to pay to any of the Aborigines the value of any improvements which they may be obliged to abandon in consequence of the lines established by this Treaty.

ART. 18. The Delaware tribe of Aborigines, in consideration of the stipulations herein made on the part of the United States, do hereby forever cede to the United States all the claim which they have to the thirteen sections of land reserved for the use of certain persons of their tribe by the second section of the Act of Congress passed March 3, 1807, providing for the disposal of the lands of the United States between the United States Military Tract and the Connecticut Reserve, and the lands of the United States between the Cincinnati and Vincennes districts.

ART. 19. The United States agree to grant, by patent in fee simple, to Zee-shaw-au or James Armstrong, and to Sa-non-do-you-ray-guaw or Silas Armstrong, chiefs of the Delaware Aborigines living on the Sandusky waters, and to their successors in office chiefs of the said tribe, for the use of the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, in the same manner and subject to the same conditions, provisions and limitations as hereinbefore provided for the lands granted to the Wyandot, Seneca, and Shawnee Aborigines, a tract of land to contain nine square miles to join the tract granted to the Wyandots of twelve miles square, to be laid off as nearly in a square form as practicable and to include Captain Pipe's village.

ART. 20. The United States also agree to grant by patent to the chiefs of the Ottawa tribes of Aborigines for the use of the said tribe, a tract of land to contain thirty-four square miles to be laid as nearly in a square form as practicable, not interfering with the lines of the tracts reserved by the Treaty of Greenville, on the south side of the Miami River of Lake Erie [Maumee] and to include Tushquegan or M'Carty's village [part of the present City of Toledo and eastward]; which tracts thus granted shall be held by the said tribe upon the usual conditions of Aborigine Reservations as though no patent were issued.

ART. 21. This Treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the said Lewis Cass and Duncan M'Arthur, commissioners as aforesaid, and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors of the Wyandot, Seneca, Shawnee, Delaware, Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippewa tribes of Aborigines, have hereunto set their hands at the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie [Maumee] this twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen. [Signatures]

The schedule referred to in this Treaty contains the names of individuals among whom the several tracts of land were to be divided. To anyone desiring to study further the wonderful names given by these Aborigines, this long list will afford ample opportunity.*

This Treaty also provided that three sections of land to contain six

---

*See *American State Papers* Aborigine Affairs, volume ii pages 134, 135.

The late General John E. Hunt in his MS. reminiscences wrote the following anecdote as an occurrence at this treaty, viz: An Aborigine present, named Mesh-ke-mau, who was a great warrior and prided himself on being a British subject, had been bribed to oppose the treaty. When he saw the tribes giving way to Cass and M'Arthur our Commissioners he became very angry. He made a speech in which he said that the palefaces had cheated the red men from their first landing on this continent. The first who came said they wanted land enough to put a foot on. They gave the Aborigines an ox for beef and were to have as much land as the hide would cover — and they cut the hide into strings and got land enough for a fort. The next time they wanted more land they brought a great pile of goods which they offered for land. The red men took the goods, and the palefaces were to have for them so much land as a horse could travel around in a day. They cheated the red man again by having a relay of horses to travel at their utmost speed. In these ways they succeeded. [These are some of the paraphrases of the 'Walking Purchase' which were often employed to tease the Aborigines and to enliven the evenings and dismal days around the campfires — and General Cass loved a good story.] 'Now, you Cass' pointing his finger and shaking his tomahawk over Cass' head, 'Now you Cass come here to cheat us again.' Thus closing, he sat down. Cass replied: 'My friends, I am much pleased to find among you so great a man as Mesh-ke-mau. I am glad to see you have an orator, a man who understands how much you have been cheated by white people, and who is fully able to cope with them — those scoundrels who have cheated you so outrageously. 'Tis true what he has said, every word true. And the first white man was your French father. The second white man was your English father of whom he seems to think so much. Now you have a father, the President of the United States, who does not want to cheat you but wants to give you more land west of the Mississippi River than you have here, and to build mills for you, and help you till the soil.' Mesh-ke-mau raved and frothed at the mouth. He went up to General Cass, struck him on the chest with the back of his hand raising his tomahawk with the other hand while saying. 'Cass, you lie, you lie!' Cass turned to Knaggs an interpreter and said: 'Take this woman away and put a petticoat on her; no man would talk this way in council.' [Nothing displeased an Aborigine brave more than to be called a woman]. Two or three Aborigines and interpreters led him out of the council house. . . There were 7000 Aborigines present at this Treaty, including women and children.

hundred and forty acres each were to be reserved out of the tract of twelve miles square granted to the Wyandots. One of these sections was to be appropriated to the use of a religious missionary, one for the support of schools, and one for the support of mechanics.

Following this treaty, which extinguished all claims of the Aborigines to most of the territory of this Basin, the civil jurisdiction of Logan County with court at Bellefontaine became operative over the Ohio part and so continued until the organization of counties here in the year 1820.

Upon discussion in Congress, some of the grants of land in the Treaty at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids 29th September, 1817, were thought not sufficient, and that many of the individual grants with right to convey same were not proper. Therefore the same parties convened at the site of Fort Barbee, the present St. Marys, Ohio, the 17th September, 1818, and ratified the following as supplementary to said Treaty, viz:

ARTICLE 1. It is agreed between the United States and the parties hereunto that the several tracts of land described in the treaty to which this is supplementary, and agreed thereby to be granted by the United States to the chiefs of the respective tribes named therein for the use of the individuals of the said tribes, and also the tract described in the twentieth article of the said treaty, shall not be thus granted, but shall be excepted from the cession made by the said tribes to the United States, reserved for the use of the said Aborigines, and held by them in the same manner as Aborigine reservations have been heretofore held. But it is further agreed that the tracts thus reserved shall be reserved for the use of the Aborigines named in the schedule to the said treaty, and held by them and their heirs forever, unless ceded to the United States.

ART. 2. It is also agreed that there shall be reserved for the use of the Wyandots, in addition to the reservations before made, fifty-five thousand six hundred and eighty acres of land, to be laid off in two tracts—the first to adjoin the south line of the section of six hundred and forty acres of land heretofore reserved for the Wyandot chief the Cherokee Boy, and to extend south to the north line of the reserve of twelve miles square at Upper Sandusky; and the other to adjoin the east line of the reserve of twelve miles square at Upper Sandusky; and to extend east for quantity.

There shall be reserved for the use of the Wyandots residing at Solomon's town, and on Blanchard River in addition to the reservations before made sixteen thousand acres of land to be laid off in a square form on the head of Blanchard River, the center of which shall be at the Big Spring on the trace leading from Upper Sandusky to Fort Findlay; and one hundred and sixty acres of land for the use of the Wyandots on the west side of the Sandusky River adjoining the said river and the lower line of two sections of land agreed by the Treaty to which this is supplementary to be granted to Elizabeth Whitaker.

There shall also be reserved for the use of the Shawnees in addition to the reservations before made twelve thousand eight hundred acres of land to be laid off adjoining the east line of their reserve of ten miles square at Wapakoneta; and for the use of the Shawnees and Senecas eight thousand nine hundred and sixty acres of land to be laid off adjoining the west line of the reserve of forty-eight square miles at Lewistown, and the last reserve hereby made and the former reserve at the same place shall be equally divided by an east and west line to be drawn through the same; and the north half of the said tract shall be reserved for the use of the Senecas who reside there and the south half for the use of the Shawnees who reside there.

There shall also be reserved for the use of the Senecas in addition to the reservations before made ten thousand acres of land to be laid off on the east side of the Sandusky River adjoining the south line of their reservation of thirty thousand acres of land which begins on the Sandusky River at the lower corner of William Spicer's section and excluding therefrom the said William Spicer's section.

ART. 3. It is hereby agreed that the tracts of land which, by the eighth article of the Treaty to which this is supplementary, are to be granted by the United States to the persons therein mentioned, shall never be conveyed by them or their heirs without the permission of the United States.

ART. 4. The United States agree to pay to the Wyandots an additional annuity of five hundred dollars, forever; to the Shawnees, and to the Senecas of Lewistown, an additional annuity of one thousand dollars, forever; and to the Senecas an additional five hundred dollars, forever; and to the Ottawas an additional annuity of one thousand five hundred dollars, forever; and these annuities shall be paid at the places and in the manner prescribed by the treaty to which this is supplementary.

A treaty was made 25th September, 1818, at Edwardsville, Illinois, wherein the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Michigania, Cahokia, and Tamarois tribes ceded to the United States all their claims to the territory between the Ohio River on the south and the headwaters of the Kaskaskia and northern Sangamon to the Kankakee and Maple Rivers on the north; the Saline Creek and Kaskaskia River valleys, inclusive, on the east, and the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers on the west. This treaty was supplementary to one made 13th August, 1803, to include the Peorias, who were to remove to the Blackwater River in Missouri. The Great and Little Osage tribes were also treated with at St. Louis.

At a treaty held at St. Marys, Ohio, 2nd October, 1818, the Wea Band ceded to the United States all the lands claimed and owned 'by the said tribe within the limits of the States of Indiana, Ohio and Illinois.' A reservation along the middle Wabash was granted them. At the same place, and date, the Pottawotamis ceded their claims to the region along the Wabash and between the Tippecanoe and Vermillion Rivers in Indiana.

The 3rd October, 1818, the Delawares of Indiana ceded all their claims in that State, and agreed to remove to a reservation west of the Mississippi for considerations of reservations, money, horses, pirogues, provisions, an annuity of four thousand dollars in specie in addition to that promised in former treaty, and a blacksmith. Also, per Article 8, a sum not exceeding thirteen thousand three hundred and twelve dollars and twenty-five cents was to be paid by the United States to satisfy certain claims against the Delaware nation; and it was to be expended by the Aborigine agents at Piqua and Fort Wayne agreeably to a schedule that day examined and approved by Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass and Benjamin Parke, the commissioners of the United States.

The next treaty of great importance to this Basin reads as follows:

Articles of a Treaty made and concluded at St. Marys in the State of Ohio between Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass, and Benjamin Parke, Commissioners of the United States, and the Miami Nation of Aborigines:

ARTICLE 1. The Miami Nation of Aborigines cede to the United States the following tract of country: Beginning at the Wabash River where the present Aborigine boundary line crosses the same near the mouth of Raccoon Creek; thence with the lines thereof to the St. Mary River, thence up the St. Mary River to the Reservation at the Portage, thence with the line of the cession made by the Wyandot Nation of Aborigines to the United States at the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie [Maumee] on the 29th September, 1817, to the Reservation at Loramie's Store, thence with the present Aborigine boundary line to Fort Recovery, and with the said line following the courses thereof to the place of beginning.

ART. 2. From the cession aforesaid, the following Reservations for the use of the Miami Nation of Aborigines shall be made: One Reservation extending along the Wabash River from the mouth of Salamonie River to the mouth of Eel River, and from these points running due south a distance equal to a direct line from the mouth of Salamonie River to the mouth of Eel River; one other Reservation of two miles square on the River Salamonie at the mouth of Atche-pong-qwa-we Creek; one other Reservation of six miles square on the Wabash River below the forks thereof; one other Reservation of ten miles square opposite the mouth of the River A Boutte [Aboite]; one other Reservation of ten miles square at the village of Sugar Tree Creek; one other Reservation of two miles square at the mouth of a creek called Flat Rock where the road to White River crosses the same.

ART. 3. The United States agree to grant by patent in fee simple to Jean Bapt. Richardville principal chief of the Miami Nation of Aborigines the following tracts of land: Three sections of land beginning about twenty-five rods below his house on the River St. Mary near Fort Wayne, thence at right angles with the course of the river one mile, and from this line and the said river up the stream thereof for quantity; two sections upon the east side of the St. Mary River near Fort Wayne running east one mile with the line of the Military Reservation, thence from that line and from the river for quantity; two sections on the Twenty-seven-Mile Creek where the road from St. Marys to Fort Wayne crosses it being one section on each side of said creek; two sections on the left bank of the Wabash commencing at the forks [junction of Little River] and running down the river.

The United States also agree to grant to each of the following persons being Miami Aborigines by birth, and their heirs, tracts of land herein described: To Joseph Richardville and Joseph Richardville, Jun., two sections of land being one on each side of the St. Mary River and below the Reservation made on that river by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. To Pe-met-che or the Crescent one section below and adjoining the Reservation of Anthony Shane [Chesne] on the west side of the St. Mary River and one section immediately opposite to Macultamunqua or Black Loon: To Keen-qua-takqua or Long Hair, Aronzon or Twilight, Pe-con-be-qua or a Woman Striking, Augh-qua-mau-da or Difficulty, and to Miagh-qua or Noon, as joint tenants five sections of land upon the Wabash River the center of which shall be the Wyandot village below the mouth of Tippecanoe River. To Francis Godfroy six sections of land on the Salamonie River at a place called *La Petite Prairie*. To Louis Godfroy six sections of land on the St. Mary river above the Reservation of Anthony Shane: To Charley a Miami chief one section of land on the west side of the St. Mary River below the section granted to Pe-met-che or the Crescent. To the two eldest children of Peter Langlois two sections of land at a place formerly called Village du Puant at the mouth of the

River called *Pouce au Pichoux.* To the children of Antoine Bondie two sections of land on the border of the Wabash River opposite a place called *l'Isle à l'Aille;* To François Lafontaine and his son two sections of land adjoining and above the two sections granted to Jean Bapt. Richardville near Fort Wayne and on the same St. Mary River. To the children of Antoine Rivarre two sections of land at the mouth of Twenty-seven-Mile Creek and below the same. To Peter Langlois youngest child one section of land opposite the Chipaille at the Shawnee village. To Peter Labadie one section of land on the River St. Mary below the section granted to Charley. To the son of George Hunt one section of land on the west side of the St. Mary River adjoining the two sections granted to François Lafontaine and his son. To Mesh-e-no-qua or the Little Turtle one section of land on the south side of the Wabash where the portage path strikes the same. To Josette Beaubien one section of land on the left bank of the St. Mary above and adjoining the three sections granted to Jean Bapt. Richardville. To Ann Turner a half-blooded Miami one section of land on the northwest side of the Wabash River to commence at the mouth of Fork Creek on the west bank of the said creek and running up said creek one mile in a direct line; thence at right angles with this line for quantity. To Rebecca Hackley a half-blooded Miami one section of land to be located at the Munsee town on White River so that it shall extend on both sides to include three hundred and twenty acres of prairie in the bend of the river where the bend assumes the shape of a horseshoe. To William Wayne Wells a half-blooded Miami one section of land at the mouth of Fork Creek where the Reservation for Ann Turner commences, running down the Wabash River on the northwest bank one mile, thence back one mile, thence east one mile to the boundary line of the grant to Ann Turner. To Mary Wells a half-blooded Miami one section of land at the mouth of Stony Creek on the southeast side of the Wabash River the center of which shall be at the mouth of said creek, running with the meanders thereof up and down the Wabash River one-half mile and thence back for quantity. To Jane Turner Wells a half-blooded Miami one section of land on the northwest side of the Wabash River, to commence on the west bank of said river opposite the old limekiln, thence down the said river one mile and back for quantity.

ART. 4. The Miami Nation of Aborigines assent to the cession made by the Kickapoos to the United States by the treaty concluded at Vincennes 9th December, 1809.

ART. 5. In consideration of the cession and recognition aforesaid the United States agree to pay to the Miami Nation of Aborigines a perpetual annuity of fifteen thousand dollars which, together with all annuities which by any former treaty the United States have engaged to pay to the said Miami Nation of Aborigines, shall be paid in silver.

The United States will cause to be built for the Miamis one grist mill and one saw mill at such proper sites as the chiefs of the nation may select; and will provide and support one blacksmith and one gunsmith for them; and provide them with such implements of agriculture as the proper agent may think necessary. The United States will also cause to be delivered annually to the Miami Nation one hundred and sixty bushels of salt.

ART. 6. The several tracts of land which by the third article of this treaty the United States have engaged to grant to the persons therein mentioned, except the tracts to be granted to Jean Bapt. Richardville, shall never be transferred by the said persons or their heirs without the approbation of the President of the United States.

ART. 7. This Treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties after the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof the said Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass, and Benjamin Parke, commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the Miami Nation of Aborigines, have hereunto set their hands, at St. Marys the 6th October, 1818.

The various tribes of Aborigines, and squads of tribes, became much dispersed and amalgamated, latterly through their own volition. To illustrate this, and the persistence of the United States Government in tracing them, in treating with them individually, and in cultivating relations of mutual benefit particularly for their betterment towards civilization, the following additional treaties are mentioned, viz:

A treaty at Chicago 29th August, 1821, between Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, Commissioners of the United States and the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawotami bands, wherein they ceded to the United States for valuable considerations their claims to lands in Michigan along the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan to the lands bordering on this Basin ceded by treaty at Detroit in 1807. A treaty at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, 19th August, 1825, with Northwestern mixed tribes; also with the same 29th July, 1827. A treaty at the Wyandot Village near the Wabash River 11th February, 1828, with the Eel River and Thornton bands of the Miamis. A treaty at St. Joseph River, Michigan, 27th September, 1827, with dispersed Pottawotami bands to consolidate them on reservations, they releasing their claims to lands in eastern Michigan along the rivers Rouge, Macon, and Raisin.

AGENTS FOR THE ABORIGINES, AND THEIR DISBURSEMENTS.

The United States Agency for the Aborigines at Fort Wayne was conducted during the years 1800 to 1811 by John Johnston, usually called Colonel. He was transferred in 1811 to Old Piqua a few miles north of the present Piqua, Ohio, where he retained headquarters as Agent for thirty years, until the removal of the last of the Aborigines, the Wyandots, from Ohio. He was succeeded at Fort Wayne by Benjamin F. Stickney, usually called Major, who had served a short time at Upper Sandusky. The Agency at Fort Wayne was necessarily closed by the siege of that post in 1812. This agency was revived after the war and the 1st April, 1818, Major Stickney was yet serving there with salary of $750 per year and four military rations per day, it being the same pay received by Colonel John Johnston at Piqua. Doctor William Turner succeeded Major Stickney as Agent at Fort Wayne he being charged by the War Department for his draft for $2,139.34 of the 1st April, 1820. From 3rd April, 1820, to 1st October John Johnston Agent at Piqua drew four drafts on the War Department against the Aborigine fund, amounting to $10,498. John Hays 'present Agent at Fort Wayne' (he succeeded Doctor Turner August 14) is charged for amount advanced him 28th August and 1st October, 1820, $4,303.60 and for his draft of 31st December $1,661.77.* He was further charged with drafts as follows: 31st March, 1821 $1,104.91¼; 1st July $622.75 and 6th July $410. The 8th April, 1822, John Hays was yet Agent at Fort Wayne with salary of $1200 per year, and assisted by Benjamin Kercheval as Subagent at $500. James Montgomery was Subagent at this time for the Senecas by the Sandusky

---

* *American State Papers* Aborigine Affairs, volume ii page 312.

River at a salary of $469.30; James M'Pherson for the Senecas and Shawnees of Lewiston with same pay; Benjamin F. Stickney Subagent for the Ottawas along the lower Maumee with residence at the site of Fort Miami, at salary of $500; and John Shaw Subagent for the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky at same pay. The Interpreters for the Agencies of this region at this time were: Thomas Duchoquet for the Shawnees at Wapakoneta, William Walker for the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, each with a salary of $469.30; and an Interpreter at the Fort Wayne Agency, name not given, with salary of $504. The blacksmiths promised in the treaties were: R. Brodrick, Piqua; John Lewis, Sandusky, with pay of $470 per annum; and Richard Whitehouse at Fort Wayne at $684. Other disbursements at and for account of these agencies were: at Piqua, annuities for 1820 $13,500; also at same date for carrying into effect Aborigine treaties per Act of Congress of March, 1819, $9,412.54;* annuities for 1821 $11,600. At Fort Wayne the payment of annuities for 1820 amounted to $21,121.00; for mills, materials, etc., $5,838.40, and same for 1821 $3,284.50; annuities for 1821 $18,679.

The 1st March, 1823, a lengthy report was made to Congress regarding the progress in abolishing the United States Trading Houses for the Aborigines according to the Act of the previous session.

In 1824 John Tipton was Aborigine Agent at Fort Wayne for the Miamis, Weas, Eel River bands, etc., in Indiana, receiving $1200 per year salary, with no subagent named. In addition to the subagents named above appears the name of Benjamin F. Stickney for the Ottawas by the Blanchard River as well as those by the lower Maumee.

LATER CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY EFFORTS.

About the time of the building of Fort Miami on the site of the present Village of Maumee in the spring of 1794, Reverend Edmund Burke built or occupied a log house there as a Roman Catholic Chapel. Later Father Gabriel Richards and other priests from Detroit occasionally visited the settlements along the Maumee and comforted those who desired their ministrations. While such visits had been occasionally made since the suppression of the Jesuits in 1764, few if any worked with the missionary fervor among the Aborigines that was formerly displayed by that devoted sect. Several religious societies, however, later than the early Jesuits, founded mission stations and schools for the education and Christianization of the Aborigines. The first of these in this western region were:

---

*These sums include pay of superintendents, subagents, interpreters and blacksmiths; building and repairing mills, agency houses, and blacksmith shops; provisions, presents, and medical aid for Aborigines; tools, iron, steel and fuel for smiths; transportation of annuities, etc., and other contingent expenses of the agency $3,939.07 for 1820, and $7,404.97 for 1821.

THE MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

The Friends' (Quakers') Meeting for Sufferers held in Philadelphia in the year 1791, addressed a memorial to the United States Congress urging pacific measures for settlement of the difficulties then existing with the western Aborigines; and in 1792 the Yearly Meeting of Friends appointed a large committee to confer with the Meeting for Sufferers on this subject. Early in 1793 the chiefs of several tribes, mostly of the New York Iroquois, visited Philadelphia by request of the United States authorities; treaty was made with them, and three commissioners were appointed to attend the large council called in 1792 to meet the next summer by the lower Maumee River — see *ante* pages 157, 179. The Friends, with the consent of the President, deputed six of their number to accompany the Commissioners to this council in interest of peace, viz: John Parrish, William Savery and John Elliott of Philadelphia, Jacob Lindley of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne of New Jersey. Part of this committee accompanied General Lincoln, Commissioner, in boat by way of the Hudson, Mohawk and Oneida Rivers and Lake Ontario, while the others went across country on horseback in company with Colonel Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph the other Commissioners, all uniting at Niagara.*

From the diaries of the Friends' experiences during this mission, kept by Jacob Lindley and Joseph Moore† we learn that they dined with Lieutenant Governor Simcoe at Niagara in company with the Commissioners, and thought him 'a plain man and remarkably easy of access.' Leaving the Commissioners with Simcoe, the Friends, after visiting some members of that communion near-by, sailed from Fort Erie by sloop for Detroit where they arrived June 9, 1793. Detroit was mentioned as 'a small garrison town with a variety of inhabitants, with much of the sound of drums and trumpets, but not much religion.' There was as great a mixture of peoples as they had seen in the eastern cities—of English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Germans, French, Americans from different States, with blacks and yellows, and Aborigines of many tribes. There was only one Church-house, Roman Catholic, on the priest in charge of which they called and were civilly received. Colonel England British Commandant of Fort Lernoult at Detroit, received them kindly, invited them to dine with him, and called on them at their lodgings. He told them that he had, with much pains and expense, procured more than fifty prisoners from the Aborigines, clothed them, and forwarded them homeward and, in common with the generality of mankind, many of them did not express any gratitude; yet he felt the reward of being a friend of mankind. Other officers treated the Friends kindly which acts did not prevent the latter from rebuking the lax morals of the former.

---

* See *Civilization of the Aborigines*, by Halliday Jackson pages 7, 8, 31; and *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan Aborigines*, by John Heckewelder pages 401 to 403.

† Printed in *The Friends' Miscellany*, volume ii pages 49, 156; volume vi pages 289, 347 and onward; and Reprinted together at Lansing, Michigan, in 1892 by Ambrose M. Shotwell.

While awaiting arrival of the Commissioners, the Friends were active in seeking opportunities to preach to the people, which were found in private houses and in the sail-loft by the Detroit River, and in the settlements above and below, even to the Moravian settlement by the River Thames in Canada, where they fraternized with the United Brethren missionaries. This Moravian settlement was called the sixth place of retreat of this band of Delawares. The Friends experienced difficulty in making themselves properly understood through their interpreters who had no practice in translating anything but the ordinary limited vocabulary of the Aborigines. An enumeration of all the middle North American tribes from Nova Scotia to the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi Basin, prepared for British use, was seen and copied by the Friends, the total of individuals numbering 56,680. Blue Jacket, war-chief of the Shawnees, was met. He was dressed in scarlet cloth with gold tassels, and a laced hat. He had heard of the Quakers he told them, and that they were harmless people who did not fight. He had expressed his opinion at the Grand Council which he had just left by the Maumee, and was then on his way to Montreal. The chiefs of the Cherokees and Creeks present at the Grand Council, also visited Colonel England who sent them by sloop to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe at Niagara to maintain the British influence over them.

The United States Commissioners arrived at the present Amherstburg, Canada, July 21st and the Friends who had awaited their coming for over six weeks joined them there the 25th. Both parties had been anxious to go to the Grand Council of Aborigines by the lower Maumee River (see *ante* page 180) to present in person their importunities for peace, and they now expected that the time had finally arrived; but the British agents, M'Kee and Elliott, held them at the mouth of the Detroit River until the last hope of a treaty with the Aborigines was gone. The mosquitoes, and the noises of the drunken savages who were every day passing to and from the Council, prevented sleep at night. Some suffered attacks of malaria. Deputations of Aborigine chiefs came to talk with the Commissioners, and it was evident to all that they were under the undue influence of the British. Not being permitted to go to the Council, both parties wrote letters to be read there by M'Kee or Elliott who were also their carriers. The time passed slowly and heavily with all, with their physical unrest and their great mental anxiety regarding the success of their mission. The Friends sought relief in the study of the coming and going people, and in efforts to impress them with their mission. They found here, as at Detroit many African and Pawnee slaves. One of the latter, a slave belonging to the British agent Elliott, died of pulmonary tuberculosis at this time and was hastily buried in a shallow grave by the river. The sloop *Detroit* stopped there August 3rd, on her way to Fort Erie, laden with three hundred and thirty-three packs of peltries most of which packs were rated at twenty guineas sterling each; and they learned much regarding the fur trade, including its great extent.

In the afternoon of August 16th two young Wyandots arrived with a message in writing, ostensibly from the Grand Council, to the Commissioners. After careful reading, it was declared to be of British production, and contemptible; and the Friends approved the verdict. General Lincoln said it was such an answer as he could have wished. This expression was in consonance with the opinion of a Moravian missionary who said to the Friends 'if a treaty of peace be signed it will not last long—not until after the Aborigines are further chastised by the sword'; and Lindley wrote that 'the history of their barbarity, treachery, and breach of faith to the white people, and to one another, which we have heard rehearsed by people well acquainted with the facts since we arrived here, would be painful, tedious, and indeed too shocking to rehearse.' Nathan Williams 'an intelligent man especially in Aborigine affairs' in a friendly way expressed fears to the Friends while in Detroit, that they would be either killed or kept as hostages if they ventured to the Council. 'And truly' wrote Jacob Lindley 'I am not astonished at his idea, considering the spectacles of human misery he is almost daily presented with, and the humours he hears—where tribes of Aborigine warriors have so frequently passed with their disconsolate prisoners, and with poles stuck up in front of their canoes, some with fifteen, others with thirty scalps suspended on them in trophy of their courage and victory.'

The Commissioners and Friends started by sloop *Dunmore* for Fort Erie August 1, 1793, on their return home without further hope of success in their present mission, the Friends 'endeavoring to rest quiet, leaving the event in this part of the world, where but little morality, law or religion, appears to govern the people, to Him who judgeth righteously.' And, after separating from the many vile scenes he had witnessed, and arriving among his tried and congenial acquaintances, Joseph Moore wrote 'I felt myself in some measure like one let out of prison.'

The Baltimore, Maryland, Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1795 appointed a large committee to consider the affairs and needs of the

Aborigines. This committee instituted investigations by visits each year to different tribes and by inquiries at the United States War Office, then in charge of the Aborigines.*

STRINGS OF WAMPUM.

At the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Baltimore in 1798 a 'speech was presented on a large belt and ten strings of white wampum' inviting the friends to visit the Wyandots and Delawares at Upper Sandusky and the eastern part of this Basin, according to their request. To this 'speech' was appended the names of chiefs Tarhe (the Crane) Skah-on-wot, Adam Brown, and Mai-i-rai (Walk-on-the-water). Evan Thomas, George Ellicott, Joel Wright, and Reese Cadwallader were appointed a committee to make such visit; and they permitted the company on request, of Gerard Brooke, Andrew Ellicott and Philip E. Thomas. Those resident at Baltimore started for this visit 7th May, 1799, and were joined by the others on the way. They traveled on horseback by as direct course as practicable. The record of their journey† is well written and interesting. They were much delayed and inconvenienced in crossing the swollen rivers and creeks. Upon their arrival at Upper Sandusky, June 3rd, they found shocking scenes of drunkenness and were subjected to indignities. Tarhe was not able to meet them on account of his intoxicated condition until late the next day, and then with three chiefs the meeting was brief. Tarhe informed them that the council would not meet until the middle of the month‡ when he would lay the subject of their mission for instruction in religion, books, domestic affairs, agriculture, etc., before the council and as soon as decided on he would send them a speech. He presented four strings of white wampum for them to take to their great men. The Friends then gave presents to the chiefs, and the meeting ended. They experienced difficulty in getting food at the town, and started homeward the same day by a more southern route. Nothing was heard from the Wyandots in direct response to this committee's visit.

---

* These proceedings and reports are sketched in the Appendix to Gerard T. Hopkins' little book on *A Mission to the Aborigines*, etc., Philadelphia, 1862.

† Printed in the *Friends' Miscellany* for October, 1835, volume vii, number 7.

‡ There was a misunderstanding regarding the time of this council's meeting. The necessity for great care in intercourse became more and more apparent on account of the uncertainty of the Aborigine's language, and their peculiarities.

In the winter of 1803-04 Tarhe, and about one hundred hunters, mostly Wyandots, went to the upper waters of the Mahoning River to hunt bears. Snow fell to the depth of three feet which, with their previous improvident use of their United States Annuity receipts and their established habit of beggary, quite incapacitated them in their opinion for any action but appeals for help to some families of Friends who lived about twenty miles distant. The first appeal, written by a lounging white man in their camp, reads in part as follows after being straightened out: . . . Brothers, will you please help me to fill my kettles and my horses' troughs, for I am afraid my horses will not be able to carry me home again. Neighbors, will you please to give if it is but a handful apiece, and fetch it out to us, for my horses are not able to come after it. [Signed] Tarhie. Their needs were supplied by some of the nearest Friends, and then came another writing, in part as follows: . . Brothers, I want you to know I have got help from some of my near neighbors. Brothers, I would be glad to know what you will do for me, if it is but little. Brothers, if you cannot come soon, it will do bye and bye, for my belly is now full. . . . My Brothers, Quakers, I hope our friendship will last as long as the world stands. All I have to say to you now is, that I shall stay here until two moons are gone. Tarhie.' More food was taken to them by these Friends and members of the Redstone, Pennsylvania, Quarterly Meeting.

The good name and fame of the Society of Friends (Quakers) spread to the different tribes; and the latter part of the year 1796 Chief Little Turtle of the Miamis visited Philadelphia with Captain William Wells (who married his sister) as interpreter, for the purpose of enlisting the assistance of the Friends in civilizing the Miamis at Fort Wayne and its vicinity.* This visit was not immediately productive of the result desired; but the Friends continued their inquiries, and the following letter, probably written by Captain William Wells, shows a result of the work of the Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, viz:

THE LITTLE TURTLE'S TOWN, [Eel River, Indiana] Sept. 18, 1803.

To Evan Thomas, George Ellicott, and others, Brothers and Friends of our Hearts: We have received your speech from the hand of our friend Wm. Wells, with the implements of husbandry that you were so kind to send to his care—all in good order.

Brothers, it is our wish that the Great Spirit will enable you to render to your Red Brethren that service which you appear to be so desirous of doing them, and which their women and children are so much in need of.

---

* Compare Count de Volney's *View of the Soil and Climate of the United States*, 1804, page 357.

Brothers, we will try to use the articles you have sent us, and if we should want more we will let you know it.

Brothers, we are sorry to say that the minds of our people are not so much inclined towards the cultivation of the earth as we could wish them.

Brothers, our Father, the President of the United States, has prevented our traders from selling liquor to our people, which is the best thing he could do for his Red Children.

Brothers, our people appear dissatisfied because our traders do not, as usual, bring them liquor and, we believe, will request our Father to let the traders bring them liquor, and if he does, your Red Brethren are all lost forever.

Brothers, you will see from what we have said that our prospects are bad at present, though we hope the Great Spirit will change the minds of our people and tell them it is better for them to cultivate the earth than to drink whiskey.

Brothers, we hope the Great Spirit will permit some of you to come and see us, when you will be able to know whether you can do anything for us or not.

Brothers, we delivered you the sentiments of our hearts when we spoke to you at Baltimore* and shall say nothing more to you at present. We now take you by the hand, and thank you for the articles you were so kind to send us.

[Signed] THE LITTLE TURTLE, Miami Chief.
THE FIVE MEDALS, Pottawotami Chief.

This letter was carefully considered by the Committee on Aborigine Affairs at its meeting in Baltimore in February, 1804, and it was decided that a visit to these tribes would be the best means of obtaining a knowledge of their disposition, and enable the Friends to ascertain the best course to pursue to be useful to them. George Ellicott, Gerard T. Hopkins, Joel Wright and Elisha Tyson were named a special committee to make this visit; and they were authorized 'to take one or more suitable persons with them to reside amongst the Aborigines, to instruct them in agriculture and other useful knowledge if it should appear that they would be benefited thereby.'

Friends Hopkins and Ellicott started on this mission on horseback February 23, 1804, taking along Philip Dennis to remain with the Aborigines and serve as teacher if conditions were found favorable. They crossed the Potomac River on the morning of the 25th and the Shenandoah the same day. Continuing, their course led across the south and north tributaries of the Potomac, along and across the different ranges of the Allegheny Mountains, through falling snow and its accumulations to the depth of two feet with severe weather; across the tributaries of the Youghigeny River, to and along the Monongahela and through Redstone, Brownsville, and Washington,

---

* The Aborigine chiefs 'from the banks of the Wabash, Lake Erie, and Lake Michigan' of the Pottawotami, Miami, Delaware, Shawnee, Wea (Ouiotenon) Eel River, Piankeshaw, Kickapoo, and Kaskaskia, tribes and bands, while on their way to visit the President of the United States, had conferences with the Friends of Philadelphia and Baltimore the latter part of December, 1801, with Captain William Wells, United States Agent to these Aborigines as interpreter. Wells was born in Kentucky, and was taken captive by the Miamis in 1775 when eight years of age. He was fluent in English and Aborigine tongues and a good writer. The 'speeches' were written as interpreted 'with accuracy by Gerard T. Hopkins a stenographer of great ability.'

Pennsylvania, and across the Ohio River the 10th of March. Thence through Zanesville, Ohio, Lancaster, and Chillicothe then the Capitol where they received a call from Governor Edward Tiffin who supped with them and favorably impressed them with his friendly affability. They arrived at Dayton the 24th of March and thence passed up stream along the Miami River where there was scarcity of corn and feed for their horses. Here they saw a flock of wild parrots which they were informed were there common. They were the size of doves and with plumage resembling that of the green parrots of South America, the head red and the wings tipped with red. The tail was long and the bill and tongue were the same as those of the chattering parrot, as were their notes. They also saw woodcocks with black heads and ivory-colored bills.*

Continuing northward the Friends passed Fort Piqua, in one of the houses of which they slept on the floor, thence to Loramie's Store, and along the portage to a tributary of the River St. Mary where they camped for the night. Soon after their fire was kindled a whoop was heard in the woods which, they had been informed, was a signal from Aborigines to be answered in kind if their approach would be tolerated. The answer was given and soon two Aborigine men with guns on one horse followed by two women and a girl on another horse, rode before them smiling. They were the first Aborigines seen, the several camps passed being empty although much game abounded. These Aborigines could only utter 'Delawares, Delawares' in English and, after shaking hands, soon passed on southward. March 29th the Friends crossed the River St. Mary one at a time in a canoe owned by an Aborigine named Stephen who was intoxicated and fell from the boat into the deep water here about 150 feet wide. He was readily rescued and afterwards worked steadier. The horses were led behind the canoe. Stephen's charge was one quarter dollar per man, saying that his usual charge to packers was one dollar. Traveling northwestward in the rain, the Friends arrived, on March 30th, within thirty rods of Fort Wayne when they were commanded by the sentinel to halt. A sergeant approached, inquired their names, their business and their destination. Answers to these questions being satisfactory to the commandant, the sergeant soon returned and conducted them to Captain Whipple to whom they presented their letter from Henry Dearborn Secretary of War addressed 'To the commanding officer at Fort Wayne, Mr. John Johnson Aborigine Factor [Agent] and Mr. William

---

See *A Mission to the Aborigines from the Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting to Fort Wayne in 1804*, by Gerard T. Hopkins, Philadelphia, 1862, page 40.

The parrots here mentioned were probably of the Carolina Paroquet, *Conurus carolinensis* L., which formerly abounded in Ohio, but unfortunately became extinct many years ago from the wicked impulse of owners of guns to shoot every animal they saw, particularly if rare and beautiful.

Wells Aborigine Agent.' This letter was a liberal commendation of the committee and their motives, reading further 'they are entitled to all the civilities in your power to bestow.' . . General Dearborn was personally acquainted with the members of the committee, was in hearty sympathy with their mission, and rode on horseback from Washington to Ellicott's Mills, a distance of forty miles, to present letters of commendation to this committee. Johnston and Wells called on them ; and Wells dispatched for Little Turtle at his village eighteen miles distant by Eel River, and to Chief Five Medals at his village by the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, a distance of forty miles. They all dined with Captain Whipple Commandant of the Fort, who 'behaved with a freedom and gentility becoming a well bred man.' The Fort 'was large and substantial . . commanding a beautiful view of the rivers, as also of an extent of about four square miles of cleared land, much of which was cleared by the army of the United States. . . The garrison kept here at present consists of about forty officers and soldiers.' . . The Friends were surprised to observe that no attention was given in fort and village to the proper observance of the first day of the week (Sunday). In the afternoon Five Medals and two sons called on them, first learning 'that some Quakers had come' after their arrival in the village ; and the chief recognized and greeted the committee heartily. Little Turtle arrived the next day at noon and approached the committee 'with a countenance placid beyond description ; took us by the hand with cordiality, and expressed himself in terms of great gladness at meeting with us. . . 'About two o'clock we dined. At the head of the table sat the interpreter's [William Wells'] wife who is a modest, well-looking Aborigine woman, the daughter of a distinguished chief [and sister of Little Turtle]. She had prepared for us a large well roasted wild turkey and also a wild turkey boiled, and for these she had provided a large supply of cranberry sauce. The Little Turtle sat at the table with us, and with much sociability we all partook of an excellent dinner.' . .

In the afternoon Five Medals and two sons called at Wells' house, and a formal conference regarding the mission was entered upon. Infirm health and family circumstances were presented by the Friends as reasons for the absence of two members of the committee ; that the three had come not to talk, but to do something for the betterment of the condition of the Aborigines ; and they suggested that a call be issued for a general meeting of the Aborigine people of both sexes and all ages. This suggestion was an unusual one to the chiefs who were wont to sit in council individually, and they urged that the general meeting be at least deferred inasmuch as the young men were hunting at a distance, and many of the women were making sugar from the sap of the maple trees in the woods. But the Friends urged that the season was advancing, and immediate preparations should be made for the first practical lessons in agriculture. The chiefs asked for eight days time in which they could gather at Fort Wayne 'a considerable number of their indolent people who were too lazy to hunt or make sugar, but such they did not wish us [the committee] to see.'

The Friends were entertained by John Johnston Agent of the United States Trading House for the Aborigines, and there the chiefs took supper with the mission committee. Under the guidance of Captain Wells the following days, the Friends went over the lands most suitable for cultivation, and at the same time observed the most historic places and listened to their stories as told by Wells—the sites of the villages; the places where General Harmar's men were slaughtered in 1790, see *ante* page 166; the field where Little Turtle assembled his fourteen hundred men (Wells being among the number as a captive) to overwhelm General St. Clair's army at the present Fort Recovery about fifty miles distant. The long vista of history, with numerous shallow graves and other numerous evidences of mortality, brought forcibly to the mind of Friend Hopkins these lines from Young's *Night Thoughts:*

> Where is the dust that hath not been alive!
> The spade, the plough, disturb our ancestors;
> From human mould we reap our daily bread.

The rides to the country included visits to large sugar camps, and the 'prairie' between the St. Mary and Little River (the Glacial Drainage Channel, see Map *ante* page 28) the distance from one to the other being but four miles in the then swampy land, and the watershed-ridge but five feet high with reports of canoes passing over in highest stages of water. The subject of a canal through this ridge was also mentioned. Aborigines were constantly cōming and going, the women carrying the burdens of packs of skins and bark boxes of maple sugar each weighing about fifty pounds. The Government carpenter was at work on a council house ordered to be built 25 x 50 feet in size of hewn logs by the Government on request of the Aborigines; and a blacksmith found ready work in repairing the Aborigines' guns.

The Aborigines assembled at the house of William Wells, interpreter, on the morning of April 10th were Me-she-ke-nah-que or Little Turtle Miami War Chief, O-bos-se-ah or the Fawn, Miami Village Chief of distinction, and Os-so-mit Pottawotami Village Chief and brother of Five Medals who could not return from infirmity; also a considerable number of their principal young men, and several women. There were also present Agent John Johnston, Captain Whipple, Lieutenants Campbell and Simms, and several of the more prominent citizens. The

Friends explained the cause and object of their coming, with strong argument in favor of the Aborigines giving more attention to domestic animals and cultivation of the land; and introduced Philip Dennis whom they had brought along to gratuitously aid them in this work, the men, not the women who could find work at spinning and weaving in addition to household affairs. Little Turtle alone spoke for the Aborigines* stating that his heart was overjoyed and warmed by what the Friends had said ; that all could not be done immediately ; that it had been agreed to place the farmer Friend, Philip Dennis, by the Wabash River to prevent the jealousy that would arise if he was placed near any village ; and he was in full accord with what had been said regarding the work of their women, hoping that the young men would flock to the farm and get all the good possible.

The morning of April 12th the Friends, William Wells, and Massanonga or Clear Sky a handsome young man of the Wea band who had been chosen by the Aborigines as their guide and who said he should be the first to take hold of Philip's Plow, started for the designated locality by the Wabash seven miles below the mouth of Little River and called thirty-two miles southwest of Fort Wayne. Here about twenty-five acres of fertile and desirable land was found cleared, and the Wabash presented a good site for a dam and water-power for mills. Massanonga killed a wild turkey with his knife, hastily dressed and roasted it, thus affording them a good supper. They slept in the open, wrapped in their blankets around the fire. Otters were noisy during the night along the river ; deer approached the fire and made a whistling sound ; wolves howled around ; and at early morning the whole region was vocal with wild turkeys, but the night was refreshing. A place was staked for a humble dwelling for Philip Dennis. His nearest neighbors were at Little Turtle's town eighteen miles east of north, and the next at the Mississinewa town about thirty miles southwest ; but Aborigines and traders, mostly Frenchmen, were frequently passing along the Wabash less than two hundred feet distant.

The party returned to Fort Wayne April 13th, and the 15th the committee of Friends said farewell to Philip Dennis, to the carpenter and the blacksmith, and to the agents and officers of the Fort, and entered a pirogue obtained by Captain Whipple and supplied with food by Agents Johnston and Wells, and manned for Detroit by Corporal King and a private soldier from Fort Wayne. Their journey down the Maumee River (chapter on which please see under date of 1804) was rapid and pleasant, but they were detained at the mouth of Maumee Bay, and River

---

* This admirable address was taken stenographically by Friend Gerard T. Hopkins as interpreted by William Wells, and was published in Hopkins' little book *A Mission to the Aborigines . . . at Fort Wayne in 1804*, pages 79-83.

Raisin, by high winds and rough water. They arrived at Detroit April 25th and, as soon as possible (May 2nd) sailed for the east end of Lake Erie on their homeward journey. The sequel of their efforts to aid the Miamis and Pottawotamis can be told in few words. Philip Dennis faithfully performed his duty. Only one, or at the most two, of the Aborigines could be induced to aid him, and then only in meager effort for a rude fence. As long as the novelty of his work lasted, and they could share in his food, a few Miamis lingered around in the shade or branches of trees, but would not work. Dennis planted and cultivated a good field of corn (maize) and vegetables and, after gathering the large yield into a house he built for the purpose, he left it in charge of the chiefs to be handed out to the needy Aborigines during the winter, and he returned to his family in Maryland. This was the first serious effort to found an agricultural school in the West.

During Christmas week, 1807, Little Turtle and Richardville chiefs of the Miamis, The Beaver and The Crow of the Delawares, two Shawnee chiefs, and Marpau and The Raven of the Pottawotamis, on returning from Washington visited the Friends at Baltimore. They were here, as at Washington, treated with very kind regard and attended the entertainments offered them with the exception of the Pottawotamis who were fully influenced by the rising cloud of the War of 1812. They every day wore their war-paint, and were defiant.

From the time of their arrival in America in 1656 The Society of Friends manifested great interest in the welfare of the Aborigines. The Shawnees, later in this Basin, were associated with the Delawares in Friend William Penn's treaty, and purchase of their claims to land in 1682; and after the migration of these tribes west of the Allegheny Mountains early in the eighteenth century, the good offices of the Friends followed them — sadly interrupted, however, many times by their savage acts.

About the time of his Treaty at Greenville in 1795, General Wayne read an address to the Shawnees from the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia, and delivered to them a few presents received therewith. He highly commended the Friends, often called Quakers, whom he knew and much loved and esteemed for their goodness of heart and their sincere love of peace with all nations. A deputation of Shawnees headed by Chief Black Hoof visited the President at Washington in 1802. They called on the Friends at Philadelphia on their way home, were well received and given useful presents. During these years the expenditures of the Friends in America for the feeding and bettering the condition of the Aborigines were so large as to appeal to the Friends in England who, in 1806, sent to America the sum of £11,770 16s. 8d. to aid in this benevolent work. The work was suspended during the War of 1812; but what had been done was a strong factor in keeping the Shawnees from going to the British to aid them against the Americans.

At the close of the War of 1812 the work of the Friends recommenced among the Shawnees at Wapakoneta in more permanent form. A dam was there built across the Auglaise River, also a flouring and sawing mill for their instruction and benefit. These improvements slowly led to less wanderings in the hunt of wild game and to more cultivation of the soil, to the rearing of useful domestic animals and to better dwelling places built from the lumber cut by the mill. The Friends who had migrated from the East to new homes in Ohio and Indiana, engaged liberally in this work of instruction, and the supplies for its organization and maintenance were hauled by them for many miles of poor road. The Aborigines gave little, generally no, help to forward these enterprises; but the Friends did the work willingly, trusting that the example and the result of their work would favorably influence many of them in time. Plow irons were brought to Wapakoneta and there stalked by the Friends ready for use; and it was the Friends who were obliged to use them in the preparation of the ground and in the planting and cultivation of the crops. A woman Friend in England contributed a good sum of money to aid in the purchase of domestic animals and agricultural implements. Notwithstanding the objection of the Shawnees to the schools of the white man, a school in manual training was organized by the Friends, it being the first school of this kind in Ohio.

In the autumn of 1819 Friend Isaac Harvey of southern Ohio removed his family to Wapakoneta to superintend the mills. The Shawnees were then divided, one-sixth of the number dwelling by Hog Creek the present Ottawa River in Allen County. Much superstition existed among them, and soon after the removal of Harvey's family it was stimulated to its highest pitch by Elskwatawa, Tecumseh's reputed brother who was at this time dwelling at Wapakoneta. On visiting a sick Shawnee one day with some food, Harvey found Elskwatawa present and cutting the skin of the back of the sick man who was bleeding profusely from the cuts. Upon inquiring the cause of this cruelty Elskwatawa, who was acting the part of a sorcerer or medicine man, informed him that the cuts were made to let out the combustible or fiery matter that the witch Polly Butler* had put there. Friend Harvey drove him away and dressed the wounds. That night he was startled by the hasty coming of Polly Butler and her child to his house asking protection from the Shawnees who were seeking to put her to death as a witch. They were taken into the house by Harvey who at once strangled a small dog accompanying them that it might not betray their whereabouts. The next day Chief We-os-se-cah or Captain Wolf came and told Harvey about the occurrences and the resulting excitement, whereupon Harvey told him of the sinfulness of such proceedings. We-os-se-cah went away much disturbed in mind, but soon returned and, intimating that Harvey knew the whereabouts of the woman, was told that she was out of their reach; and if they did not abandon their pursuit of her with desire to put her to death, he would remove his family and abandon the mission entirely. We-os-se-cah desired Harvey to go with him to the Council House where twenty or more chiefs and head men painted and armed were in session. Harvey went to the United States Blacksmith, an important man with the Aborigines on account of his keeping their guns and knives in repair, and took him and his son along as interpreters. Upon their entering the Council House Chief We-os-se-cah commanded the Council 'to be still and hear' whereupon he repeated what had transpired between Harvey and himself, which caused great commotion. Harvey then addressed them in a composed manner, interceding for the life of the woman who had been so unjustly sentenced to be put to death. But, seeing them determined to have blood, he felt resigned and offered himself to be put to death in her stead; that he was wholly unarmed and at their mercy. We-os-se-cah stepped up, took Harvey by the arm, and declared himself his friend, and called upon the chiefs to desist, but if they would not, he would offer his life for the Qua-kee-lee (Quaker) friend. The chiefs were astonished, but slowly, one by one, they came forward, took Harvey by the hand and declared friendship. The blacksmith also was not behind in exhibiting his sentiments. Chief We-os-se-cah then told them that the woman had disappeared; that search had been made and she could not be found; that if their Quaker Friend had sent her to the white people for protection, and the chiefs did not pardon and recall her, it would be a lasting disgrace to their nation; 'and if their friend the Quaker should for this reason break up the mission that had been begun and carried on wholly for their benefit, to whom, then, shall we look for help?' After a short discussion among themselves, the Council to a man (excepting Elskwatawa who at this moment slunk away) came forward and cheerfully offered their hands and friendship. They promised if the woman was restored to her people, that she should be protected; and they called on the blacksmith to witness their vow—and he became surety for its fulfillment. It required considerable effort to assure the woman of her safety, but eventually she returned to her dwelling and was not afterwards molested. Agent John Johnston afterward assured Isaac Harvey that his success in saving the life of Polly Butler and thus breaking up the heathenish practice of putting to death for supposed witchcraft, was sufficient reward for all the Friends' noble efforts and expenditures to improve the sad condition of these people.*

---

* Polly Butler was the reputed daughter of the late General Richard Butler by a Shawnee mother.

Isaac Harvey returned with his family in 1825 to a place five miles south of Wapakoneta and there resumed his school with the Aborigine children that had been discontinued partly in consequence of unsettled condition of their parents. The pupils were interested in their studies and made good progress. In 1830 Henry Harvey took charge of the school which had increased well in numbers, and he continued in charge until the removal of the Shawnees to Kansas; and he followed them thither.

To the Shawnees as to the other tribes, traders urged the purchase of their goods on credit hoping for pay from the annuity money or, failing in this, in money that might be received from the sale of their lands to the United States preparatory to their removal west of the Mississippi as was then evident would soon occur. They were not long satisfied with the terms of the final treaty sale of their land and, like children and as was usual in other cases and tribes, desired modifications, particularly such as would insure more pay. They appealed to the Friends to help them; and a committee from this Society accompanied the chiefs to Washington in December, 1831, to plead for sympathy from the United States Government. The old and valued French interpreter, Francis Duchouquet whose name is preserved in a Township in Auglaise County, died at Cumberland, Pennsylvania, while on this journey. From the efforts of the Friends, Congress reported a bill for $30,000 to be paid to the Shawnees in fifteen equal annual installments as additional to the treaty compensation for their Ohio lands. General Cass, Secretary of War, also paid the expenses of this journey to Washington, amounting to six hundred and forty dollars, and gave fifty dollars in money as a present to each of the four chiefs in the party. In the year 1853 the United States paid this tribe sixty-six thousand dollars additional. Another evidence of the favorable influence of the Friends upon the Shawnees was their holdings of about twelve hundred cattle and twelve hundred hogs which were sold previous to their removal to Kansas. With the proceeds of these sales they purchased clothing, wagons, guns, provisions, and other things not so useful. Not receiving all their pay when expected, they exhausted their supply of provisions and, again applying to the Friends, this Society appealed to the Secretary of War who sent to them as a donation twenty beeves and large quantities of flour and bacon by way of the Friends' Mission House. These devoted Friends worked constantly without compensation, and often divided their last food with the needy whether wholly deserving or not. They taught as much as they could of religion, agriculture and other industrial arts ; from the Bible, by precepts, and by examples, and probably they produced as great and good impression upon the lives of the Aborigines as any sect at that time.

---

* See *History of the Shawnee Aborigines From the Year 1681 to 1854* inclusive, by Henry Harvey, Cincinnati, 1855, pages 170 to 180.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MISSIONS.

Presbyterians were the next of these missionaries in priority. The Synod of Virginia collected funds for sending out agents to explore the country around Sandusky, the Maumee River, Brownstown, Michigan, and the River Raisin with the intention, if encouragements were given, to establish a mission school. The Aborigines who then dwelt in these regions were the Wyandots prevailing about Sandusky, the Senecas, Mohawks, and Ottawas. The Reverend Thomas E. Hughes made two missionary tours of these regions, one in the autumn of 1800, and the other late in the year 1801. He was first accompanied by James Satterfield, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Ohio, and in his second tour by Reverend Joseph Badger, a missionary from Connecticut (see *ante* page 249) and by George Bluejacket, a son of the noted Shawnee chief Bluejacket. Reverend Hughes attracted this young man to him in Detroit on his first visit, and was accompanied to his home in Virginia by him. In his interest in the work of the missionaries and in his conduct for a time, George Bluejacket encouraged his tutors in the thought that he would become a Christian ; but he is not mentioned afterward. In the year 1802 Reverend David Bacon visited Detroit, and on his departure from there his report reads, in part, as follows:

> I set out April 20th for the Miami [Maumee] in a canoe with Beaumont and a man I had hired, but by reason of unfavorable winds we did not arrive at the mouth of the river until the 4th of May. We were very much fatigued with the hard rowing, and were several times in danger by violence of the waves. I was obliged to go without the public interpreter as he could not be spared ; but when I came to the Miami [Maumee] I found an excellent interpreter in whom the Aborigines placed the utmost confidence, and who served me faithfully for a much less sum than what either of the others would have asked. His name is William Dragoo. When I arrived at the mouth of the river most of the [Aborigine] chiefs were drunk at the trader's above. After remaining there two days, and finding it uncertain when they would be down, we went up and stored my provisions and farming tools at [the site of the former] Fort Miami eighteen miles above. Hearing there that most of them had gone down, we returned the next day to the mouth [of the Maumee]. The day after I found that Little Otter the head chief and one other were all that remained in the main village where we were, and that the rest all lay drunk at the neighboring village. In the afternoon I spent several hours with these two explaining to them the origin and designs of the Missionary Society, and the benefits temporal and spiritual that they might expect to receive from having me among them. They ap-

peared to pay good attention, and when I had concluded Little Otter observed in reply that the Great Spirit had been listening, and that they and their young men had been listening to all I had said; that he believed it was true; that the air appeared clear and no clouds in the way, and that he would assemble his chiefs and hear me again as soon as possible, but till then he could give me no further answer. This was Saturday the 8th [May, 1802]. Through the Sabbath following we enjoyed peace and quietness among them. Hitherto the most of them had remained sober. But the following night we were disturbed by the rattles and drums of a number of individuals who spent the night in conjuring over a poor sick child in order to save its life; but it died within a day or two after.

Next day we started for the trading post. As we had a strong head wind it was with difficulty that we got five miles up the river that afternoon. We encamped about a quarter of a mile above their [the Aborigines] dancing ground. My interpreter advised me to go with him to see them that evening; and I had a desire to be present as I supposed I might acquire some information that might be useful. But I thought it would not be prudent to be among them that night as I knew some of them were intoxicated and that such would be apt to be jealous of me at that time, and that nothing would be too absurd for their imaginations to conceive, or too cruel for their hands to perform. But as a son of the head chief was sent early next morning to invite me down, I went to see them. I had the greater desire to go as this is their annual conjuration dance which is celebrated every spring on their return from hunting, and at no other time in the year. . .

Mr. Anderson a respectable trader at Fort Miami told me that they had been growing worse every year since he had been acquainted with them, which is six or seven years; and that they have gone much greater lengths this year then he has ever known them before. He assured me that it was a fact that they had lain drunk this spring as much as ten or fifteen days at several different traders above him, and that some of them had gone fifteen days without tasting a mouthful of victuals while they were in that condition. Mr. Anderson disapproved of the practice [of drinking to intoxication] and by not complying with it has lost the trade and has turned his attention to his farm. He treated me very kindly and seemed friendly to my designs, and very desirous to have me come out there.

Reverend Joseph Badger was along the lower Maumee again in 1805, and the 25th June addressed the Wyandots on temperance when they were gathered at Fort Industry near the mouth of Swan Creek with Charles Jouett American Commissioner, and the Commissioners of the Connecticut Fire Land Company, just previous to the treaty there regarding these Fire Lands. Mr. Badger was appointed by the Board of Trust in February, 1806, to labor as a stationed missionary at Sandusky and he took up this work the first of April following. At first his work was attended with some apparent success. In the early part of 1808, however, he opposed the further selling of whiskey to the Aborigines by a Scotchman named Patterson. This offended the liquor dealer who complained to Governor William Hull. Mr. Badger was summoned to Detroit where he well defended the justness of his efforts to the Governor, and he was permitted to return to Sandusky. Patterson thereupon rallied the Aborigines who petitioned Governor Hull for Mr. Badger's removal, and he was suspended pending an investigation by the Missionary Board of Trust. Reverends Marquis, Anderson, and Macurdy were sent west on this duty and, upon investigation, they acquitted Mr. Badger of all blame; and Patterson promised to give them no further trouble. It was thought, however, that the interest of the mission would best be conserved by Badger taking another field; and Reverend Elisha Macurdy was chosen to take charge of the Sandusky station. We get a description of the character of these Aborigines, who often roamed along the Maumee and who were very like all the others of that date, and with the trials and discouragements attending the efforts of the missionaries among them, from the few pages that have been preserved of the journal kept by Reverend Macurdy after he took charge of this mission, viz:

Tuesday, September 13th [1808]. Messrs. Marquis and Anderson started this morning for home, and I am to remain at Sandusky until the first of November to struggle with the difficulties of the mission. If I do any good, it must be of God for no man living is sufficient for these things. Little else is to be seen here but naked human depravity, influenced by all the auxilliaries Satan can apply. Here Satan has his seat, and this is the time of his peculiar sway. They (the Aborigines) have been collecting for ten days past from different places and tribes, and this is to be the week of their Great Council. Hundreds more are yet expected. The plains are now swarming with them, and they appear to be full of devilish festivity, although they can scarcely collect as much of any kind of vegetables as will allay the imperious demands of nature. They are here almost every hour begging for bread, milk, meat, melons, or cucumbers; and, if they can get no better, they will eat a ripe cucumber with as little ceremony as a hungry swine. And, notwithstanding this state of outward wretchedness and these mortifying circumstances, they are swollen with pride and will strut about and talk with an air as supercilious as the great mogul. Their ceremonies, also, are conducted with as much pomposity as if they were individually Napoleons or Alexanders.

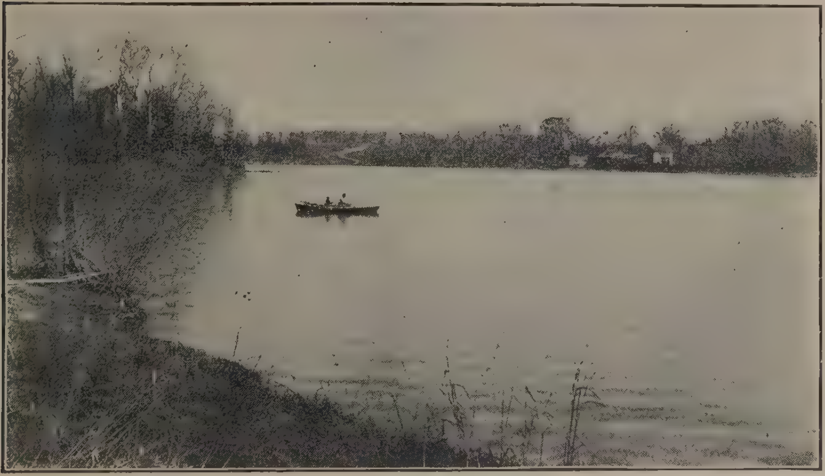
Their houses, when they have any, are wretched huts, almost as dirty as they can be, and swarming with fleas and lice. Their furniture, a few barks, a tin or brass kettle, a gun, pipe, knife and tomahawk. Their stock are principally dogs. Of these they have large numbers, but they are mere skeletons, the very picture of distress. These unhappy people appear to have learned all the vices of a number of miserable white men who have fled to these forests to escape the vengeance of the law, or to acquire property in a way almost infinitely worse than that of highwaymen. They are so inured to white men of this description that it is next to impossible to make them believe you design to do them good, or that your object is not eventually to cheat them. It is vain to reason with them. Their minds are too dark to perceive its force, or their suspicions bar them against any favorable conclusions. Such is their ingratitude, that whilst you load them with favors they will reproach you to your face, and construe your benevolent intentions and actions into intentional fraud or real injury. They will lie in the most deliberate manner and to answer any selfish purpose. They will not bear contradiction but will take the liberty to contradict others in the most impudent and illiberal manner.

This picture comes far short of the miserable condition of these wretched people. In the midst of these people must the Missionary live. The dangers, difficulties, and trials connected with them, must be the companions of his life. Surrounded with them he lies down to sleep, and through them he walks all the day, without a friend to give him counsel to help him to bear his load, or hear him tell the sorrows of his heart, except one—that is Jesus, who says, Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. . . What patience, wisdom, fortitude, benevolence, and self-denial, must enter into the composition of the man that is qualified to fill this important station! . .

No honor or èmolument that this world can confer can compensate him for the sacrifices he must make, and the trials he must endure.*

It is here seen that the savage habits of the Aborigines had been but little changed for the better by their nearly two hundred years association with the French and British. These Presbyterian efforts to educate and evangelize them in this region were soon discontinued.

The Presbyterian Society's record regarding a Mission to the Aborigines by the Lower Maumee River is summarized as follows: Commenced in 1822 by the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburg. Transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society October 25, 1825. Consolidated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in June, 1826. The report of this mission published by the United States in 1824, gives the number of members of the mission family as twenty-one and does not mention pupils. It received three hundred dollars semiannually from the Congressional fund for the civilization of the Aborigines. The report for 1824 gives twenty-one teachers and ten pupils. Probably the adult members of the entire household were counted as teachers, which they were in a wholesome sense if only by example. Some taught domestic science and art, others



Looking northeast down the main channel of the Maumee River 15th April, 1901, from Aborigine or Whitney Island. The tall trees beyond the houses of Vollmar Park, mark the mouth of Tontogany Creek, Wood County, Ohio. In the middle distance beyond, by the road, is seen the house of the Presbyterian Mission to the Aborigines, built in 1823 for the residence of the Missionary Family, with school rooms adjoining. This house has undergone two or more reductions and alterations and yet remains a good size farm house. The property is now owned by a resident of Tontogany Village situate a few miles to the right. Mission or 'Station' Island is seen to the left of the boat. See Chapter on the Maumee River.

---

* *Life of the Reverend Elisha Macurdy*, by David Elliott, Allegheny, 1848, page 120 *et sequentia*.

taught agriculture with the planting and grafting of fruit trees, the planting of mulberry trees and the care of silkworms, and others taught the common school, and all were teachers of the Christian religion, at least in a general way. November 20, 1826, this school was reported as previously without increase of pupils. The only ordained missionary for this station was Reverend Isaac Van Tassel. Assistant Missionary Reverend Leander Sackett came in 1822 and departed in 1827. Hannah Riggs from Franklin, Pennsylvania, arrived in November, 1827, and departed in August, 1833. Sidney E. Brewster farmer from Geauga County, Ohio, came in April, 1831, and married in June, 1831, Miss Sarah Withrow who came to the station in 1828. They remained until June, 1833. William Culver came in 1833 and remained until the next year. The Mission Church was organized in 1823 with twenty-four persons nine of whom were Aborigines, and all were pledged to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors. The plan of conducting this Mission was like that of the others, to make it selfsustaining as soon as possible, and to benefit the Aborigines as much as possible; to take all the young Aborigines they could get; board, clothe, and educate them with lessons from books and in farming while getting as much manual labor from them as practicable. These efforts were neither popular nor very successful. The Mission closed in 1834 with the removal of these Aborigines west of the Mississippi, having thirty-two pupils in attendance sixteen of whom were recorded as of mixed blood, and fourteen as full blooded Aborigines. The records show the whole number that had been under instruction as ninety-two, mostly for brief periods of time.*

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH MISSIONS.

The first preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church to hold religious service in Ohio was Reverend George Callanhan at Carpenter's Station or Fort, by the Ohio River near the present Warrenton, in September, 1787.† Reverend William M'Lenahan also ranged among the settlements along the upper Ohio River in the year 1791. A great revival of religion occurred through the west in 1799 and 1800; and the first Methodist Conference west of the Allegheny Mountains was organized in 1802 with the name Western Conference. The Ohio Conference was organized at Chillicothe in 1812; and some of its members occasionally passed through this Basin. A Methodist Mission was started at Detroit in 1809. The first persistent mission work by members of this Church, among the Aborigines of the West, however, was begun at Upper Sandusky among the Wyandots there and of the headwaters of the Blanchard River in the summer of 1816, by a reformed mulatto inebriate with name of John Stewart.* This man was then about twenty-one years of age, and his excellent singing quickly made him friends. With Jonathan Pointer another negro who was living with the Aborigines and understood something of the Wyandot language, as interpreter, and encouraged by William Walker subagent and interpreter, they at once awakened a religious interest, and a Methodist Class was formed in the autumn. Reverend Anthony Banning of Mount Vernon, Ohio, went to the aid of these missionaries in the spring of 1819, and August 7th this mission was taken into the regular work of the Ohio Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the meeting held in Cincinnati. Reverend James Montgomery was then appointed as missionary to the Wyandots in conjunction with Stewart. Soon after his appointment to this mission Reverend Montgomery was chosen by Aborigine Agent Colonel John Johnston of Piqua as Subagent at Fort Seneca. He was released by his Church for this appointment, and Moses Henkle, senior, was sent to Upper Sandusky to take his place; and he was reappointed by the Conference of 1820.

---

* After the close of this mission school, Rev. Isaac Van Tassel and wife remained in the buildings and conducted a boarding and day school for the children of the American settlers for about five years. See Article entitled The Presbyterian Mission to the Aborigines at the Lower Maumee River, by Mrs. Louise Atkinson one of the two yet living white pupils of this school, edited by Charles E. Slocum in the publication of The Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, Defiance, Ohio, 1901, pages 113 to 120.

† Authority of Samuel W. Williams, quoted in the *History of Ohio Methodism* by John M. Barker, Ph. D., Cincinnati, 1898, page 82.

This was the first mission to the Aborigines distinctively, established by the Methodist Church, and it, like all others, met with many trials and discouragements. But a good degree of success was accomplished from the first among the older people who could be kept under constant surveillance. At the meeting of the Ohio Conference in 1821 in Lebanon Reverend James B. Finley was appointed missionary to these Wyandots and Miss Harriet Stubbs was employed as teacher. Missionary Finley with his assistant George Riley built a cabin twenty by twenty-three feet in size into which he moved his family when it was yet without door or window. They also made a stable for their live stock from one of the blockhouses of Fort Feree built in 1812 and, in addition to their missionary work cut, hauled and hewed logs with which to build during the next summer a Mission House with ground plan twenty by forty-eight feet, a story and a half high, with two rooms on each floor and large porches.†

Missionary Finley being ill, Reverend Charles Elliott was appointed missionary at the meeting of the Conference in 1822 and, the number of pupils increasing, William Walker and Lydia Barstow were added to the list of teachers. During the year 1823 the expenditures attending this mission were two thousand two hundred fifty-four dollars and fifty-four cents. This included improvements on the farm, the salaries of missionaries and teachers, also the feeding and clothing of between fifty and sixty of the Aborigine children who lived with the mission family. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Philadelphia Missionary Society contributed most of the money to meet this expense, and added individual subscriptions with minor society collections left a deficit of only ninety-three dollars and sixty-eight cents. The following year the Secretary of War made quarterly payments of one hundred and twenty-five dollars toward the support of this Wyandot mission from the Congressional appropriation of ten thousand dollars for civilizing the Aborigines. In September, 1823, Reverend James B. Finley was reappointed superintendent of this mission, with Reverend Jacob Hooper superintendent of the farm, and his wife as special teacher of the girls. John Stewart, who had been connected with the mission part of the time from its beginning with good results, died December 17, 1823, from pulmonary tuberculosis.

---

* See Stevens' *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*; and *Life Among the Aborigines* by Rev. James B. Finley, page 233 *et sequentia*.

† See *Life Among the Aborigines* by Reverend James B. Finley, page 284 and onward, for many particulars of his work, and of the Wyandots including their winter huntings and sugar-making.

The Ohio Conference instructed Reverend Finley to establish missions among the more northern Aborigines and, December 24th, accompanied by Monocue and Gray Eyes, converted Wyandots of Upper Sandusky, and negro Jonathan Pointer as interpreter, he organized the first Methodist Aborigine Mission in Canada near the left bank of the Detroit River above Amherstburg.

The Methodist Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, was credited this year, 1824, with twelve teachers and sixty-five pupils. A Meeting (Church) House thirty by forty feet in size was built this year for this mission on the left bank of the Sandusky River, of limestone quarried in the channel. John C. Calhoun Secretary of War contributed eleven hundred and thirty-three dollars, from the Congressional appropriation, toward its completion. This was an important addition to the Mission Buildings which before consisted of a small schoolhouse, a small parsonage and the four-room Mission House which was much crowded in the accommodation of teachers and pupils. This mission acquired one section of land (one mile square reserved for this purpose in the Treaty of 1817, see *ante* page 376) of which nearly two hundred acres were gradually cleared and cultivated after the style of frontiersmen, the missionary or his assistant leading and instructing in the work. Thus the mission became as near self-sustaining as possible. November 20, 1826, the report shows this to be the most prosperous of the forty established missions, it being credited with two teachers and sixty-nine young pupils, and good results among the adults. Its receipts from the Government fund were now eight hundred dollars.* Many of the largest girls, in addition to reading, writing and other common studies and household work, had learned to sew, knit, spin and weave—over two hundred yards of linen, linsey and flannel having been made at the Mission House for their clothing; and the boys helped on the farm in producing the flax, corn, wheat and vegetables, and in feeding and caring for the horses, cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry.

Reverend Thomas Thompson was appointed missionary to these Wyandots by the Methodist Conference in 1828, and he served this station well for six years. Reverend Elnathan Corrington Gavitt was appointed his assistant in 1832. It was the policy of the Methodist Church, then as now, to visit all settlements and preach to all classes. The territory of these two active workers included northwestern Ohio, eastern Michigan and part of the present Ontario, Canada, in each of which northern regions Reverend Finley had established a mission to the Aborigines. The station by the Huron River (Flat Rock) Michigan, and at the Aux Cannard, Canada, was each visited every four weeks by one or the other of the missionaries who remained nearly two weeks in each place while the other remained at Upper Sandusky thus keeping this station under constant observation.† There were as yet few trails through the wilderness, and often to shorten the distance between appointments they would take as direct a course as possible, being guided by the sun and the moss on the trees which was generally thickest on the north side; and sometimes the route was marked for the return by bending the top of an occasional shrub or small tree to the right after cutting into it on the left. But, with all precautions from loss of course or distance, it was sometimes necessary to stop in the forest during the darkest hours of the night. In this event the time would sometimes be passed, in warm weather, up a tree to be free from attack of the wolves that were howling around; and lashing oneself to the tree was necessary to prevent falling to the ground in the sleep that would come after the fatigues of the journey. In cold weather a large fire or two would be maintained. The crossing of the larger streams often gave trouble. Several of the Wyandots at the Upper Sandusky Mission showed good evidence of conversion and, after their probationary period, were ordained as local ministers. On one of Reverend Gavitt's journeys to the northern stations he was accompanied by three of these ministers and four other Wyandots. While leading the way across the lower Maumee the Aborigine Reverend James Harrihoot was thrown from his pony, which became frightened by some foam on the current. He was a good swimmer but, becoming entangled with his long fringed frock coat, he would have drowned had not help been given him by fishermen who were near-by in a canoe. Before the establishment of public ferries an Aborigine or settler could occasionally be found and induced by a dollar to ferry across stream the 'circuit rider' who would lead his horse from the canoe. This was the quickest and most comfortable mode of crossing unless the horse attempted to get into the canoe mid-stream, in which event the occupants would be unceremoniously thrown into the rapid current, thoroughly wetting books and clothing and endangering their lives.[*] The later method adopted in warm weather was to undress, tie the clothing and saddlebags high on the pommel of the saddle, start the horse across and the rider float after clinging to his tail. Two or three streams were sometimes thus crossed in one day.

---

* See the *American State Papers*, Aborigine Affairs volume ii. *History of the Wyandot Mission. Autobiography of Reverend James B. Finley.* Report of Judge John L. Leib to the Secretary of War, 1826. And *Life Among the Aborigines*, by Reverend James B. Finley.

† *Grumbs from my Saddle Bags*, by Elnathan C. Gavitt, Toledo, 1884, page 150.

Appointments were conscientiously met when possible by these devoted ministers. Their lot was a hard one at best, and occasionally they suffered exceedingly. Some of the severest nights of winter they could get even a bed of straw only by climbing a ladder on the outside of the log house into the garret and there in their own clothes, and under scant bed covering, they would be drifted under by snow that came freely through crevices in the roof. And the pecuniary compensation was very small—seventy-five dollars a year to an unmarried man, and one hundred and seventy-five dollars a year to a man of experience having a wife and child; and generally most of these meager dues to the ministers were received in part by expressions of good or indifferent will by members of the congregation, part in products of the small clearing or from the cow or sheep such as cheese, linen or wool cloth or wool to make mittens, stockings and cloth; or in gatherings from the forest of reputed medicinal plants, roots and bulbs, such as Bloodroot (*Sanguinaria Canadénsis* L.) Crane's-bill (*Geranium maculàtum* L.) Crowfoot (*Pulsatilla hirsutissima* Pursh, Britton)[†] Slippery-elm bark (*Ulmus fùlva* Michx.) Prickly-ash buds (*Xanthóxylum Americànum* Mill) Red-root (*Ceanothus Americànus* L.) Star-root (Star-grass root, *Aletris farinòsa* L.) Yellow-root (*Hydrastis Canadénsis* L.) and Black-salts made by leaching the ashes from the burned logheaps of the land clearings and evaporating the water of the lye thus obtained. All of these (excepting the good or ill will) could generally be sold to advantage in the cities, the herbs and roots to the druggists, and the salts to the chemist for their separation and the manufacture of sodium carbonates including saleratus and potassium carbonates or pearlash. Sometimes the pay would be partly received in skins of the mink (generally worth five dollars each) or of otter and beaver skins from which to make the prescribed Quaker and Methodist broad-brimmed hats which generally cost from eight to ten dollars each; and deer skins from which trousers and other clothing were made. This kind of clothing was very serviceable in cold, dry weather, but it was hygroscopic and stretched unduly when wet, and it shrunk lamentably in the drying.

---

[*] Reverend Elnathan C. Gavitt was subjected to such accident and danger while thus crossing the Huron River, Michigan. See his *Crumbs from my Saddle Bags*, page 2.

[†] Most of the plants of the Crowfoot (*Ranunculaceae*) Family are poisonous, but six or more species have been used medicinally, the yellow-root mentioned above being of the number.

This Methodist Episcopal Mission to the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, including those at Big Spring a source of the Blanchard River and others scattered elsewhere in this Basin, records the most successful work for the civilization of American Aborigines in the earlier history of these peculiar people. Before their removal in 1843 to a new reservation west of the Mississippi River, there were about three hundred members of the Church, four of whom were licensed exhorters actively at work and doing much good. Sixty-five children were in regular attendance at school and making commendable progress. Before the advent of the missionaries the use of intoxicating beverages was general and drunkenness was common in spite of the efforts of the United States Government for its suppression. Here, as throughout all history, the vender of intoxicating beverages was the greatest enemy of mankind. The moral courage of the untutored Aborigines was little above that of a child to resist this evil. The work done by the missionaries was that of heroic, unselfish people. Their success depended upon their constant watchfulness of their flock to ward off temptation from within and without. This was a difficult task. Notwithstanding the able efforts of the missionaries, many of the Aborigines remained constant to the heathen customs of their fathers, and subject to the intoxicating beverages slyly presented by insinuating traders; and this class was constantly seeking to tempt, and to taunt, those whose second, better judgment inclined them to the missionaries' teachings of sobriety and morality. Many cases of violence by white men have also been reported as inflicted upon these Aborigines who were striving to live upright, commendable lives, even to murder. Two of the most devout would-be Christians among the Wyandots—Summun Dewat and his wife—were murdered and robbed in Hancock County, Ohio, about the time for the tribes' removal to the west by three white men who asked, and were hospitably accorded, shelter for the night in their lodge. The murderers were arrested, but escaped from jail and from justice.*

---

* *Crumbs from my Saddle Bags* by Elnathan C. Gavitt, Toledo 1884, page 147.

Baptist Church Missions.

The Board of Managers of the Baptist Missionary Convention for the United States appointed Reverend Isaac M'Coy as missionary to the Aborigines of the western part of this Basin October 17, 1817, for one year.* There were many obstacles causing delay in the beginning of his work. November 24th he applied to General Thomas Posey United States Agent to the Miamis, Weas and Kickapoos, for information regarding these people; but General Posey sickened, and died in March, 1818, without being of assistance to him. Some little encouragement received from two half-breed Aborigine boys was dissipated by their French fathers who were nominally Roman Catholics. Missionary M'Coy continued to preach to the white settlers on the frontier and to do what he could for the Aborigines until October 27, 1818, when he wrote "we set out for the mission premises [specific site not mentioned but probably by the Wabash River not far from the site of Fort Harrison] a distance from our former residence of ninety miles. My commission from the Board had ere this expired. With my wife and seven small children I went into the wilderness to seek an opportunity of preaching Christ to the Aborigines without a promise of patronage from any one, looking to Heaven for help and trusting that God would dispose the hearts of some, we knew not whom, to give my family bread while I should give myself wholly to the service of the heathen." . .

A school was opened November 2nd, 1818, with one or two Aborigine children with Corbly Martin as teacher, but the effort was unsuccessful. The children could not be held, nor the parents interested longer than to learn that there would be no receipt by them of intoxicating beverages and other temporal supplies. Communication was held between the missionary and his desired patrons by means of French interpreters of Roman Catholic instruction, some of whom did not understand the English language thus making it necessary to have a second one who did understand it but did not understand the Aborigine. The school here soon closed and December 1st Missionary M'Coy left his family and, with Martin, started for the Delaware and Shawnee lodges in eastern Indiana and western Ohio, hoping to find more favorable opportunity. This journey through the forest was attended with loss of way, great sufferings from cold, snow and ice, while often sleeping on the frozen ground, and want of food, particularly for the horses. They called at the United States Agency at Piqua and had conference with John Johnston Agent whose advice apparently gave missionary M'Coy the most practical ideas regarding his work he had obtained; and this was the only practical result of the journey. Much of the time during the next sixteen months, however, was passed in his journeyings to Vincennes, to the Aborigine lodges where little was accomplished, and to Fort Wayne, to which place he decided to remove by advice of Doctor William Turner Aborigine Agent there.

---

* *History of Baptist Missions Among the Aborigines* by Isaac M'Coy, Washington, 1840.

On May 3, 1820, removal of this Baptist Mission to Fort Wayne was begun. Then a bateau, loaded with household furnishings, food supplies, and five Aborigine children of the school, was started from the site of Fort Harrison and poled up the Wabash by four Americans who had been engaged for the purpose. May 4th Missionary M'Coy with wife and children started along the river bank on horseback, accompanied by the hired man Johnston Lykins and an Aborigine boy the sixth pupil of the school who drove the fifteen cattle and forty-three swine belonging to the mission. Aborigines swarmed around this procession with offers of help until convinced that no intoxicants or exhorbitant pay would be given them, when they departed. Those given a fee for messenger service were not seen again. The journey was attended with great anxiety and danger from rains and from intoxicated Aborigines at the Mississinewa and other towns, who frequently killed one of their own number. They arrived at Fort Wayne, however, without serious accident and were permitted to use the Fort buildings abandoned by the soldiers in 1819 and about two acres of plowed land for cultivation adjoining, free of charge.

Fort Wayne was described at this time by Missionary M'Coy as "a little village of traders, and of persons in the employ of the Government as interpreters, smiths, etc., some of whom were French of Canadian and of Aborigine descent. The nearest settlements of white people were in the State of Ohio, and nearly one hundred miles distant. By our neighbors we were treated with great kindness and respect, which created affectionate recollections which years of separation have not obliterated. I preached to them in my own house every Sabbath." . .. At the opening of this Baptist Mission School in Fort Wayne Village May 29, 1820, Missionary M'Coy served as teacher to twenty-five pupils, ten being English speaking Americans, six French, eight Aborigines (two in addition to those brought with his family from the Wabash) and one negro. Soon after the opening of this school the record reads "we had so much business on hand that everything could not be well attended to. A teacher for the school [from Ohio, name written as Mr. P——r, who arrived June 11th] promised some relief. We hired an Aborigine woman to assist in domestic labors, but she afforded little help. Besides the care of eight Aborigine children, and six of our own, the whole charge of the family consisting of about twenty persons, devolved on Mrs. M'Coy. She also endeavored to instruct neighboring Aborigine females in the art of knitting and other domestic labors. We had to work hard with our own hands. The Aborigine children were clothed, fed and lodged at the expense of the Mission; they fed at the same table with my own family. This course was necessary in order to silence the jealousies of the Aborigines generally, and this course we ever after pursued."

The wife of Doctor William Turner Agent to the Aborigines, and her sister Mrs. Hackley (both of half Miami blood) were converted by Missionary M'Coy's preaching and were baptised (Mrs. H. June 18th and Mrs. T. July 8, 1820) by immersion in the Maumee River, the brink of which is mentioned as being then about sixty yards from the gate of the Fort. The necessaries of life were then very expensive in the Village of Fort Wayne. Flour and meal were obtainable only by bringing them about one hundred miles. The price of corn (maize) varied from one dollar and a half to two dollars per bushel. Support from the Baptist Convention was slow and insufficient, and discontinuance of this Mission must have resulted but for private contributions direct from Ohio and Kentucky. Horatio G. Phillips of Dayton was particularly considerate and liberal in the darkest hour. While journeying on these collecting tours meetings were held at Shane's Crossing of the River St. Mary. Here Mrs. Shane a Delaware Aborigine was converted, her husband Captain Anthony Shane, a half Shawnee, serving as her interpreter.

The journal record of the first anniversary of the Mission at Fort Wayne May 29, 1821, shows forty-two pupils in the school—Miamis, Pottawotamis, Shawnees 'and Aborigines from New York.' They were managed without difficulty. Five persons had been engaged, one at a time from time to time, to aid in the teaching and conduct of the Mission, but they remained only a short time. This made it necessary for Reverend M'Coy to often take the place of teacher, also to lead in the cultivation of the ground when his services were needed elsewhere. Much traveling through the wilderness was necessary to visit larger towns for donations and supplies, and the unavoidable exposures in these travels conduced to much sickness and disability. There was also more affliction from sickness at the Mission during the second year, with deaths. As many as forty members of the Mission household were sick at one time with intermittent and remittent types of malarial fever and gastric disorders.

While the Aborigines did not generally antagonize the Mission directly, the general alcoholic intoxication and large number of murders among them, particularly those in the vicinity of the school at the times of the annuity payments, kept up an excitement of blood and evil that greatly detracted from the quiet, Christian influence in which it was desired to preserve the pupils. The besotted and squalid condition of these most wretched people, and the cause of it, are frequently mentioned, and described by Missionary M'Coy.* In the year 1821 this Mission was saved from closing by receipt from the United States Government of four hundred and fifty dollars from the ten thousand dollar annual fund appropriated by Congress for Civilizing the Aborigines; Colonel William A. Trimble United States Senator from Ohio visited the Mission August 9, 1821, while on his way to Chicago for treating with the Aborigines, and his favorable report had yet more to do for the Mission's success.

On account of request of Pottawotamis, their donating a Section of land with the consent and further aid of the United States Government, Missionary M'Coy decided to remove the Mission to Michigan about one mile beyond the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, and nearly one hundred miles northwest of Fort Wayne. This new station was named Carey in honor of the noted Baptist Missionary to China. Preparations for this removal were made during the year 1822, including the building of six houses of logs and, December 9th, the remaining part of the Mission family and belongings started from Fort Wayne, viz: Three wagons drawn by oxen and one by horses in which rode Mrs. M'Coy and her five remaining children with eighteen Pottawotami pupils. The Miami pupils constituting the larger number of the school were not permitted by their parents to go. Missionary M'Coy and Assistant Daniel Dusenbury rode on horseback, and six laborers for the farm drove the oxen, horses, five cows, and fifty hogs. Other live stock had been driven previously, and a large drove of sheep and cattle donated by friends in Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, followed later. This removal through the snow and ice was attended and followed with great suffering and sickness, also with the loss of some food supplies in the flooded river. Most of the food for the livestock was gathered by them from the shrubs and snow-covered ground during the nights.†

The good resulting from these missions has not been, nor can it be, computed by man. Evidences of it have not been numerous, nor particularly apparent to the casual observer in later years; but the philanthropic motive of their establishing and the conscientious charity attending their conduct, were but small efforts (on the part of Christian people generally) to compensate the besotted and wretched Aborigines for the iniquitous violation of the laws of God and of the Nation by the venders of intoxicating beverages.

---

* *History of Baptist Missions* to the [North American] Aborigines, Washington, 1840.

† The reader desiring to learn more of detail regarding these missions is referred to the several books mentioned on previous pages, including the *American State Papers* Aborigine Affairs, volume ii. Also to the Report of Judge John L. Leib in November, 1824, to Governor Lewis Cass Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs in Michigan.

MISSIONS IN GENERAL — EXPENDITURES — LANDS.

The report of the Secretary of War of the expenditures for educating and civilizing the Aborigines for the year 1823 from the annual appropriation made by Act of Congress March 3, 1819, gives the total of $11,135.33. The only items of this sum relating to this Basin other than those mentioned on previous pages are $120 expended by John M'Donald of Ohio for the education of a Choctaw youth; $183 expended by John Tipton United States Agent to the Aborigines at Fort Wayne to a school (name not given) for the education of Aborigines at Fort Wayne; and $250 to Reverend James B. Finley for the Methodist Mission School among the Wyandots of Upper Sandusky and the Blanchard River.

Interest in missionary efforts increased and, the 3rd March, 1824, Application of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for Pecuniary aid in Civilizing the Aborigines was communicated to Congress. There was a party in Congress, however, who opposed such appropriations and, the 6th January, 1824, a resolution was passed providing for a committee to inquire into the expediency of repealing the Act of 3rd March, 1819, entitled An Act Making Provision for the Civilization of the Aborigine Tribes Adjoining the Frontier Settlements. Mr. M'Lean, of Ohio, of the Committee on Aborigine Affairs to whom this resolution was referred, reported the 23rd March, 1824, after a careful examination and exposition of the subject 'that it is inexpedient to repeal the law making an annual appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the Civilization of the Aborigines.' Of the twenty-one mission schools that had been established among the Aborigines previous to 1824, two were within this Basin, and one adjoining it, as heretofore described.

The wisdom of the efforts to extinguish the Aborigines' claims to lands by the United States Congress, and the removal of the tribes to more western reservations, became more apparent in 1824-25; also the wisdom of the abolishment of the Trading Agencies. The report of Thomas L. M'Kinney, who was in charge of the office of Aborigine Affairs which was yet connected with the War Department at Washington, shows that on January 10, 1825, there were in Ohio 2350 Aborigines yet claiming 409,501 acres of land, viz: 542 Wyandots claiming 163,840 acres; 800 Shawnees, 117,615 acres; 551 Senecas, 55,505 acres; 80 Delawares, 5760; 377 Ottawas, 50,581, with individual holdings of 16,200 acres. In Michigan Territory there were 28,316 Aborigines claiming 7,057,920 acres, of which number there were but

106 Pottawotamis in this Basin. In Indiana there were of the Miamis including the Eel River band 1073, claiming 10,104,000 acres. In Indiana and Illinois there were 3900 Chippewas and Pottawotamis yet claiming an unknown part of the land credited to the Miamis.

The 20th May, 1826, the Committee on Aborigine Affairs reported to Congress the estimated expenditures of this office during the year as $1,082,474.68, it being an increase over that of the previous year, and a very large sum for that date.

Additional Treaties, and Removals.

A treaty was held by the Wabash River near the mouth of the Mississinewa the 16th October, 1826, by Lewis Cass, J. B. Ray, and John Tipton, in which

> Article 1. The Pottawatomi tribe of Aborigines cede to the United States their right to all the land within the following limits: Beginning on the Tippecanoe River where the northern boundary of the tract ceded by the Pottawatomies to the United States by the Treaty of St. Marys in the year 1818 intersects the same; thence in a direct line to a point on Eel River half way between the mouth of the said river and Pierish's village; thence, up Eel River to Seek's village near the head thereof; thence, in a direct line to the mouth of a creek emptying into the St. Joseph of the Miami [Maumee] near Metea's village; thence, up the St. Joseph to the boundary line between the States of Indiana and Ohio; thence, south to the Miami [Maumee]; thence, up the same to the Reservation at Fort Wayne; thence, with the lines of said Reservation to the boundary established by the Treaty with the Miamis in 1818; thence, with the said line to the Wabash River; thence, with the same river to the mouth of the Tippecanoe River; and thence, with the said Tippecanoe River to the place of beginning. And the said tribe also cede to the United States all their right to land within the following limits: Beginning at a point on Lake Michigan ten miles due north of the southern extreme thereof; running thence due east to the land ceded by the Aborigines to the United States by the Treaty of Chicago; thence, south with the boundary thereof ten miles; thence west to the southern extreme of Lake Michigan; thence, with the shore thereof to the place of beginning.

For this cession, and a road from Lake Michigan southward through their remaining claim, the Pottawatomies were given 'goods' to the value of thirty thousand five hundred and forty-seven dollars and seventy-one cents; an annuity for twenty-two years of two thousand dollars in silver; a blacksmith; an annual payment of two thousand dollars for education as long as Congress thought proper; a grist mill on the Tippecanoe River with a miller, and one hundred and sixty bushels of salt annually; all payments to be made at Fort Wayne. Also in this Treaty, with other grants on the Wabash and Eel Rivers, there were granted within this Basin

> To Eliza C. Kercheval one section of land on the Maumee River commencing at the first place where the road from Fort Wayne to Defiance strikes the Miami [Maumee] on the north side thereof about five miles below Fort Wayne, and from that point running half a mile down the river and half a mile up the river, and back for quantity.

To James Knaggs son of the sister of Okeos chief of the River Huron Pottawotamis, one half-section of land on the Miami [Maumee] where the boundary line between Indiana and Ohio crosses the same.

To each of fifty-eight Aborigines by birth, [names given] who are now or have been scholars in the Carey Mission School on the St. Joseph under the direction of the Rev. Isaac M'Coy, (see *ante* page 409) one quarter-section of land to be located under the direction of the President of the United States.

To John B. Bourie of Aborigine descent one section of land to be located on the Miami [Maumee] River adjoining the old boundary line below Fort Wayne.

To Joseph Parks an Aborigine one section of land to be located at the point where the boundary line strikes the St. Joseph near Metea's village.

The 26th October, 1826, Lewis Cass, J. Brown Ray, and John Tipton, concluded another treaty by the Wabash near the mouth of the Mississinewa with the Miamis, as follows :

Article 1. The Miami tribe of Aborigines cede to the United States all their claim to land in the State of Indiana, north and west of the Wabash and Miami [Maumee] Rivers, and of the cession made by the said tribe to the United States by the Treaty concluded at St. Marys October 6th, 1818.

Art. 2. From the cession aforesaid the following Reservations for the use of the said tribe shall be made : Fourteen sections of land at Seek's village. Five sections for the Beaver, below and adjoining the preceding Reservation. Thirty-six sections at Flat Belly's village. Five sections for Little Charley, above the old village on the north side of Eel River. One section for Laventure's daughter, opposite the islands about fifteen miles below Fort Wayne. One section for Chapine, above and adjoining Seek's village. Ten sections at the White Raccoon's village. Ten sections at the mouth of Mud Creek on Eel River, at the old village. Ten sections at the Forks of the Wabash [junction of Little River with Wabash]. One Reservation commencing two miles and a half below the mouth of the Mississinewa, and running up the Wabash five miles with the bank thereof; and from these points running due north to Eel River. And it is agreed that the State of Indiana may lay out a canal, or a road, through any of these Reservations; and for the use of the canal, six chains along the same are hereby appropriated.

Art. 3. There shall be granted to each of the persons named in the schedule hereunto annexed, and to their heirs, the tracts of land therein designated ; but that so granted shall never be conveyed without the consent of the President of the United States.

Art. 4. The commissioners have caused to be delivered to the Miami tribe, goods to the value of thirty-one thousand and forty dollars and fifty-three cents in part consideration for the cession herein made; and it is agreed that, if this Treaty shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States, the United States shall pay to the persons named in the schedule this day signed by the commissioners and transmitted to the War Department, the sums affixed to their names, respectively, for goods furnished by them and amounting to the sum of thirty-one thousand and forty dollars and fifty-three cents. And it is further agreed that payment for these goods shall be made by the Miami tribe out of their annuity if this Treaty be not ratified by the United States. And the United States further engage to deliver to the said tribe, in the course of the next summer, the additional sum of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty-nine dollars and forty-seven cents, in goods. And it is also agreed that an annuity of thirty-five thousand dollars, ten thousand of which shall be in goods, shall be paid to the said tribe in the year 1827 ; and thirty thousand dollars, five thousand of which shall be in goods, in the year 1828; after which time a permanent annuity of twenty-five thousand dollars shall be paid to them as long as they exist together as a tribe, which several sums are to include the annuities due by preceding treaties to the said tribe.

And the United States further engage to furnish a wagon and one yoke of oxen for each of the following persons, namely: Joseph Richardville, Black Raccoon, Flat Belly, White Raccoon, François Godfroy, Little Beaver, Mettosanea, Seek, and Little Huron; and one wagon and one yoke of oxen for the band living at the Forks of the Wabash. And also to cause to be built a house, not exceeding the value of six hundred dollars, for each of the following persons, namely: Joseph Richardville, François Godfroy, Louison Godfroy, Francis Lafontaine, White Raccoon, La Gros, Jean B. Richardville, Flat Belly, and Wauweassee. And also to furnish the said tribe with two hundred head of cattle from four to six years old, and two hundred head of hogs; and to cause to be annually delivered to them two thousand pounds of iron, one thousand pounds of steel, and one thousand pounds of tobacco. And to provide five laborers to work three months in the year for the small villages; and three laborers to work three months in the year for the Mississinewa band.

ART. 5. The Miami tribe being anxious to pay certain claims existing against them, it is agreed as a part of the consideration for the cession in the first article, that these claims, amounting to seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven dollars and forty-seven cents, and which are stated in a schedule this day signed by the commissioners and transmitted to the War Department, shall be paid by the United States.

ART. 6. The United States agree to appropriate the sum of two thousand dollars annually, as long as Congress may think proper, for the support of poor infirm persons of the Miami tribe, and for the education of the youth of the said tribe; which sum shall be expended under the direction of the President of the United States.

ART. 7. It is agreed that the United States shall purchase of the persons named in the schedule hereunto annexed the land therein mentioned, which was granted to them by the Treaty of St. Marys, and shall pay the price affixed to their names, respectively; the payments to be made when the title to the land is conveyed to the United States.

ART. 8. The Miami tribe shall enjoy the right of hunting upon the land therein conveyed, so long as the same shall be the property of the United States.

ART. 9. This treaty, after the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate, shall be binding upon the United States.

In testimony whereof the said Lewis Cass, James B. Ray, and John Tipton, commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the said Miami tribe, have hereunto set their hands, at the Wabash on the 23rd October, 1826, and of the Independence of the United States the fifty-first [year].

[Signed by the Commissioners and Aborigine Chiefs.]

Schedule of Grants referred to in the Third Article of the above Treaty:

To John B Richardville, one section of land between the mouth of Pipe Creek and the mouth of Eel River, on the north side of the Wabash; and one section on the northwest side of the St. Joseph adjoining the old boundary line; also one half-section on the east side of the St. Joseph below Chappotee's village. To John B. Bourie, one section on the north side of the St. Joseph including Chappotee's village. To the wife and children of Charley, a Miami chief, one section where they live. To Ann Hackley and Jack Hackley, one section each between the Maumee and St. Joseph Rivers. To the children of Maria Christiana De Rome a half-blood Miami, one section between the Maumee and the St. Joseph. To Ann Turner, alias Hackley, Rebecca Hackley, and Jane S. Wells, each one half-section of land, to be located under the direction of the President of the United States. To John B. Richardville, one section of land upon the north side of the Wabash to include a large spring nearly opposite the mouth of Pipe

Creek. To François Godfroy, one section above and adjoining said last grant to John B. Richardville. To Louison Godfroy, one section above and adjoining the grant to François Godfroy. To Francis Lafontaine, one section above and adjoining the grant to François Godfroy. To John B. Richardville, junior, one section on the Wabash below and adjoining the Reservation running from the Wabash to Eel River. To Joseph Richardville, one section above and adjoining the Reservation running from the Wabash to Eel River. To La Gros, three sections where he now lives, and one section adjoining the Cranberry in the Portage Prairie. One quarter-section of land to each of the following persons, namely: Charles Gouin, Pierre Gouin, and Therese Gouin, to be located under the direction of the President of the United States. Two sections of land at the old town on Eel River, to be reserved for the use of Metchinequea [Chief Little Turtle].

The Delawares at Little Sandusky 3rd August, 1829, quitclaimed to the United States the reservation granted them 29th September, 1817, of three miles square adjoining the Wyandot Reservation along the Sandusky River, and engaged to remove west of the Mississippi to join those gone before to the James River, where their annuity was to be paid to them. Also the Delawares at St. Marys the same date made treaty supplementary to that of 3rd October, 1818, wherein they agreed to the removal to a reservation by James tributary of White River in Missouri.

The Senecas of the Sandusky River at Washington, 28th February, 1831, quitclaimed the reservations granted to them 29th September, 1817, at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids, and 17th September, 1818, at St. Marys, and engaged to remove west of the Mississippi. Also the Senecas and Shawnees mixed bands at Lewistown, Ohio, 20th July, 1831, being about three hundred in number, quitclaimed their reservations of above dates and agreed to remove to a Missouri Reservation of 60,000 acres of land. The United States were to pay all expenses attending the removal, and to build and equip sawing mill and blacksmith shop.

The Shawnees at Wapakoneta and by Hog Creek, the present Ottawa River, about four hundred in number quitclaimed their reservations 8th August, 1831, and agreed to remove to a reservation of 100,000 acres west of the Mississippi by those gone before. Among the valuable considerations were: Money advanced to build homes, presents of clothing, tools and agricultural implements, promises of a flouring mill, a sawing mill, a blacksmith shop with supplies and a blacksmith.

The Ottawas along the lower Maumee at Wolf Rapids and Roche de Bout, at Occonoxee Village the present Charloe by the Auglaise River, and those by the Blanchard River at the site of the present Village of Ottawa, with total number of about two hundred quitclaimed in Council at Maumee Bay 30th August, 1831, their claims based on the treaties of 1807 and 1817, and engaged to remove to a reservation of 40,000 acres west of the Mississippi, for the consideration of annuity, subsistence, presents of blankets, horses, guns, agricultural implements, tents, tools, etc. This relinquishment did not include 643 acres patented by the United States to Peter Manor (Manard) or 'Yellow Hair' situated on the left bank of the Maumee at Grand Rapids, part of which tract yet belongs to his descendants. Several conditions and provisions were also embraced in this relinquishment, viz: A three years' lease was granted Chief Wau-be-ga-ka-ke of a Section of land below and adjoining Peter Manor; also to Muck-qui-on-a or Bearskin one and a half Section below Wolf Rapids with use of the island there for no definite time. To Hiram Thebault a half-breed Ottawa a quarter section of land, 160 acres, to include his improvements at the Bear Rapids. Also to William M'Nabb a half-breed Ottawa a quarter section adjoining Thebaults. To the children of Yellow Hair or Peter Manor, one half section of land, 320 acres, to adjoin the north line of their father's section, the lines not to approach nearer than one mile to the Maumee. This treaty also provided for the payment of debts as follows:

> Article XVI. It is agreed by the chiefs of Blanchard River and Occonoxee Village, and the chiefs of *Roche de Bout* [see Chapter on the Maumee River] and Wolf Rapids, jointly that they are to pay out of the surplus proceeds of the several tracts herein ceded by them, equal proportions of the claims against them by John E. Hunt, John Hollister, Robert A. Forsythe. Payne C. Parker, Peter Minor, Theodore E. Phelps, Collister Haskins, and S. and P. Carlin. The chiefs acknowledged the claim of John E. Hunt to the amount of $5600; the claim of John Hollister for $5600; Robert A. Forsythe for $7524 in which are included the claims assigned by Isaac Hull, Samuel Vance, A. Peltier, Oscar White, and Antoine Lepoint. They also allow the claim of Payne C. Parker for $500; of Peter Minor for $1000; of Theodore E. Phelps for $300; of Collister Haskins for $50; of S. and P. Carlin for $398.25; of Joseph Laronger for $200; of Daniel Lakin for $70. [Notwithstanding these acknowledgments and allowances it was expressly understood and agreed by the respective parties that the items composing the several claims should be submitted to the strictest scrutiny and examination by the Secretary of War and the accounting officers of the Treasury Department, and such amount only be allowed as was found just and true.]
>
> Article XIX. The chiefs signing this convention also agree in addition to the claims allowed in the sixteenth article thereof, that they owe John Anderson $200 and Francis Lavoy $200.
>
> Article XX. It is agreed that there shall be allowed to Nau-ou-quai-que-zhick $100 out of the surplus fund accruing from the sales of the lands herein ceded, in consequence of his not owing any debts, and having his land sold to pay the debts of his brethren.*

These councils with the Aborigines to secure their quitclaim to lands were continued at every opportunity; with the Menomonis of Fox River at Washington 8th February, 1831; with the Wyandots of Big Spring, Crawford County, Ohio, at M'Cutcheonville 19th January, 1832; with the Pottawotamis of the Prairie 20th October, 1832, at Camp

---

* *Laws of the United States* volume viii, page 1099.

Tippecanoe, Indiana; with the Pottawotamis of Tippecanoe River 26th October, 1832; with the Tippecanoe River Pottawotamis of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan 27th October, 1832; with the western tribes of Delawares and Shawnees at Carter Hill near St. Louis, in 1832, to confirm former treaties in general and in particular.

Attention was also given to the preservation of the health of the Aborigines. May 5, 1832, Congress made it the duty of the several Agents to employ surgeons or physicians to 'vaccinate the Aborigines with genuine vaccine matter to be supplied by the Secretary of War.' For this purpose $12,000 was appropriated, on account of the former great sufferings of these people with smallpox. Doctor Oscar White of the Village of Maumee was employed for this purpose by James Jackson, the Agent then residing at Maumee, and in the year 1833 he vaccinated eight hundred Aborigines thereabout, the most of them being Ottawas.

The closing treaty with the Ottawas of the lower Maumee River and Maumee Bay, was held 8th February, 1833, by George B. Porter United States Commissioner, when they quitclaimed their lands granted at the treaties of 1807 and 1817, with the following exceptions:

ART. II. It is agreed that out of the lands hereby ceded, the following reservations shall be made; and that patents for each tract shall be granted by the United States to the individuals respectively, and their heirs, for the quantity hereby assigned to each, that is to say: a tract of 1520 acres shall be laid off at the mouth of the river, on the south side thereof, and to be so surveyed as to accommodate the following persons for whose use respectively, each tract hereinafter described is reserved, viz: 320 acres to Au-to-kee [Ottokee] a Chief, at the mouth of the river to include Presque Isle; 800 acres to Jacques, Robert, Peter, Antoine, Francis and Alexis Navarre, to include their present [1833] improvements; 160 acres for Way-say-on the son of Tush-qua-guan, to include his father's old cabin; the remaining 240 acres to be set off in the rear of these two sections; 80 acres thereof for Petau, and if practicable to include her cabin and field; 80 acres more thereof for Cheno a Chief, above or higher up the little creek, and the other 80 acres thereof for Joseph Le Cavalier Ranjard, deceased. Also the following tracts on the north side of said river: 160 acres to Wau-sa-on-o-quet a Chief, to include the improvement where he now lives on Pike Creek, and to front on the Bay; 80 acres for Leon Guoin and his children, adjoining the last and on the south side thereof; 160 acres for Aush-cush, and Ke-tuck-ee, Chiefs, to be laid off on the north side of Ottawa Creek fronting on the same, and above the place where the said Aush-cush now lives. One hundred and sixty acres for Robert A. Forsyth of Maumee, to be laid off on each side of the turnpike road where Halfway Creek crosses the same; and 160 acres fronting on the Maumee River to include the place where Ke-ne-wau-ba formerly resided; 160 acres for John E. Hunt, fronting on the said river immediately above and adjoining the last; and also 160 acres to adjoin the former tract on the turnpike road. The said tracts to be surveyed and set off under the direction of the President of the United States.

The said Au-to-kee, Wa-say-on, Pe-tau-che-no, Wau-sa-on-o-quet, Aush-cush, and Ke-tuck-kee, being Aborigines, the lands hereby reserved for them are not to be alienated without the approbation of the President of the United States.

The said Leon Guoin has resided for a long time among these Aborigines; has subsisted them when they would otherwise have suffered, and they are greatly attached to him. They request that the grant be to him and his present wife during their joint lives, and the life of the survivor, and to their children in fee.

The said Jacques, Robert, Peter, Antoine, Francis and Alexis Navarre have long resided among these Aborigines; intermarried with them, and been valuable friends.

The said Albert Ranjard, deceased, had purchased land of them previous to the late war [of 1812] upon which he had paid them $300 for which his family had never received any equivalent.

The reservations to the said Robert A. Forsyth and John E. Hunt being at the especial request of the said band, in consideration of their long residence among them, and the many acts of kindness they have extended to them.

Art. III. In consideration of which it is agreed that the United States shall pay to the said band of Aborigines the sum of twenty-nine thousand four hundred and forty dollars, to be, by direction of the said band, applied in extinguishment of their debts in manner following, that is to say: To John Hollister and Company seven thousand three hundred and sixty-five dollars which includes other claims, directed by the said Aborigines to be by him paid, amounting to thirteen hundred and ninety-five dollars as per schedule A, herewith; To John E. Hunt nine thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine dollars, which includes other claims directed by the said Aborigines to be by him paid, amounting to two thousand six hundred and seventy-five dollars and sixty-three cents, as per schedule B, herewith; To Robert A. Forsyth of Maumee ten thousand eight hundred and ninety dollars, which includes other claims directed by the said Aborigines to be by him paid, amounting to four thousand four hundred and ten dollars, as per schedule C herewith, [none of these schedules are on file, and could not be published]; to Louis Beaufit seven hundred dollars; to Pierre Menard four hundred dollars; to John King one hundred dollars; to Louis King fifty-six dollars.

Within six months after payment by the United States of the said consideration money, the said Aborigines agree to remove from all the lands herein ceded. And it is expressly understood that in the meantime no interruption shall be offered to the survey of the same by the United States.

And whereas the said Band have represented to the said Commisssoner that under the treaty, as interpreted by them, entered into with John B. Gardiner, Commissioner on the part of the United States, on the 30th day of August, 1831, [noted on page 414] for the cession of a part of their lands, there is due to them, jointly with that portion of the tribe that has emigrated, eighteen thousand dollars, and for which they have made no claim. Whenever this deficiency shall be paid, it is agreed that out of said fund there shall be paid to Joseph Leronger in full satisfaction of all his claim, four hundred dollars; and to Pierre Menard in like satisfaction sixteen hundred dollars; to Gabriel Godfroy, Junior, in like satisfaction two hundred dollars; to Waubee's daughter Nau-quesh-kum-o-qua fifty dollars; to Charles Leway or Nau-way-nes fifty dollars; to Doctor Horatio Conant two hundred dollars in full satisfaction of all claim; and to Joseph F. Marsac fifty dollars.

The final treaties for the removal, westward, of the Aborigines who had recently roamed at will along the Maumee River and elsewhere through this Basin, are as follows: with five bands of Pottawotamis in Indiana in 1834; also in 1836 with five bands; with Wyandots 23rd April, 1836, to reduce their claims; also with the Miamis at the junction of Little River with the Wabash 6th November, 1838, wherein they quitclaimed their former reservations, a few receiving smaller reservation grants, one being "to O-zah-shin-quah and the wife of Brouilette, daughters of the 'Deaf Man' [and his wife the near life-long

American captive Frances Slocum, see *ante* page 235] as tenants in common, one Section of land by the Mississinewa River [a tributary of the Wabash having origin in Ohio] to include the improvements where they now live;"* two treaties with the Miamis in 1838, and two sub-treaties; with the Pottawotamis of Hillsdale County and other parts of southern Michigan; with the Miamis of the Mississinewa; and with the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky 23rd April, 1842.

DESCENDANTS OF THE ABORIGINES, IN GENERAL AND IN PARTICULAR.

The study of mankind is the most interesting of studies, its interest being enhanced by the natural inheritance by man of elements which impel toward the development of civilization in the broadest and best sense—toward continual advancement in all things conducive to a higher, better estate.

From the history of peoples we learn that primitive man, or man at the beginning of written history, was in low estate in everything excepting bone, brawn and bravery; that some men held to their inward propelling forces for the betterment of their condition, and that their succeeding generations have struggled on against natural obstacles, the temptations to evil habits and the tendencies to reversions to barbarism and savagery that have beset the lives of all, and that have blasted the lives of the multitude in relatively decreasing numbers to the present time.

Man's development toward a better estate, even of the most progressive races, has been slow and tortuous, often impeded in the succeeding generations, sometimes wholly suppressed among most peoples and, at times, well nigh extinguished among all. It has been shown on preceding pages that great upheavals and depressions of the earth's surface in extensive regions, and extreme changes of climate from heat to cold, from snow to ice and to flood, have driven people widely from the native places of their ancestors, if they were not enveloped at once to their destruction. The survivors of different generations have been widely dispersed, both by the angry moods of nature and by their warring neighbors, and necessitated to adapt themselves to new and widely different retreats and conditions.

Yet, despite all these obstacles, some races continued to progress. They successfully bore the double burden of defending themselves against the warring and thieving habits of other tribes while accumulating material wealth and knowledge and contributing their portion to that development, material, mental, moral, and spiritual, which is the true destiny of triumphant mankind.

---

* *Laws of the United States*, volume ix, page 1521.

Different races have thus shown varying tendencies, and abilities, to evolve this destiny. The American Aborigines* north of north latitude 37° have been the lowest in the list for these tendencies. As found by Europeans they were the most savage of mankind, and there were no active influences at work for the betterment of their condition. There had been some advancement by the probable ancestors of some if not all of the tribes, the mound builders, who were somewhat fixed in their habitations and who partook to a degree of the stone and textile work of the more southwestern tribes, and from whom came the polished stone implements and weapons possessed, by inheritance and conquest, by the Aborigines wandering through this Basin when discovered by the French.

The mysteries enveloping the prehistoric period of the American Aborigines, the paradoxes, and the vagaries of their character including their religions, and their long-continued successes in savagery displayed in their historic period, have made these people fruitful subjects for all classes of writers; and from the nature of the subject as well as from the character of the writers, much of misapprehension and of fiction have been indited. Their general taciturn demeanor in the presence of strangers, generally due to their ignorance, diffidence or suspicion, has been ascribed to their possession of great wisdom. The poverty and uncertainty of their language conduced to the same result.† Their expressions on subjects other than those most common were so involved or indefinite that it was impossible to get exact interpretations of what they did say and of their meanings.* The impossibility of Europeans fully comprehending their meanings, led to inferences in their favor; and the suggestive catechisms by the former led to assents by the latter to what they imperfectly understood, if understood at all. Here was the opportunity of the 'able interpreter' and book compiler, who rose equal to the occasions of presuming the sentiments and of rounding out sentences in English that make the imputed author's speeches and myths equal to those of cultured intellects—whose products they really are. The sentiments as imputed to the Seneca chief Logan in 1774, which have been extensively imposed upon school children as an example of Aborigine eloquence, were first formulated by Simon Girty and then rewritten, amplified and embellished by the facile John Gibson† before they were recast for the school-reader.

---

* Christopher Columbus, when he landed on the Island of San Salvador, supposed he was in India; and he therefore called the natives Indians in his report. A few other navigators were likewise deceived; and their fabulous reports of the wealth and possibilities of the country for some length of time eclipsed the former reports of the real India. The term Indians, to designate the Aborigines of America, thus became common among the people of maritime nations. When the true nature of the Continent became known, the use of this misnomer should have been discontinued. It had entered into the language of commerce and of war, however, and the peoples engaged in these absorbing avocations cared more for ready common words than for accuracy. But it is astonishing that scientists — archæologists, ethnologists, anthropologists — have continued to perpetuate, parrot-like, this erroneous and very objectionable term! A few of them at Washington have even done worse by trying to engraft into our language the meaningless, bastard term Amerind, made up of the first two syllables of the word America, and the first syllable of Indian, necessitating an accompanying explanation. Nor are the terms red race or American race appropriate. Color is of relative and uncertain significance when applied to peoples; and it is quite well established that the American Aborigines are of the Mongolian race type. The theory of their coming to America by way of Bering Strait is the most plausible one, unless we conceive that they came before the present contour of the continents was established. The term Aborigines is sufficient designation with occasional addition of local and tribal names. See the article 'A Plea for Greater Simplicity, and Greater Accuracy, in the Writings of the Future Regarding the American Aborigines' in *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, volume xxiv, January-February, 1902, by Charles E. Slocum.

† The language of the average tribe was so indefinite and inexpressive that imperfect comprehensions of each other was the rule on all but the most common subjects; and communications in the dark or at a distance when gesticulations could not be seen, were impossible other than expressions of alarm, call, and greeting.

These Aborigines were wholly confined to the use of stone, stick, bone, and horn weapons and implements that could be readily gathered, until the coming of the Europeans. Metal knives and hatchets were traded to them for furs at New Amsterdam (now New York) as early as the year 1609; and it is probable that some European weapons were obtained from navigators previous to this date. Guns were supplied later, and slowly at first as the price was high. The Miamis had obtained but few guns up to the year 1670, but the tribes to the eastward and northward were earlier and more numerously supplied. With these European weapons the savages became more formidable foes; although where numbers were engaged in conflict at close range bows and arrows were more destructive than fusees or flint-lock muskets and pistols, then the only firearms. To the war-parties sent out by the British against the Americans, guns and other weapons of good service were freely furnished them. Although they were taught much of war by the French and British, they could not be brought to strict military tactics or to discipline; and they were prone to desert when most needed.

The bond of union between members of tribes, was not strong, although it generally required but little provocation for one member, or all, to enter upon the defense of another against those of other tribes or bands. The number of members of a tribe or band varied by desertions to and from as well as by captivities and deaths. Thus many small tribes and bands were being formed, and others extinguished. The authority of all chiefs was very limited at all times, and often nil. Individuals were not obliged to obey. They joined a proposed excursion only when it offered a probable increase of excitement, sensuous indulgence, or profit; and anyone, or all, would forsake the leader at will.

---

* Compare Count de Volney's *Views of the United States of America* in 1796, page 355.

† Compare Whittlesey's *Fugitive Essays* page 143; Brantz Mayer's *Logan and Cresap* and Butterfield's *History of the Girtys* page 29; and per contra, State Department MSS. Jefferson Papers 5-1, 4, wherein Gibson declared to John Anderson, trader, that his writing was a literal translation.

Very indifferent if any care was given to feeble children and to the decrepit of all ages; and they, with the sick who did not soon recover without care, or did not die from the barbarous demonstrations of the sorcerers, were often left alone to their fate — and in other mood, their dead were bewailed with much noise.

The shades of color, reddish or copper and darker, of the skin of these Aborigines were due largely to the juices, greases, paints, smoke, dirt, etc., to which their skins were constantly besmeared, and to the effects of the sun and weather. Many of those now conforming to civilized usages do not vary materially in color from the average American of like habits.*

It was the custom of the men to keep their faces smooth by plucking the beard as soon as it could be felt. This was universally the custom, fixed by habit, and was done by grasping each hair between thumb and finger and thus extracting it. A special appliance for prevention of growth of beard at one time reported, was found to be a pair of strong, close-joining mussel shells by which the beard could be more readily and uniformly extracted than by the thumb and finger.

Until their final subjugation by the United States, the Aborigines continued cannibals as when first seen by Europeans, although in deference to the European sentiment and larder the eating of human flesh was curtailed to times of great want and excitement. They ate some of their captives, and even their own people, on occasions of war, feast, and of famine. The hunting of game was their sport, and when game was plentiful they were generally satisfied with it as a food supply. Before the teachings, examples, and feedings of the Europeans, the choice of their meat (between that of game, their dogs† or human flesh) was apparently more from the desire for convenience, and a change, than from humane sentiment. In rare feasts, and particularly in times of triumph over their foes, human flesh continued to be preferred. This was witnessed at the lower Maumee River as late as May, 1813, even when the British larder was open to them.*

---

* See *ante* page 66; and Count de Volney's *Views of America* pages 353, 361.

† The dog was the only animal domesticated possessed by these Aborigines before the coming of Europeans with horses and ponies; and, then, for other than these, they had little or no desire further than for the ready supply of meat that the cattle afforded. The dogs possessed in this Basin by the Aborigines resembled the wolves here in color, muzzle, tail, and general characteristics, other than that they were about one-third shorter in limbs than the wolves. They did not bark, but howled and snapped like the wolves. They rendered good assistance in the capture of large game. They were sturdy and courageous, says Augustus Skiver the last and most successful of the wolf-hunters in Defiance County. These dogs became extinct here with the removal of the last of the Aborigines from this region in 1843. Charles Darwin in his book on the *Origin of Species* quotes James Pierce who wrote in *Silliman's Journal* that 'there were two varieties of wolf inhabiting the Catskill Mountains, New York — one with a light grey hound-like form which pursues deer, and the other more bulky with shorter legs, which more frequently attacks the shepherds' flocks.' Probably this last-mentioned wolf was more readily domesticated than the former, when caught young.

They were generally great gormandizers when food was plentiful. Even Little Turtle, one of the most circumspect of Aborigines, was addicted to this habit although he was temperate in the use of spirituous liquors. The British Agent, Sir William Johnson, dreaded the expense of feeding them during the necessary councils. He wrote 23rd October, 1768, that nine hundred and thirty had then arrived for the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (at the present Rome, New York) and others were continually arriving 'each of whom consumes daily more than two ordinary men amongst us, and would be extremely dissatisfied if stinted when convened for business'.† When game was scarce they ate wild beans, artichokes, currants, mulberries, lichens, inner bark and buds of trees, snakes, frogs, etc.; and the women gave more attention to cultivating maize, pumpkins, squashes and potatoes.

The cause of these Aborigines being void of civilization up to the time of the coming of Europeans has been attributed to the absence here of native animals, as the horse, cow, sheep, etc., which could be domesticated for their food and use.‡ That this theory is not sufficient we have but to refer for evidence to the great cities, temples, and a civilization found by the Spaniards in Mexico and Central America where there was the same dearth of animals for domestication; also to the fact that no civilizing effect was apparently produced on many of these people by the first two hundred years association with and use of these animals obtained from the French, the British, and the Americans.

It must be admitted that the early French and British, the *coureurs de bois*, soldiers, *voyageurs*, and traders, with whom the Aborigines came first into association, were far from being good exemplars of and for civilization. The French settlements were often composed of a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for their subsistence, for which they would exchange brandy and gew-gaws if any payment was given.§ These were evil times for both peoples. The gin of the Hollanders, the brandy of the French, and the rum of the British, formed the great incubus which modified in all cases, and wholly prevented in others, the efforts that have been exerted by missionaries and the United States for the civilization of these savage people. The Frence régime of over one hundred years in this Basin very freely mixed the blood, and fully engrafted the lowest vices of that Nation upon these people. Then followed the British who (during their great efforts continued in full force from 1760 to 1815* to appease and to ally these savages to their selfish interest of conquest alone) outdid the French in the debauchment of them by alcoholic beverages, and by the incitement of their savage instincts and habits to revel in the blood of the Americans.

---

* For statements regarding the cannibalism of the North American Aborigines see Index references to previous pages. Also *The American Pioneer* vol. i p. 50; Brice's *History of Fort Wayne* pages 121-123, 210; Dunn's History of Indiana pages 24, 25; Map, *ante* page 97; *New York Colonial Documents* vol. ix pages 338, 578, 598, 629, 644, etc.; *Documentary History of New York* vol. i page 238; *Journal of William Trent*; *The Jesuit Relations*; *Alexander Henry's Travels*; Rev. Isaac M'Coy's *History of Baptist Missions Among the Aborigines* page 314, where women did the carving and cooking as late as 1825; and Letters of Columbus describing his first and fourth voyages, New York 1892, pages 47, 227.

† London Document XLI, *New York Colonial Documents* volume viii, page 105.

‡ See Nathaniel S. Shaler's *The United States of America*, volume i, page 33.

§ See Francis Parkman's writings on the French and English in North America.

Surely the United States received an evil heritage in the vices of these European peoples thus for several generations thoroughly engrafted on and cultivated in the nature and habits of these savages! It would have been far better for the United States had these savages all been driven to their friends and allies, the British, in 1814 or before, there to remain! They had many times forfeited every right they ever possessed to American soil, according to the laws of nations as well as the rights of self-preservation of the several times conquering Americans. The great leniency, and magnanimity, of the United States Government was here nobly exemplified, as it has been on many other occasions.

Some of the characteristics of these people that were thus the results of changes wrought in them by association of succeeding generations with Hollanders, Frenchmen, and with the British, have been recorded as the Aboriginal characteristics. The mixture of the aboriginal with the results of these engraftings, and the continuance of the Aborigines in squalor and wretchedness, have given flight to the imaginations and activity to the pens of sentimentalists of all grades, and often with unjust reflections upon the United States Government. These savages lived altogether in their present, and from impulse. They had no family names. They knew nothing of their pedigree, nor of the story of the people who preceded them; but when the Europeans told them of their own Kings and something of the story of their country, some imaginative persons there were among them who by intimations and assents to suggestive questionings, left the impression with their interlocutors of fabulous characteristics among these simple people. The British sought to classify them, to apportion coats of arms to them, and in every way to magnify the importance of supposed or desired characteristics.* The French writers contributed much to the multiplication and confusion of the names of 'nations' tribes, and of the general nomenclature including the spellings, as they have generally been responsible for similar confusion throughout the world. They preferred to give a name that appeared to them as a characteristic, rather than to adopt the uncertain name used by the Aborigines. Thus they could discuss the various tribes before them without exciting offense by frequent reference to the names not understood by the savage listeners. Most of the names listed by the early writers as separate 'nations' and tribes, have been discontinued in accordance with the later tendency to simplify and elucidate the subject. Thus from the first of their history there has been much of misapprehension regarding the Aborigines and their descendants, derived from misstatements of those who wrote of them and of their alleged works. Even the earliest pictures of them, of their towns and forts (those of DeBry, Hariot, Champlain, and LaHontan) give a glamour of size, symmetry and construction quite unlike those of later authentic accounts which show very primitive tipis and huts made of poles and bark that the women could readily gather and put together in any timbered region. These were, at most, occasionally reinforced by skins of wild animals or mats of grass. Such huts were but little improved upon during two hundred years association with the Europeans with their metal cutting tools and later sawing mills—see *ante* pages 368 and 398.

---

* As late as July, 1832, the British attracted to Amherstburg, Canada, one of the largest gatherings of Aborigines ever recorded on the American Continent. They were then again gathered by them from all parts of the United States, even the Flatheads of the extreme west. This gathering, and the great flow of intoxicants, spoiled the work of the American missionaries at the near-by station. See Rev. Elnathan C. Gavitt's *Grumbs from my Saddle Bags* page 165.

Tribes that were more widely separated, and that had less communication with each other, varied most in their speech; and the variation was so marked with some as to indicate several generations of wide separation. Those tribes having nearest the same speech are accepted as of the same linguistic stock, though many of them may have been captives from widely distributed tribes among whom the speech varied most. Only those who were most frequently known in this Basin—of the Algonkins and Iroquois—will be here described, although other distant tribes of these and of the Muskoki, Panis and Dakota stocks often passed through this region.

THE ALGONKIN LINGUISTIC STOCK.

The Algonkins have been taken as typical specimens of the Aborigines of the northeastern part of North America. The tribes of this stock which have been prominent in this Basin were the Chippewas, Lenapes or Delawares, Illinois and allied bands, Miamis and allied bands, Menomonis, Ottawas, Pottawotamis and Shawnees.

---

* See *Documentary History of New York* volume ii, pages 3 to 11. Baron La Hontan did the same at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and he is responsible for much of the misinformation regarding these people — see his *Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ou la suite des Voyages*, 1703.

Chippewas. Ojibwa was recorded by the French as the tribal name of the ancestors of the present Chippewas, many of whom yet dwell at the sites of the homes of their ancestors in northern Minnesota, northern Michigan and in Ontario, on the left bank of the River and Lake St. Clair. The French also called them Sauteurs from their lingering near the *Saut Sainte Marie.* These savages freely indulged their appetite for human flesh after their capture of the British garrison of Fort Michilimackinac during Pontiac's War in 1763.* They were often and numerously through this Basin. In 1764 a few of these people by the lower Maumee so pleased the British Captain Thomas Morris that he thought them the most pleasing entertainers he had met. In 1822 they were yet a numerous tribe viz: 5669 dwelt by Saginaw Bay, River and vicinity in Michigan; 8335 from Mackinaw westward to the Mississippi in nineteen settlements; 1600 with Ottawas along Green Bay and west side of Lake Michigan; and 500 with Pottawotamies in Indiana.†

The Illinois (name also written Aliniouck, Ilinoucs'Irini, Irinions, Illinese, etc.) tribes embraced the Kahokia, Moingona, Peoria, Kaskaskia, and Tamaroas bands. They were formerly also allied with the Miamis. They were at war with the Five Nations (Iroquois) of New York, sometimes meeting them with the Miamis at the Maumee River. Later, they suffered severe reverses and depletion along the Illinois River by these enemies. Later they were nearly destroyed by the Sacs and Foxes. In 1822 only thirty-six Kaskaskias remained in Illinois, the others had removed west of the Mississippi. In 1854 the Peorias, Kaskaskias, Piankishaws, and Weas were confederated. They are now less than two hundred in number, reside in the Indian Territory, wear the clothing of civilized people, and are prospering.

The Lenapes, Lenni Lenapes or Delawares, were found early in the seventeenth century by the large 'South River' which, after the appearance there in the year 1610 of Lord de la Warre as Governor of Virginia, received his name which has latterly been written Delaware. This name was also applied to these Aborigines. This was the principal tribe from whom William Penn purchased lands in 1682. As with other tribes they were divided, and with different names. The main divisions at one time were called the Unami or Turtle, the Unalachigo or Turkey, and the Minsi, Ministi Munseyi, or Wolf tribe. The French had little knowledge of them while east of the Allegheny Mountains, but called them all Loups or Wolves, and confounded them with the Mohicans of the Hudson River between whom there was formerly much of intercourse and relationship. They were subjugated by the Five Nations of New York and greatly humiliated, being called by them the Saginaga and the Squaw Nation.

---

* Alexander Henry's *Travels*, New York, 1809. Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac* volume i, page 357.

† See *Report of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* 1885, Part II pages 885, 886.

Leaving the Delaware River, probably from compulsion, they came westward. Part of the tribe came to Ohio in the year 1724.* The United Brethren Missionaries (Moravians) did a good work with part of the tribe which had headquarters in eastern Pennsylvania and later by the Tuscarawas River a tributary of the Muskingum in Ohio. The missionaries' band was suspected by the British of favoring the French. They were frequently visited by the hostile savages of their tribe and other tribes and, during the Revolutionary War, they were suspected by the Americans of being friends of the British, and even accused of aiding the marauding savages—see *ante* pages 134, 146. The Delawares early became separated and scattered. Some of the more warlike dwelt with the Miamis for a time, perhaps permanently. One band can be traced in western Ohio and in Indiana in the reports on previous pages of hostilities against Americans, and in treaties of friendship and purchase of their claims to land. By their early legends they gained the title among many tribes of being the most direct descendants known of the most ancient people, which idea has been since exploited by some writers. The Miamis, Shawnees, and other chiefs when in peace councils (as at Greenville in 1795) referred to them on this account as their grandfathers. Their great warchief in the battles with Americans in and near this Basin, in the last part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth, bore the name Buckongehelas. The names of other chiefs are also appended to the Treaty at Greenville; and others appear on different pages of this book—see Index. Captain Pipe was principal in authority among the Delawares of northern Ohio for many years, dating from 1783. He was much addicted to the use of intoxicants, and had a general following of his people in this habit. In 1822 eighty Delawares were reported dwelling near Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and 1700 mixed with Munsees 'Moheakunnunks' and 'Nanticokes' dwelling near the Mississinewa and White Rivers, Indiana.

Miamis. It is probable that the first Europeans who visited the Maumee River, and the southern part of Lake Michigan, met members of the Miami tribe or nation. Champlain, early in the seventeenth century, mentioned *Les Gens de Feu* the people of or near fire southwest of Lake Erie—see map *ante* page 75. Later writings mention the Mascoutens or prairie tribes. These terms probably referred to the bands of Miamis which roamed over the prairies and were each year liable to be injured by prairie fires. In the years 1657-58 it was written of the Miamis that the Oumamick Nation has fully eight thousand men, or more than twenty-four thousand souls.* This estimated number was probably intended only for those about Lake Michigan, and was, perhaps, too high. Charlevoix wrote that in 1671 the Miamis were divided into three villages—one by the River St. Joseph [probably of Lake Michigan] the second by another river which bears their name [*Rivière des Miamis*, the Maumee] and runs into Lake Erie, and the third upon the Oubache [Wabash] which runs into the Mississippi. Those of Lake Michigan in after years passed to the other Miami villages, or united with other bands or tribes. Those at or near the present City of Lafayette, probably mixed with the Kickapoos, were early named by the French Ouiotenons (which name was abbreviated to Ouis, and later spelled Weas by the British); those by the Wabash and Vermillion Rivers were called Piankeshaws; those by the Eel River received this river's name; and those at the head of the Maumee retained the name Miamis which name also generally applied to all the other bands when assembled, excepting for treaty when they desired to be designated separately that the presents and annuities might be increased. As early as the year 1687 the British called the Miamis Twightwighs, Twigtwies, etc. In 1721 those by or near the Maumee River numbered two thousand.† Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, mentions the Miamis as the most powerful confederacy in the West, and this was probably true during the closer alliance with the Illinois, Pottawotamis and perhaps other tribes. A French traveler in 1718 writes of the Miamis at the head of the Maumee River as follows:

---

* *Documentary History of New York* volume ii, page 585.

> The Miamis are sixty leagues from Lake Erie, and number 400, all well formed men, and well tattooed; the women are numerous. They are hard working, and raise a species of Maize unlike that of our Aborigines at Detroit. It is white, of the same size as the other, the skin much finer and the meal much whiter. This Nation is clad in deer skin, and when a married woman goes with another man, her husband cuts off her nose and does not see her any more. This is the only Nation that has such a custom. They love plays and dances, wherefore they have more occupation. The women are well clothed, but the men use scarcely any covering and are tattooed all over the body.‡

The Miamis, like all other tribes, were very superstitious, exceedingly so when an active sorcerer was near. Captain Thomas Morris wrote in 1764 that they carried their god along the Maumee in a bag which was hung in front of their encampment, and was visited by none but the sorcerer; if any other person presumed to advance between the front of the encampment and that spirit in the bag, he was put to

---

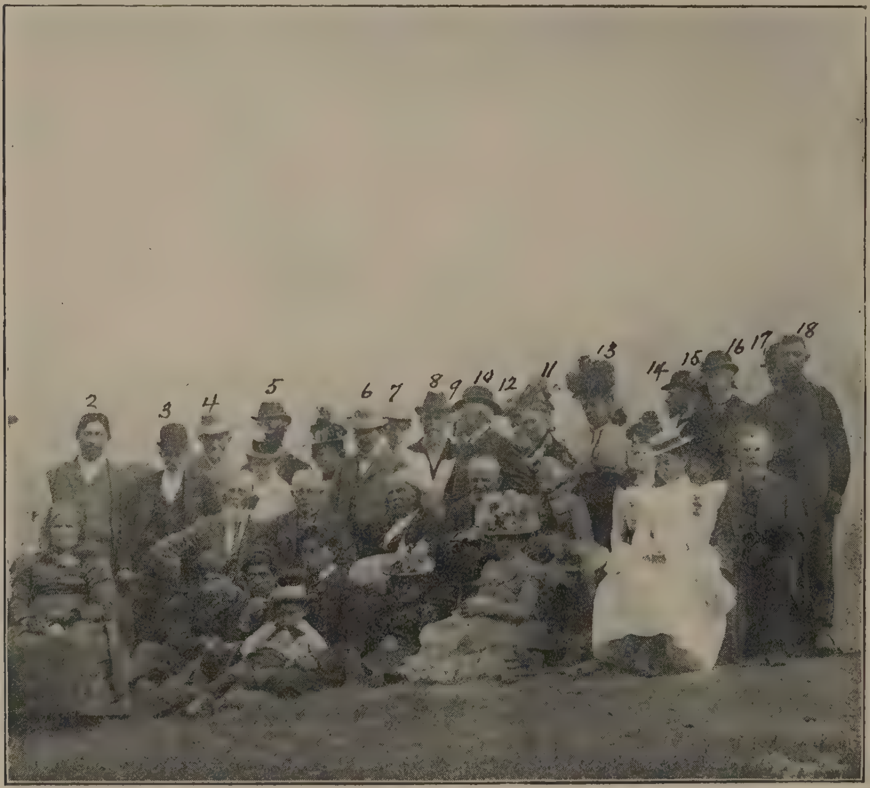
*The *Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland ed. vol. xliv, page 247. *New York Col. Docs.* vol. ix, page 891.

† London Document xxii, *New York Colonial Documents* volume v, page 622.

‡ Paris Document VII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume ix, page 891.

death—which is probably an extreme statement. Their offerings of tobacco, made by every individual each morning, were ranged in good order on long slips of bark on shore and on rocks in the river.

The remnants of the Miami bands were mostly gathered around Fort Wayne and along the Wabash River and its tributaries after the War of 1812; and treaties after this date established numerous reservations for them as described on previous pages. General Harrison, in a letter to the Secretary of War in March, 1814, after their later debauchment by the British during the War of 1812, wrote that they were a 'poor, miserable, drunken set, diminishing every year. Becoming too lazy to hunt, they feel the advantage of their annuity' . . It was



Miami Aborigine Descendants at Reserve, Indiana, 17th May, 1900, interspersed with people of Caucasian blood; at the Unveiling of the Monument to the memory of Frances Slocum who was a Captive with the Aborigines nearly all her life.* These Miamis are distinguished as follows: Seated at the left, Mrs. William Peconga, who cannot speak English; the two old men with long hair William and Gabriel Godfroy; the younger men and boys seated on the ground; the two girls and young woman between them seated on the ground, also the one in white in chair; and men numbered 2 and 18, standing.

---

* See *History of the Slocums of America*, by Charles E. Slocum, volumes i and ii.

impossible for the American Government to fully prevent the clandestine sale of intoxicants to them as well as to the other tribes. They frequented the rapidly growing towns with their annuity money and would seek strong drink. The Government endeavored to protect them in every way; but it was impossible. It was estimated that fully five hundred deaths resulted among the Miamis from murders and accidents resulting from the use of intoxicating drinks between the years 1813 and 1830.* The number of Miamis in 1822 with Wea and Eel River bands, is given in the United States report as fourteen hundred.

Companion View to that on opposite page, the Miami Aborigine Descendants being the man numbered 20 who, with his companions in opposite engraving, was in working attire for the purpose of caring for the hundreds of horses of the visitors outside the views; the young woman and her son seated on the ground who, with the young woman in white and their cousin in white in opposite view, are great grand-daughters of the Captive — the two in white being chosen to unveil the Monument.

The treaty of 1840 provided for the removal to western reservation of all the Miamis excepting the families of Chief Richardville (Pe-she-wah) living a few miles south of Fort Wayne, of Chiefs Godfroy and

---

* See Count de Volney's *Views of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1804, page 354

Meshingomesia, both living near the Mississinewa River, and the brothers of the last named who were permitted to live on their brothers' reservations. The removal of the others was not effected until 1846, and then it was necessary to send soldiers to gather them at Peru, Indiana, where about five hundred wretched creatures were put aboard canal boats and brought through Fort Wayne to Junction, Ohio, and thence by Miami and Erie Canal were taken to Cincinnati. During their stop in this city, awaiting a steamboat down the Ohio River, the scenes of their intoxication from liquors sold them by conscienceless grogdealers, were disgusting and painful to the beholders.

In the year 1854 delegations of the Miamis remaining in Indiana and of those removed beyond the Mississippi, visited Washington where another treaty was made in which the United States agreed to pay the Indiana Miamis $221,257.86 at the expiration of twenty-five years in lieu of the permanent annuity named in former treaty; and to pay five per centum interest annually on this sum, instead of the former annuity, until the principal became due and was paid. At the date of this treaty, 1854, the Miamis remaining in Indiana numbered 302. At the date of the final payment of the $221,257.86 at Wabash in 1881, there were of all ages 318 to receive the money. They were then situated as follows: eighty dwelt on the Godfroy Reservation by the Mississinewa River a few miles above Peru; sixty on the Meshingomesia Reservation in Wabash and Grant Counties; fifteen at Lafayette; twenty in Huntington County; thirty in the vicinity of Fort Wayne; one family at Napoleon, Henry County, Ohio; forty in Kansas and Indian Territory; and the others were scattered in the States of Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota. Fully one-half of the whole number were at this time minors. With this final payment by the United States, these Miamis assumed all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of citizenship. All tribal authority and relations ceased with this change. Before this date, 1881, their reservations had been free from taxation, encumbrance, and sale. These reservations were subdivided in the year 1873, and the head of each family was allotted a tract in size according to the number in his family. The farms of many of the Miamis remaining in Indiana were later mortgaged to secure debts contracted since they were given control, and some farms have been sold by the Sheriff to satisfy these debts. Intemperate use of intoxicating beverages have ruined many. Want of energy and want of good management have characterized the most of them. They have clothed themselves in the current styles of citizens; and their children have attended the public schools to a limited extent. A few of the oldest people have not learned the English language. The members of the Godfroy and Richardville bands near Fort Wayne average little if any more thrifty or worthy than those nearer the central parts of Indiana; in fact those of the Meshingomesia band have been rated as the best types of the tribe in general. Over fifty treaties are recorded as having occurred between the United States and the Miamis between the years 1795 and 1854, most of which were of minor significance.

There is so much of uncertainty regarding the parentage of the early Aborigine sachems and chiefs, and so much confusion regarding those of the many bands as to their duties, powers, and the influence they exerted, that it is impossible to sift and gather from the great mass of conflicting writings even the modicum of truth they may contain. Brief mention of those Miamis who were more prominent, and of some of their possible characteristics, will give sufficient glimpses of them, and of their people in this connection, viz: Osandiah was the principal chief, possibly from near the middle of the eighteenth century. He was invited to a conference with President Washington who gave him presents, including a writing on parchment to insure him a good reception if brought back at any time. These presents of more durable character were given to the Pottawatomis on account of the continued jealousy and ill-will manifested by the Miami bands against the band that possessed them. A-taw-a-taw succeeded his father Osandiah (?) and he was succeeded in the chieftaincy by his son Met-o-sin-yah, as the legend runs, during whose time his band, that had been living at Pickawillany or old Piqua, returned to Indiana southwest of Fort Wayne.

The great war chief Aque-nah-que (spelled Kequenackqua *ante* page 94) who flourished early in the eighteenth century, had a son called Little Turtle by the British and Americans, who was a leading war chief and for many years had considerable influence, which rapidly waned at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Little Turtle could not wear clothing at home of the style of Americans, or keep cows and other profitable domestic animals on account of the bigotry of his tribe, members of which would poison or otherwise kill them. He lamented the inebriety of his people and tried to curtail it, but without appreciable effect. Evidently he was a rare, good character among his kind.* Probably the influence of Captain William Wells, and the annuities of the United States, had much to do with his later docility.

Jean Baptiste Richardville or Pe-she-wah was the Miami National Chief from the year 1812 until his death in 1841. He was a French half-breed and always lived with the Miamis. He was selfish, secretive and superstitious. He had six children. His son Joseph, Wah-pe-mun-wah the fighter, received some education in a Roman Catholic

---

*Compare Count de Volney's opinion of Little Turtle, in his *Views of the United States*, page 357.

school at Detroit, and gave some attention to playing the violin and flute. He early became intemperate in the use of intoxicating drinks and was generally considered worthless, which his father attributed to the schools of the white people and he therefore became more antagonistic to them. His other children were John Baptiste or Shap-peen-e-mau and three daughters. All these children died previous to 1841 excepting Catherine or Pe-con-go-quah, who married To-pe-ah or Francis LaFontaine a French half-breed who succeeded her father in 1841 as National Chief, he being the last of such officers.

Of the village chiefs, Le Gros or Ma-che-ke-le-tah has been confounded with Le Gris or Na-goh-quan-gogh who signed the Treaty at Greenville in 1795—see *ante* page 232. The present Lagro a station on the Wabash Railway southwest of Fort Wayne was named from him. He was among the number for whom the United States built brick dwellings, his being near the present Lagro, Indiana, where he died in 1831. Chief Little Turtle's brick house was by Eel River a little north of west from Fort Wayne; and Chief Richardville's a few miles south of Fort Wayne. The village chief Big Majenica was a man of strong characteristics, and managed to have his way with all persons through their fear of him. Osash, a war chief, is described by Samuel M'Clure a trader with these people, as a mild-mannered man of small stature who wore a broad-brimmed hat, thus presenting much the appearance of the Quakers who had a mission station by the Little River in 1804. He died about the year 1830, when Frank Godfroy or Pol-oz-wah was chosen the village chief, which office then became but a mere name. One of the more thoughtful of the Ottawas along the Maumee River gave the meaning 'mother' to the name Miami (Me-au-me). This was probably due to the tradition that the Miamis were formerly a numerous people which separated from time to time to form different tribes and bands.

ME-SHE-CON-O-QUAH

(Little Turtle) war chief of the Miamis.

He led the savages at the defeats of Generals Harmar and St. Clair. Born about 1747 by the Eel River, Indiana, of a Miami father and a Mohican mother. He remained friendly to the Americans after the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. Died July 14, 1812, at Fort Wayne.

Menomonis. The Menomonis were called *Les Mangeurs de Avoine* or Oat Eaters by the French from their liberal use of the wild oats and rice growing in the Rice Lake region west of Lake Superior. They were much at war. They aided the French against the British and, later, aided the British against the Americans. After the massacre of Colonel Dudley and many of his regiment at the Siege of Fort Meigs, warriors of this tribe were prominent in feasting on the flesh of their victims. (See *ante* page 331). Their number in 1822 was reported as 270 by the Illinois River and 3900 in Wisconsin. Their present number is less than two thousand, largely gathered on a reservation near Shawano, Wisconsin.

Ottawas. Ottawa, Outaouack, and various other spellings by the early French, signified the nation or tribe with holes in the nose in or suspended from which were worn as ornaments little stones or bright objects. They incurred the displeasure of the Five Nations (Iroquois) and were driven by them from the northern shore of Lake Michigan in 1650. They met the opposition of the Dacotas in the upper Mississippi region and returned to Mackinaw. Many of them wandered again into this Basin and aided Pontiac in his conspiracy against the British. After his defeat in 1764 they became more sedentary, and with the good offices of the French and English were permitted by the Iroquois to remain along the Maumee and its tributaries. Their number here in 1806 has been written as eight thousand,* which is probably far too high an estimate. Their principal village by the lower Maumee was at one time on the right bank near Maumee Bay. Tradition states that this village existed from the days of Pontiac, and that one of his sons was head chief. Also, that Pontiac's widow (?) called Kan-tuck-e-gun, and his son Otussa, dwelt in this village in 1806. Peter Navarre was authority for much of this information and he stated that Otussa was a man of good sense, free from the vices of many of his neighbors. Mesh-ke-mau, chief of a village on the left bank of the Maumee near its mouth, had the reputation of being the best orator of the Ottawas as he was foremost on all public occasions (see *ante* page 375). According to legend he was a nephew of Pontiac. A-be-e-wah a young chief won the highest regard of Peter Navarre who thought he was the most talented of his tribe. He died about the year 1810, presumably poisoned as was often asserted by the superstitious Aborigines about sudden deaths.

Once a year these Ottawas had a feast and something of an apparent sacrifice, with some ceremonies including the burning of food they could not eat. A few days before this feast they would blacken their faces and eat only in the afternoon. They all assembled and built a long, low, rude shanty in which the main feast occurred. This feast was attended by much of irregular and meaningless talk and gestures

---

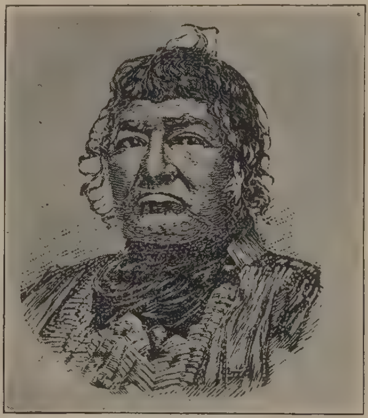
*Hosmer's *Early History of the Maumee Valley.*

which were dignified by Hosmer with the name religious ceremony. In common with all tribes, feasting, or rather gluttony, was of common occurrence when food was plentiful and their much abused stomachs would admit of it. They were passionately fond of gaudy attire and ornaments, and much of the money received from the Government and from the sale of peltries was expended in this way; also much was expended for spirituous liquors. Dancing was common in the early stage of their feasts, and was varied somewhat according to the occasion. Their Ki-ah-wah dance indicated their desire or expectation of war, and was much practiced during the incitements of the Prophet and his brother Tecumseh and the visits of the British in 1810 and 1811, preparatory to the War of 1812. The Ottawas were induced to join the British and, in common with the other tribes thus seduced, they were greatly reduced in number during the War of 1812. The United States report for 1822 places their number as one hundred and seven by the Auglaise River; forty-five north of Wapakoneta; sixty-four twelve miles west of Fort Defiance; fifty-six at Roche de Bout; one hundred and fifty not stationary about Maumee Bay; 2873 along the east shore of Lake Michigan in eleven villages; and a number with the Chippewas south of Lake Superior. Those who returned to the Maumee and its tributaries, and were here in 1833, were removed to Kansas according to treaty (see *ante* page 414). Of those who remained in Michigan, some were removed to Kansas from Grand Traverse Bay in 1836, and the descendants of others remain with the Chippewas. For mention of prominent Ottawas see index reference to Pontiac, Charloe, Peter Manor, Occonoxee, and the various treaties.

Pottawotamis. The name of this tribe was also variously spelled by the French who also abbreviated it to Poux. They were also combatted by the Five Nations, and they wandered much. They were in the region of Lake Michigan early in their historical period, but soon came southeastward. The United States report for 1822 numbered 166 as dwelling by the Huron River, Michigan, and 3400 scattered in villages around the southern shore of Lake Michigan and southeastward in Indiana. They wandered eastward again in Indiana and Michigan. Those in Hillsdale County, Michigan, and vicinity were removed in the year 1840 to Council Bluffs, Iowa, and thence were transferred about the year 1850 to a reservation thirty miles square by the Kansas River seventy-five miles west of its mouth. Here the Prairie band remain, the others having removed thence to the Indian Territory. In 1867 some of them accepted the terms of the United States Government, became citizens, and received patents for the land where they live.

Metea was frequently mentioned as their chief during the War of 1812, part of the time friendly to the United States. One writer, without giving his authority, mentions the breaking of Metea's arm by a shot fired by Major Mann when his tribe and others attempted an ambuscade of American troops five miles southeast of Fort Wayne while on their way to succor the besieged Fort, and that the fractured bones did not unite thus leaving his arm useless. The chief villages of the Pottawotamis during Metea's time were on the north bank of Cedar Creek in Allen County, Indiana, and on the north (right) bank of the River St. Joseph about seven miles north of Fort Wayne. Metea had the usual reputation of the savages as being a good orator and warrior. He was a prominent speaker at the Chicago Council in 1821.* One writing portrays him as 'brave, generous, and intelligent.' In June, 1825, he was mentioned as a 'worthless drunken Pottawotami' by Major Long of the United States Army who, with his escort, was sent by the Government to ascertain the condition of the Aborigines, and 'entered the Aborigine country in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne about the last of May.'† Metea died in 1827 at Fort Wayne.

ME-TE-A
A Pottawotami Chief. Died about 1827 at Fort Wayne.



SHABONEE or CHAMBLEE
A Pottawotami Chief. Born near the Maumee River about 1775.

Shabonee or Chamblee was presumably born in Ohio by the Maumee River, about the year 1775 of an Ottawa father. The late Gurdon S. Hubbard of Chicago said of him: 'He was, I thought, the best looking man I had ever seen. He was fully six feet in height,

---

*This speech is printed in Samuel G. Drake's *The Aboriginal Races of North America* pages 635, 636.

† See Report of Major Long's Expedition; also the *North American Review* for January, 1826, No. 50, for very interesting 'Remarks on the Condition, Character, and Languages of the North American Aborigines, including criticisms of the book of John D. Hunter of 1823, and book of John Halkett of 1825.'

well proportioned, and with a countenance expressive of intelligence, firmness and kindness. He was one of Tecumseh's aids at the Battle of the Thames, being at his side when Tecumseh was shot. Becoming disgusted with the conduct of Proctor, he, with Billy Caldwell the Sauganash, withdrew their support from the British and espoused the cause of the Americans.'*

Winnemac or Wennemeg the Catfish is mentioned on preceding pages (see index). The name of the later head chief Baw Beese is perpetuated in the name of the lake adjoining the City of Hillsdale, Michigan. A reputed half-brother Bawbee was a subchief. The last principal chief of the Prairie Pottawotamis was Waubanse or Wauponsi.

Shawnees. The name of this tribe was formerly written Chaouanons, etc., by the French, and Shawonese, etc., by the British and Americans. They were among the greatest wanderers. Many of their wanderings in historic times even, are obscure to the historian. In the year 1724 they came from Pennsylvania into Ohio; and probably they had ranged through this region before.† The Kickapoos were an offshoot from this tribe.

Of their chiefs, the name of Wapakoneta is perpetuated in the name of the village embracing the present seat of Government of Auglaise County, Ohio, which region was the headquarters of the Shawnees from about the year 1782. The name of chief Pu-she-ta is also perpetuated as the name of a township and creek in this county. Black Hoof or Cot-a-he-cah-sa was present at the defeat of Colonel Braddock's army in 1755, and in all the wars in Ohio subsequently until the treaty at Greenville in 1795. 'His cunning, sagacity and experience were only equalled by the fierce and desperate bravery with which he carried into operation his military plans.' . . He was formerly a great orator among his people. Colonel John Johnston described him as the most graceful Aborigine he ever saw. He was small in stature, not over five feet and eight inches, and of cheerful disposition. He died at Wapakoneta in the year 1831 at the supposed age of one hundred and ten years. His funeral was largely attended by the Shawnees who, with disheveled hair and clothing, marched in solemn procession (in which neither child nor dog was permitted) to the shallow grave. The bottom of the grave was covered with puncheons, the body placed thereon clad in the clothing worn in health, and a puncheon placed on it. Some seeds were then scattered around by one man, and then in single file they returned to the wigwam, leaving three persons to throw a little dirt by the sides of the remains. A feast was then partaken of, consisting of only wild animal meats and bread—twenty deer, a number of turkeys, and some smaller animals—all placed in one pile from which each person partook at will. 'It was a most quiet and orderly funeral.'*

---

* See *The American Aborigine*, by Elijah M. Haines, page 591. It was the habit of the savages to get away quick when the tide of battle turned against them, as they did when Tecumseh was shot; and they turned to the sympathy of the Americans from necessity as usual in other cases.

† See *The Shawnees in Pre-Columbian Times* by Cyrus Thomas 8vo 88 pages, Washington, 1891,

The index to this volume refers to mentions of Captain Anthony Shane (Chesne) a halfbreed French-Shawnee who did much harm to Americans previous to the Treaty of 1795, and much good to them subsequently; also to Tecumseh and 'the Prophet'; to Captain John Logan or Spemicah Lawbah a good friend to the Americans, who was born by the Mad River, Ohio, about the year 1788.

The great War-Chief Blue Jacket or Way-a-pier-sen-wah assisted Little Turtle of the Miamis against Generals Harmar and St. Clair's armies, and led the combined savages against General Wayne's army in the Battle of Fallen Timber. The American captive Oliver M. Spencer, with his captor's mother, visited Chief Blue Jacket, 21st July, 1792, at his village on the north bank of the Maumee one mile and a quarter below the Court House of the present City of Defiance, Ohio. He afterward wrote of his visit, and of the noted Chief and his visitors, as follows:

> We were kindly received by Waw-paw-waw-quaw [his captor] whose wife, a very pleasant and rather pretty woman of twenty-five, according to custom set before us some refreshment consisting of dried green corn boiled with beans and dried pumpkins making, as I thought, a very excellent dish. After spending a few hours with this family, we went to pay our respects to the village chief, the celebrated Blue Jacket. This chief was the most noble in appearance of any Aborigine I ever saw. His person, about six feet high, was finely proportioned, stout and muscular; his eyes large, bright and piercing; his forehead high and broad; his nose aquiline; his mouth rather wide; his countenance open and intelligent, expressive of firmness and decision. He was considered one of the most brave and accomplished of the Aborigine chiefs, second only to Little Turtle and Buck-on-ge-ha-la, having signalized himself on many occasions, particularly in the defeats of Colonel Hardin and General St. Clair. He held (I was told) the commission, and received the half pay, of a brigadier general from the British crown [see *ante* page 238]. On this day, while receiving a visit from the Snake, chief of a neighboring Shawnee village, and from Simon Girty, he was dressed in a scarlet frock coat, richly laced with gold and confined around his waist with a parti-colored sash, and in red leggings and moccasins ornamented in the highest style of Aborigine fashion. On his shoulders he wore a pair of gold epaulettes and on his arms broad silver bracelets, while from his neck hung a massive silver gorget and a medallion of his majesty George III. Around his lodge were hung rifles, war clubs, bows and arrows, and other implements of war; while the skins of deer, bear, panther, and otter, spoils of the chase, furnished pouches for tobacco, and mats for seats and beds. His wife was a remarkably fine looking woman. His daughters, much fairer than the generality of Aborigine women, were quite handsome; and his two sons, about eighteen and twenty years old, educated by the British, were intelligent.

---

* Here again was seen the influence of the teachings of the Society of Friends. See *History of the Shawnee Aborigines From the Year 1681 to 1854 Inclusive*, by Henry Harvey, Cincinnati, 1855.

One of the visitors of Blue Jacket (the Snake) was a plain, grave chief of sage appearance. The other visitor was Simon Girty. Whether it was from prejudice associating with his look the fact that he was a renegade, the murderer of his own countrymen, racking his diabolic invention to inflict new and more excruciating tortures, or not, his dark shaggy hair; his low forehead; his brows contracted and meeting above his short flat nose; his gray sunken eyes averting the ingenuous gaze; his lips thin and compressed; and the dark sinister expression of his countenance, to me seemed the very picture of a villian. He wore the Aborigine costume without ornament. His silk handkerchief supplied the place of hat, and hid an unsightly scar on his forehead.*

The United States Census of Shawnees for 1822 gives five hundred and fifty-nine as dwelling at Wapakoneta; seventy-two at Hog Creek (now Ottawa River) ten miles north of Wapakoneta; and one hundred sixty-nine at Lewiston. They were finally started in removal for their western reservation in September, 1832. David Robb, who had a long-time experience with this tribe and was one of the agents for their removal, wrote that intemperance prevailed among them; that they, in common with all the tribes, were firm believers in witchcraft — see *ante* page 393. There were many delays in their starting on their long journey. He continues:

. . After we had rendezvoused preparatory to moving, we were detained several weeks waiting until they had got over their tedious round of religious [?] ceremonies, some of which were public and others kept private from us. One of their first acts was to take away the fencing from the graves of their fathers, level them to the surrounding surface, and cover them so neatly with green sod, that not a trace of the graves could be seen. Subsequently a few of the chiefs and others visited their friends at a distance, gave and received presents from chiefs of other nations at their headquarters. Among the ceremonies above alluded to was a dance in which none participated but the warriors. They threw off all their clothing but their breechclouts, painted their faces and naked bodies in a fantastical manner, covering them with the pictures of snakes and disagreeable insects and animals, and then, armed with war clubs, commenced dancing, yelling and frightfully distorting their countenances. The scene was truly terrifying. This was followed by the dance they usually have on returning from a victorious battle, in which both sexes participated. It was a pleasing contrast to the other, was performed in the night in a ring around a large fire. In this they sang and marched, males and females promiscuously in single file around the blaze. The leader of the band commenced singing while all the rest were silent until he had sung a certain number of words, then the next in the row commenced with the same and the leader began with a new set, and so on to the end of their chanting when all were singing at once but no two with the same words. I was told that part of the words they used were *hallelujah*. It was pleasing to witness the native modesty and graceful movements of those young females in this dance.

When their ceremonies were over they informed us they were ready to leave. They then mounted their horses, and such as went in wagons seated themselves, and set out with their 'high priest' in front, bearing on his shoulders 'the ark of the covenant' which consisted of a large gourd and the bones of a deer's leg tied to its neck. Just previous to starting the priest gave a blast of his trumpet, then moved slowly and solemnly while the others followed in like manner until they were ordered to halt in the evening and cook supper. The same course was observed through the whole journey. When they arrived near St. Louis, they lost some of their number by cholera. The Shawnees who emigrated numbered about 700, and the Senecas [including members of some of the other tribes of the Six Nations, accompanying] about 350. Among them was also a detachment of Ottawas which was conducted by Captain [John] Hollister from the Maumee country.*

---

* This scar was the result of a stroke from Captain Joseph Brant's sword as reply to an insult from Girty while intoxicated. See American Captives among the Aborigines of Ohio, Reprint with Notes by Charles E. Slocum.

Some of their descendants are now in the Quapaw Agency in the Indian Territory, wearing the dress of citizens and are comfortably housed.

THE IROQUOIS LINGUISTIC STOCK.

The Iroquois tribes which ranged most through this Basin were the Eries and Neutrals, the Six Nations, Wyandots, and Cherokees.

The Eries and Neutrals. Some of the earliest maps of the Lake Erie region from that of Champlain (see *ante* page 75) designate certain regions as then inhabited by certain tribes or 'nations' as *La Nation Neutre* south of Lake Erie, and again west of Lake Ontario; and the Eries or *Nation du Chat.*† There is but little authentic record of the Neutrals (located between the Five Nations in New York and the Wyandots of Ontario, Canada, also south of Lake Erie) but it is presumed that they were allied to the Cat or Erie tribe if not identical with it. They disappeared about the same time. The Jesuit missionaries visited the Eries in the year 1626, and they were then called a neutral nation. Charlevoix refers to the Eries as somewhat inclined to till the land, as brave and skillful in battle, and that they fought with poisoned arrows. Their number is recorded as twelve thousand, four thousand of whom were warriors. Also that they had twenty-eight villages, and twelve forts. We could readily suppose that the prehistoric circular and semi-circular earthworks along the south side of Lake Erie, by the Maumee, and in northeastern Indiana (see *ante* pages 62, 63) were the foundations of their fortifications. The Five Nations completed the destruction of the Erie tribe about 1655-56, by slaughter, by captivity and adoption, and by dispersion of the others to be absorbed by other tribes. Their name is perpetuated by Lake Erie, and in the name of counties, and of towns.

Five Nations is the name given by the English, Iroquoys, Hiroquois, Irocois, etc., the name forms given by the French, and Maquas the name given by the Hollanders, to the strongest body of the Aborigines in this latitude during the early history of this region. The date of origin of the confederation of the Five Nations is obscure. The names of the tribes, or 'nations' which composed this confederacy are the

---

* Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* Centennial Edition, volume i page 299.

† This tribe was called the Cat Nation from their much wearing of the skins of wild cats.

Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca, all of which names are perpetuated in lake, river, county, township, or village, one or all, in the interior of the State of New York which was their principal headquarters, and elsewhere. About the year 1715 the Tuscarora tribe came from Virginia into the confederation, after which it often received the appellation of Six Nations; but as little was heard, however, of the Tuscarora tribe afterward as before. The names of the different Six Nations or tribes are of Aborigine origin excepting that of Seneca. This Roman proper name is supposed to have here originated with and been applied by the Hollanders about the year 1614, from the great love of these Aborigines for cinnabar (vermillion) as a war paint. This, like the average long word, was variously spelled, as sinnekars, and Senecas.* The Lenapes (Delawares) called the Senecas Mengwee, which name became Mingoes to the Pennsylvanians, particularly for those Senecas who came to Ohio between them and the Muskingum River and later came to northwestern Ohio. The Senecas were the most numerous of the tribes composing the Six Nations.

The Six Nations claimed, by right of conquest, a great extent of country surrounding Lakes Ontario, Erie, and St. Clair, and to the southwest. It was to their valor and success in battle, and to their fiendish ingenuity in mutilating their captured enemies alive and dead, that kept the southern and western shore of Lake Erie comparatively free from other tribes, even for a long time after the coming of the French. The prehistoric circular earthworks shown on map *ante* page 54, were probably built or occupied by them in their continued wars with the Miamis, Illinois, and other tribes that were driven from this region to the west and southwest.† These tribes, excepting possibly the Senecas, were not so vivacious as some of the northwestern tribes. Captain Thomas Morris who passed along the Maumee River in the year 1764 after having been some length of time commandant of Fort Hendrick in the Mohawk River Valley, wrote that it is certain that a reserved Englishman differs not more from a lively Frenchman than does a stern Mohawk from a laughing Chippewa. For mention of some of the Iroquois chiefs see Index references. The United States Census for 1822 gives the number of Mohawks by Honey Creek near Upper Sandusky, Ohio, as fifty-seven; of Senecas by Sandusky River at 348, and 203 at Lewiston thirty-five miles northeast of Piqua, Ohio.

Cherokees, written Chiraquis by the French, came into or near this Basin to dwell in historic times only in small bands.* Some of their warriors against the United States Army remained near the headwaters of the Auglaise and Scioto until after the Treaty at Greenville in 1795 when, prompted by General Wayne, they found it to their interest to return to their tribe in South Carolina — see *ante* page 233.

---

* In the oldest map of New York published in Amsterdam, Holland, this word is written Sennecaas. Compare *The Aboriginal Tribes of the United States* by Francis S. Drake, Philadelphia. vol. ii page 291.

† See the *Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland edition, and Parkman's *La Salle and the Great West*.

* *The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times* 12mo 97 pages, New York, 1890, by Cyrus Thomas.

Wyandots, Ouendats and Wendats, generic name of the Hurons by the French, were once numerous, and strong in war. They were probable descendants of the Five Nations and, in common with other separated tribes, they were hunted and decimated by that powerful confederacy, being driven by them from the Valley of the St. Lawrence River in 1649. Their French name, Huron, is perpetuated in many places other than in Lake Huron, by the shores of which Samuel de Champlain met them in 1615. The region of their last home in Ohio was given the name Wyandot County at its organization 3rd February, 1845; and the name is also perpetuated in towns.

Charles Dickens, the English novelist, stopped over night at Upper Sandusky when on his way from Cincinnati to Buffalo via Sandusky in 1842. In his *American Notes* he writes thus:

> It is a settlement of the Wyandot Aborigines who inhabit this place. Among the company at breakfast was a mild old gentleman [Colonel John Johnston] who had been for many years employed by the United States Goverment in conducting negotiations with the Aborigines, and who had just concluded a treaty with these people by which they bound themselves, in consideration of a certain annual sum, to remove next year to some land provided for them west of the Mississippi. He gave me a moving account of their strong attachment to the familiar scenes of their infancy, and in particular to the burial-places of their kindred; and of their great reluctance to leave them. He had witnessed many such removals and always with pain, though he knew that they departed for their own good. The question whether this tribe should go or stay, had been discussed among them a day or two before in a hut erected for the purpose, the logs of which still lay upon the ground before the inn. When the speaking was done the ayes and noes were ranged on opposite sides, and every male adult voted in his turn. The moment the result was known, the minority (a large one) cheerfully yielded to the rest, and withdrew all kind of opposition.
>
> We met some of these poor Aborigines afterwards, riding on shaggy ponies. They were so like the meaner sort of gypsies, that if I could have seen any of them in England I should have concluded, as a matter of course, that they belonged to that wandering and restless people.*
>
> In Aborigine villages the Legislature, with a very good and wise intention, forbids the sale of spirits by tavern-keepers. The precaution, however, is quite inefficacious, for the Aborigines never fail to procure liquor of a worse kind, at a dearer price, from traveling pedlers.

The United States Census for 1822 gives the number of Wyandots as follows: In Ohio, at Upper Sandusky 364; by Mad River 44; Fort Findlay 37; by the Miami River 97. In Michigan 37 by Huron River.

---

*Count de Volney in 1796 compared the western Aborigines to the Gypsies of France in appearance; but the former were far more drunken and bloodthirsty — *A View of the United States of America* page 353 *et seq.*

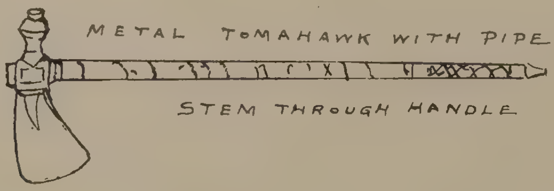
In July, 1843, the Wyandots were started for their Kansas reservation, about seven hundred in number, with the old, the youth, the children, ponies and dogs, in motley procession to Dayton whence they were transported by Miami and Erie Canal to Cincinnati, and thence by steamboat to near their destination. This tribe was the last of their kind to range along the Maumee and its tributaries as along the Sandusky River. Their departure left Ohio practically, and finally, free from such people.

The subjugation of the savages had been accomplished only after a long, bloody struggle, which had been greatly prolonged and made far more expensive in life, in effort, and in money by the pernicious influence of the British. Throughout this struggle the United States Government acted an honorable part. It was continuously lenient, forbearing, kind, and liberal to a fault; and it should not be held responsible, even by indirect implication, for the acts of individuals who sought to be avenged on the savages in kind, or for the acts of those law-breakers who clandestinely sold them the intoxicating beverages which caused so much of the trouble.

The savages had no right to this territory. Savage people have no right to occupy lands anywhere to the exclusion of civilization. Great Britain's right to this territory was not questioned by civilized nations after her conquest of the French in 1760; nor had any nation right to question the claim of the United States to it after the Treaty of Paris which closed the Revolutionary War. Notwithstanding this, and the conquest of the savages with the British over and again—for the purpose of creating a fund to establish these Aborigines as farmers on smaller, yet sufficient, tracts of land the United States prescribed and enforced the formula of buying all of this territory, parts of it repeatedly, from each tribe and band, in recognition of a felt duty to continue the efforts for civilizing these people. Probably the task would have been quicker and better done by more stringent measures.*

---

* The descendants of the Aborigines in the United States have latterly been increasing in number; also making more general advancement in education and civilization. It has been reported of some of the tribes that they average the wealthiest of people through the continued supervision and paternal care of the United States.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRESENT DRAINAGE SYSTEM—THE NINE RIVERS AND THEIR TRIBUTARIES.

The drainage system of this Basin is peculiar in arrangement as the result of the angular or somewhat crescentic form of the glacial moraines and of the beaches of the glacial lakes and bays as described in Chapter II, and in the chapters on the principal streams—see also the Map of Moraines *ante* page 28. The system is composed of nine rivers, viz: The Maumee, St. Joseph, St. Mary, Auglaise, Little Auglaise, Blanchard, Ottawa of the Auglaise, Ottawa of Maumee Bay, and the Tiffin. There are, also, several important creeks tributary to these rivers which will be named in their respective order when describing the rivers into which they empty their waters.

The water of these rivers is seldom clear, except at the more sandy and gravelly sources. Like all streams flowing through fertile soil the waters contain, largely in suspension, more or less of the constituents of their beds and shores, and the color of the water is varied thereby. In wet seasons the turbidity is very conspicuous, while in low stages of water with slower currents and through sedimentation the water becomes comparatively clear. Although the bed of many of the streams is eroded and corraded in part to and into the native limestone, the water is not so 'hard' or the percentage of lime and other earth ingredients is not so great as in the water of the wells near-by, even of those that do not extend into the rock; and the river waters when free from direct organic pollution, and are well filtered, afford pleasanter and safer potable water than is obtained from wells.

In these days of numerous railroads which afford rapid and easy means of travel, it is difficult to realize the importance of these rivers as highways of travel and transportation to the Aborigines, and to the pioneer Europeans. It has been estimated* that at least nineteen-twentieths of all movement from place to place in early times was by way of the water courses. The proportion was even greater in this heavily forested level Basin, most of which was early given the name Black Swamp. The river regions were the first entered and explored by Europeans, and the larger streams were ranged along for a period of over one hundred and fifty years before the more inland regions were well explored. The Maumee and Auglaise were the principal thoroughfares, while the St. Mary, St. Joseph and Tiffin ranked next in importance in the order named. Trails were well worn along the river banks, while floats and canoes of various sizes and forms afforded means of transportation on their waters.

---

* *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Justin Winsor, volume i page 294.

Many styles of lighter craft have been used on the Maumee and its principal tributaries. Rafts, hastily made of dead timber held together by withes were often used by both Aborigines and Europeans in early times. Canoes, pirogues, and bateaux, were the common forms of boats. There were but few keel boats made. Light bateaux, flat of bottom and slightly curving upward and narrowing toward the ends, were the best of the larger boats for general use by Europeans, particularly in the lower stages of water; while in higher waters and for heavier and military freight, larger flat boats were made. Bark canoes were in use by the Aborigines when first visited by Europeans; and some of them were fair appearing and serviceable craft although made by means of stone and bone implements, and fire. Metal tools, brought by the Europeans, gave great impetus to the ingenuity and ability of a few of the Aborigines, and added much to the shapeliness and serviceableness of their river craft. Cadwallader Colden, British Surveyor General of the Province of New York, in a Memoir on the Fur Trade 10th November, 1724, wrote:*

ABORIGINE WOMEN SPEARING FISH—(From Schoolcraft)

---

* London Document XXIII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume v, pages 726, 727.

The method of carrying goods upon the Rivers of North America into all the small Branches [tributaries] and overland from the Branches [tributaries or headwaters] of one River to the Branches [headwaters] of another was learned from the Aborigines and is the only method practicable through such large Forests and Deserts [unsettled country] as the Traders pass through in carrying from one Nation to the other. It is this. The Aborigines make a long narrow Boat made of the bark of the [white] Birch Tree, the parts of which they join very neatly. One of these Canoes that can carry a dozen men, can itself be easily carried upon two men's shoulders, so that when they have gone as far by water as they can which is further than is easily imagined because their loaded Canoes don't sink six inches into the water, they unload their canoes, & carry both goods and Canoes upon their Shoulders over land into the nearest branch [tributary] of the River they intend to follow.

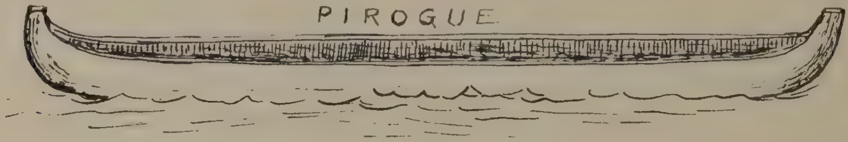
The French were good boat builders; and the early British were unexcelled in boat making and boat using. But little birch grew in this Basin, and that little was red birch the bark of which is not so well adapted to canoe making. The larger canoes made of white birch bark came from the north and northeast. Elm bark, in thick large sheets was easily obtained everywhere and was employed for heavier craft; also hickory bark. Canoes of bark were not much used here after the War of 1812. The readiness with which canoes could be made from these barks is illustrated in the account of the Journey of a Visit to the Aborigines (Wyandots of Upper Sandusky, Ohio, in 1799) by Friends (Quakers) of Maryland and Pennsylvania, viz:

. . . We found this stream [Killbuck Creek in northern Ohio] forty-five yards wide and twelve feet deep. On ascertaining this our guide [a Delaware Aborigine of the Moravian band] turned his horse loose to feed and all the rest of us did the same, expecting to remain there until the next day. He however went off, as he informed us, to build a canoe. Being desirous to acquaint myself with their manner of constructing these boats, I accompanied him. After searching some time he found a tree which he supposed would answer his purpose, and having first cut the bark round near the ground, he then prepared two wooden forks with lateral prongs from the bottom to the top of them, which served as steps upon which he could rest his feet. These he placed against the tree and then walked up them, and cut the bark round the tree about eighteen feet higher. He then, after splitting the bark from the top to the bottom, peeled it off. He next shaved off the rough outside of the bark at both ends and, after making the proper holes at suitable places, he drew up the ends into a bow and stern with hickory bark ropes, which completed his work so that we returned down the river with a boat that was capable of carrying three persons. We immediately embarked, transporting ourselves and baggage over the stream, and swam our horses through it—having been detained here only about three hours.*

---

* *Friends' Miscellany* October, 1835, volume vii, No. 7 page 316.

Pirogues were named by the French and their manufacture was probably introduced here by them. They were called dugouts by the British and the Americans on account of the smaller ones being hollowed and shaped from one log. This form of boat, or float, was at first made from old hollow logs split through the middle and the ends blocked. The Aborigines possibly first hollowed and shaped the logs by fire controlled by wet clay. Pirogues were better than bark canoes to withstand the rapids and the rocks. They were often made of large size, sixty to seventy feet in length, five feet in width, and with carrying capacity to five or more tons. The larger ones were generally made from two logs hollowed, matched and pinned together, thus securing greater width, stability and tonnage. These were known as slap-togethers. In early times as many as forty packs of peltries, each about one hundred pounds weight, and later one hundred and seventy-five bushels of corn or wheat, were comfortably carried in good stage of water by the larger pirogues, each managed by three or four men. The last of the pirogues at Defiance were of the smaller class. They became too much decayed in 1873 for further use, and were from this date wholly succeeded by boats of modern build. Three recently disabled pirogues were seen, however, by the writer high on the banks of the Auglaise River in Perry Township, Putnam County in May, 1902, the last of their class in this Basin. After the building of sawing mills, from the year 1821 to 1840, flat boats became more common, and convenient. Fifteen to twenty miles a day was the distance generally traveled against the current by boatmen when the water was at favorable height. Going with the current the distance could be made several multiples of twenty. Against the current, poles, paddles, and towing lines were the means of propulsion, though in the shallower places, stepping into the water and lifting and pushing the boat over the rocks by hand was often necessary. A puncheon, or later a sawn plank, was attached to each side of the larger boats above the water and from end to end, on which a man walked and pushed after standing his pole on the bottom of the river from the bow. The boating of freight was often heavy work; but it was generally far easier than carrying, or hauling by team during much of the year. Most of the larger styles of boats, for man power, declined from the year 1843, being largely superseded along the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers by the Miami and Erie and Wabash and Erie Canals; but for several years


PIROGUE

thereafter grain and timber were taken down the streams during high water. For account of larger and later boats, see next Chapter.

These rivers were of great service to the people who early came to the more central parts of this forest region to found homes. Their families and goods were transported thereon and so, later, were their products and supplies transported to and from their homes. These streams have been, also, very important sources of food supplies. During the earlier historic period they abounded in the various kinds of water fowl; and with fish to the extent that the then numerous fish-eating animals including birds were well supplied and, beside, great schools were at the easy catch (they being here more easily entrapped than those in larger waters) of the people along their courses, who at times largely subsisted on them. Nearly all of the species of fish living in Lake Erie abounded in these rivers, they having free access from the lake even to the shallower waters near the sources of the several streams. The fish multiplied in such numbers that parties from Cincinnati formed a company previous to the year 1840 for the extraction of their oil at Fort Wayne. The catching of the fish in sufficient quantity for this purpose gave employment to many persons, including Aborigines, for several years.* Since the increase of population, however, the building of dams and mills, the pollution of the waters with refuse of all kinds including that from paper mills, gas works, and petroleum wells, and the great increase in the number of fishermen with their more destructive methods, the supply of fish and fowl have been materially lessened, even to the extinction of some species.† The Ohio State Board of Health has already taken action for the prevention of river pollution, and the Fish Commission has begun the work of restocking the streams with good species of food fish.

The removal of the large and dense forest growths, the clearing, ditching, and underdraining of the lands, have wrought great change in these rivers. Following heavy or continued rains, and the rapid melting of the deeper snows, the streams rise, and fall, with far greater rapidity than formerly, and generally decline to a lower stage of water during the dryer seasons. Storage dams have been thought desirable; and they will undoubtedly be built; and the great water power thus feasible along these rivers will be utilized.

Many of the beautiful shaded places along these rivers have of late years attracted a large number of persons who desire wholesome and inexpensive escape from the heat, noise, and dust, of towns. Summer houses have been built along the larger streams by clubs and families; and many parts are occupied by 'campers' under restrictions by the landowners. Island and shore picnic grounds are frequented by large numbers of excursionists. And the rivers are yet frequented by the large number of people who love to go-a-fishing — many driving many miles across country to their favorite places, or to explore for better ones, some for one day's outing, and others to remain for two or many days. Thus, the tide of rest and pleasure seekers is turning more and more to these rivers. It is being recognized that they possess more attractive features, and are more enjoyable to the average family, than lakes. The erosions and corrasions of their beds and banks are interesting alike to geologists and to the general students of natural history. Their smooth stretches afford the safest and the best of boating waters for the multitude, while their more shallow and rapid places are sources of unfailing delight, particularly to ladies, children, and to the microscopist.

---

* Compare Wallace A. Brice's *History of Fort Wayne*, page 295.

† See the Author's Check-List of animals, including fish and birds, of the Maumee River Basin.

THE MAUMEE RIVER.

The Maumee is a young river in the view of geologic time. At the resting of the last glacier at the St. Joseph-St. Mary Moraine the Rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary were formed and, with the continued melting of the glacier, these rivers were increased in size and poured their waters southwest of the present City of Fort Wayne to and through the Wabash River. With the receding of the glacier by melting, a lake, the Maumee Glacial Lake, was formed between these moraines and the edge of the glacier. This lake latterly found new outlets southward, and northwestward and, subsiding, the Rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary began to find outlet into this Lake. With this beginning, small and varying at first, the Maumee River had origin perhaps ten thousand or more years ago. Its length increased with the recession of the Glacial Lake, and until the present Lake Erie was established.

The Maumee River, next to the Detroit River or Strait, is the largest tributary of Lake Erie; and by some persons it is classed as the largest river in Ohio, the Ohio River being within the Kentucky State limits. The Maumee has origin within the City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, by the union of the Rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary as at the early subsidence of the Maumee Glacial Lake. Its minimum volume at this point has been gaged at six thousand cubic feet per minute.*

---

* Report of Major John M. Wilson of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, in *United States Executive Document No. 55, 46th Congress 3rd Session*, pages 13, 60. The Division of Hydrography of the U. S. Geological Survey, has since established several Water Gages in the Maumee, the last one at the The Sherwood Bridge in Delaware Township, Defiance County, Ohio, in May, 1903. The gage at the Waterville Bridge, Lucas County, for the year 1901 showed the maximum flow of the Maumee at that place at 27,600 second feet in March, and the mean flow for the year at

It flows in a general northeasterly course through the middle of the Basin, bearing a little south of a direct line from which it wanders but eight miles, and empties into Maumee Bay at the most westerly part of Lake Erie. The distance from its origin to its mouth in straight line is one hundred miles; but by way of its many windings the distance of its flow is one-half, and more, greater. The first half of its course is by far the most tortuous, the flow often changing so that in the aggregate it is toward every point of the compass, although its meander belt is relatively narrow. Throughout its course there is fall of one hundred and sixty-four feet, averaging less than one and one-tenth foot per mile. There are numerous sluggish stretches, with intervening rapids of varying lengths, from a few feet upwards.

HEAD OF THE MAUMEE RIVER

Within the City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, at medium stage of water. Looking north June 8, 1902, up the River St. Joseph on the right and across the River St. Mary on the left, which unite to form the Maumee a few rods above the Columbia Street Bridge. The site of General Harmar's Ford is several squares below this bridge; the site of Fort Wayne is just to the left and back of this point of view.

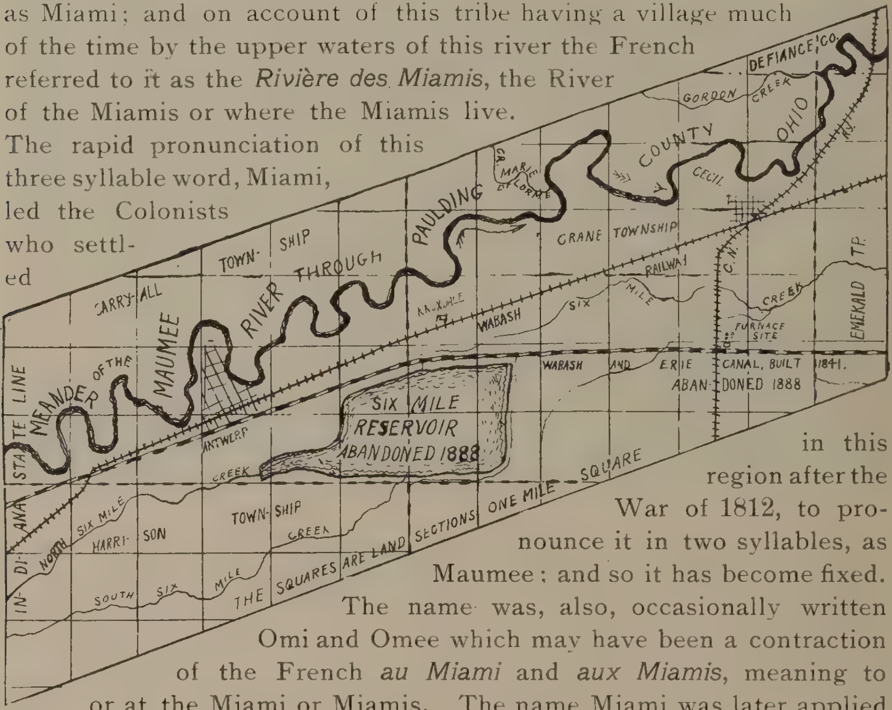
It is probable that the different tribes of Aborigines had no names for this and the other rivers of this Basin, or at most any name that was

---

2,771.2 second feet. After three years and two months service this gage was abandoned in 1902 on account of the great diversion of water at Grand Rapids into the Miami and Erie Canal, and other difficulties. Flood gages were placed late in 1904 at the Columbia Street Bridge in Fort Wayne, and the County Bridge at Napoleon.

generally recognized or remembered before the coming of the French. The Shawnees of later days called the Maumee the Ottawa Sepe (Ottawa Sepon?) or Ottawa River, on account of some members of the Ottawa tribe having headquarters by its course. The Wyandot name Cogh-a-ren-du-te or Standing Rock River related to the French *Roche de Bout* in the lower rapids; their Was-o-hah-con-die also referred to the Maumee. The Miamis who had headquarters along its upper waters left no name now authentically known to the writer.

The French explorers on meeting the Miami Aborigines, previous to the year 1670, understood from them the name of their tribe as Me-ah-me or Me-au-me which sounds they recorded in their language as Miami; and on account of this tribe having a village much of the time by the upper waters of this river the French referred to it as the *Rivière des Miamis*, the River of the Miamis or where the Miamis live. The rapid pronunciation of this three syllable word, Miami, led the Colonists who settled in this region after the War of 1812, to pronounce it in two syllables, as Maumee; and so it has become fixed. The name was, also, occasionally written Omi and Omee which may have been a contraction of the French *au Miami* and *aux Miamis*, meaning to or at the Miami or Miamis. The name Miami was later applied to the two rivers in southwestern Ohio flowing into the Ohio River; and in writings of the latter part of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century the Maumee was styled the Miami of the Lake. Many of the early French also styled the Maumee the *Rivière de la Roche* or Rock River. This name was also applied to the Great Miami of the Ohio with like reason, the channels being eroded to the rock in parts of their course.



The land that is more immediately drained by the Maumee River, that is the Maumee Valley proper, is not of great extent. The portion in Indiana has been computed at 151,55 square miles, and in Ohio at

1,103.96, making a total area of 1,255.51 square miles.* It receives only local additions from the south between its source and the entrance of the Auglaise River at Defiance, a distance in straight line of forty-five miles, and by the river's very tortuous course more than double this distance. The channel varies from three to five hundred feet in width and is eroded to the Corniferous Limestone at Antwerp, Ohio, and from about seven miles above Defiance downward. Here within a distance of four miles, extending to the head of the State Dam Slack-water about three miles above the mouth of the Auglaise River, there are seven riffles, at irregular intervals, which formed obstructions to shiptimber rafts and heavy boats during the lower stages of water. To obviate this the raftsmen gathered the glacial boulders of the channel into rude dams leaving chutes through which they directed their rafts. Locally these places became known as stone dams.

Looking northwest up the Maumee River from the northeast corner of Section 29 Defiance Township, November 2, 1902. In the middle distance is seen the Second Stone Dam of granite boulders, four miles above Defiance. On the right is a model brick farmhouse, and farm.

The flood plains are of limited extent and generally incline to about twelve feet above low water mark. The original banks are separated from one-sixth mile to one mile, the interval between the present channel and the outer bank being generally far greater to the left than to the right. The outer banks generally rise from thirty to fifty feet above the flood plains, and often but little above the present concave bank (bank being eroded) which is first on one side and then on the other. At Bull Rapids in Maumee Township, Allen County, Indiana, the channel is 360 feet wide, and the concave bank is thirty feet high. The banks being eroded are of Glacial Till composed mostly of gravelly clay in which are grooved or polished granitic stones of various sizes, with varying layers of sand and gravel. The volume of water in the channel is continually augmented by the seepage from the banks. Only ordinary erosive waverings of channel have occurred in the upper part of the river's course.

---

* *Second Report of an Investigation of the Rivers of Ohio as Sources of Public Water Supplies*, by the Ohio State Board of Health, Columbus, 1900, page 127.

THE MAUMEE RIVER

Looking east down stream from Clinton Street Bridge, Defiance, Ohio, November 27, 1901. Mouth of Auglaise River and site of Fort Defiance on the right, with smoke from large wagon manufactory beyond. Morningside Park on the left and Preston Island Park on the right in middle distance.

Several short, small streams enter from the north in Allen County, Indiana. Starting in the northeastern part of this county and flowing in a general easterly direction are the north and south headwaters of Marie de Lorme Creek (named in honor of a daughter of an early French boatman) which unite in the northwestern township (Carryall) of Paulding County, Ohio, and empty into the Maumee in the adjoining Crane Township. Gordon Creek, which has origin in the southwestern township (Hicksville) of Defiance County, flows in a southeasterly direction and enters the river in Paulding County near the Defiance County line. Flowing parallel with Gordon, and from one to four miles northeast of it, is Platter Creek, both creeks being named from early settlers along their banks. Then only small 'runs' are received by the river until the entrance of Tiffin River from the north.

The principal tributary of the Maumee is the Auglaise River which enters from the south, also within the corporate limits of the City of Defiance, one mile and a half below the Tiffin. The words Tu-en-dawie and En-sa-woc-sa are fixed at Defiance as names of Masonic lodges and street; legend says their meaning is about the same—the meeting of the waters—and that they were applied to the site of the present City of Defiance from the meeting here of the Tiffin and Auglaise with the Maumee. Tuendawie is of the Wyandot language, and Ensawoccsa of the Shawnee; and both are probaby changed in form from the original words. Below Defiance the tributaries of the Maumee are of quite local nature excepting North and South Turkeyfoot Creeks which enter nearly opposite each other toward the eastern part of Henry

PRESTON ISLAND PARK

Showing Pontoon Bridge, Administration Building, Auditorium, Pavillion, and Restaurant. The Athletic Field with Grand Stand is outside this view to the left; and the Residence Tents to the right. Site of the Shawnee Chief Blue Jacket's town in 1792 on the distant mainland. Looking northward across the narrower branch of the Maumee, with glimpses of the wider branch, October 14, 1901. Electric railway, and motor boats, connect here for Defiance which is one mile to the left.

County; Bad Creek on the north from Fulton County; Beaver and Tontogany Creeks from the south, draining part of Wood County; and Swan Creek from the west, received at Toledo.

Below Defiance the channel is far less tortuous than above. It widens materially from the Tiffin and the Auglaise tributaries, but the beauty of the scenery is maintained. In fact, for quiet, pastoral beauty, the Maumee River is not excelled, particularly through Defiance County and below. The commodious residences and barns, the everchanging scenery showing fertile and well cultivated soil, with fringes of noble trees remnants of a mighty forest, present pictures of peace, plenty, and of beauty, that linger pleasantly in memory.

MAUMEE WATER GAP THROUGH DEFIANCE MORAINE

Looking southeast from the crest of the Moraine 100 feet above the River 15th October, 1901. The Moraine south of the River one mile, is of the same height from gradual incline.

The Islands here increase in size and in historic interest. Preston Island, named from William Preston the first sheriff of this part of Ohio, is one mile east of Defiance. It contains about twenty-three acres, is cleared in its upper part where the Aborigine women planted corn and where the like crop has been cultivated by succeeding owners until the last few years. It is beautifully timbered in its lower part which for many years has been a popular resort for picnicing parties.*

From Defiance eastward the Maumee flows through an eroded gap in the Defiance Moraine, and the beaches of the extinct Defiance Glacial Bay on the west and of Lake Whittlesy on the east. This Maumee Water Gap was probably quite well begun as an early drainage channel of Lake Maumee and by the subsequent washings of the waves of Lake Whittlesey and of Defiance Bay. There are terraces in the City of Defiance and below, some of which show that about sixty feet of the later cut was done by the Maumee River. The crest of the Moraine rises on the left (north) bank three miles east of the City of

MAUMEE WATER GAP THROUGH DEFIANCE MORAINE

Companion to the opposite view. Looking south of west up the Maumee 13th May, 1901. This is the highest land (100 feet) immediately above the River. The smoke of manufactories in the City of Defiance, three miles distant, is seen on the left.

---

* In the spring of 1900 Preston Island was purchased by a new organization called The Island Park Company, composed of citizens of Defiance, who opened it to the public as a park the 28th June, and

Defiance steeply to the height of one hundred feet above the present surface of the river at ordinary stage, while to the right (southward) the land inclines from the river in irregular terraces for the distance of one mile to about the height of the crest on the north bank which is the highest land immediately by the Maumee in all its course.

One mile and a half below the crest of the Defiance Moraine, which is locally known as the North Ridge and South Ridge according to the respective sides of the river, a dam was built across the Maumee by the State of Ohio between the years 1839-1842 to supply water to the Miami and Erie Canal below. This dam is seven hundred and sixty-three feet in length. It was first built nine feet high, and in the summer of 1901 it was rebuilt with cement concrete to the height of ten feet. It supplies good depth of slackwater for canalboats, and for steamboats accommodating two to three hundred pleasure seekers, for a distance of eight miles up the Maumee. This slackwater also extends up the Auglaise River three miles and up the Tiffin two miles. The canal here again enters its individual course along the left bank of the river, taking the water through a guard lock just above the dam for its supply through Henry County.

One mile below this dam, on the left bank of the river, is the site of the historic Encampment Number Three of General Winchester's army in 1812, where lie in yet unmarked graves many soldiers, mostly Kentuckians, who here suffered exceedingly and died from privations and disease — see *ante* pages 296, 297.

Girty Island, containing about thirty-two acres, is delightfully situated just above the turn of the Maumee to the north in the northwest part of Flatrock Township, Henry County. It is cultivated in part and in part used for picnics, steamboats connecting it with Napoleon. It was named from James Girty (not the brother Simon as has been

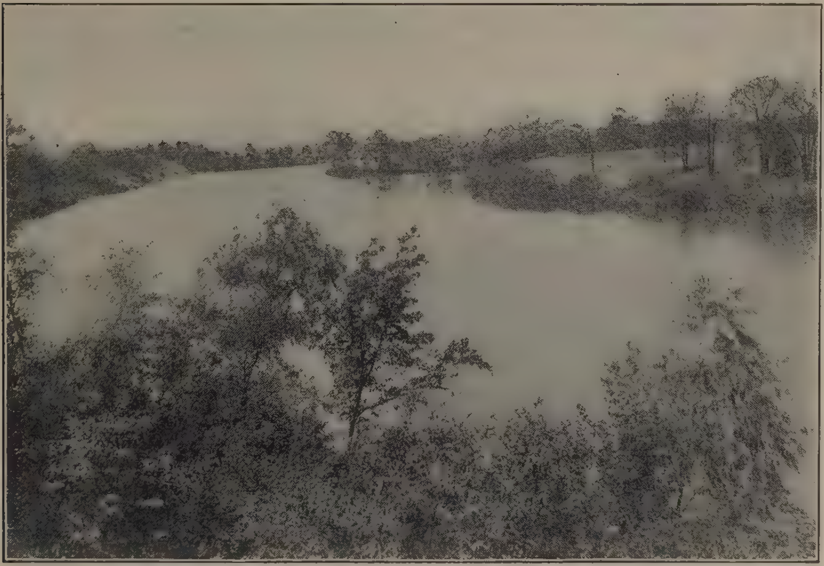
---

later connected it with the south mainland by a stanch pontoon bridge, formed an athletic field with track and grandstand; erected an auditorium, pavillion, restaurant, and other buildings for the comfort and convenience of summer visitors, and charged a small fee (from five to twenty-five cents) for admission. The electric street-car line was also extended to the south bank of the river at the bridge.

In 1902 the Maumee Valley Chautauqua was organized by Peter W. M'Reynolds then Dean and now President of Defiance College. This season of meetings and entertainments proved so enjoyable and successful that an organization was effected for their continuance, viz: Directors, Fred. L. Hay, Charles T. Pierce, R. W. Mitchell, H. E. Myers, George W. Watkins, Rev. A. B. Murphy, Baptist, and Rev. Peter W. M'Reynolds, Christian, of Defiance; Rev. James M'Alister, Christian, of New Bedford, Mass., J. J. Grubb, Buckland, Ohio, and Rev. William J. Dempster, Presbyterian, Napoleon. Officers: President, Rev. A. B. Murphy, Baptist; Vice Presidents, Rev. P. O. Rhodes, United Brethren, Rev. E. D. Whitlock, Methodist, Rev. H. Mueller, Lutheran, Rev. W. S. Culp, Methodist, Silas T. Sutphen, and Christopher C. Kuhn, of Defiance. Secretary and General Manager Peter W. M'Reynolds and Treasurer Edward P. Hooker. The session of 1903 was attended with greater success than the first, many people attending from Michigan, Indiana, and distant parts of Ohio, as well as from the country surrounding Defiance, and many encamping in tents on the Island. The same officers and directors were re-elected with the addition of Rev. George Foltz, Christian, of Defiance, and C. A. Graham, of Lima. At the annual meeting held at the close of the successful season of 1904, nearly the same directors were chosen as the year before, with Fred. L. Hay President, and Rev. A. B. Murphy Secretary and General Manager.

stated) who, after the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 and the removal of the soldiers from Fort Defiance the following year, returned from his retreat in Canada and remained opposite this island to the north, in trade with the Aborigines for several years.

The evidences of the Maumee having forsaken part of its channel of former ages increase in the lower half of its course. The site of the present Village of Napoleon was formerly an island. This point is also the southwestern angle of the beach or shore of the extinct Glacial Lake Warren. Corniferous Limestone forms the bed of the present channel which shows corrasions by the water and its transported material to the depth of three and four feet in places at the rapids above.



Looking southwest up the Maumee River in Flatrock Township, Henry County, Ohio, 19th May, 1902. Girty Island seen in the distance.

At Grand Rapids Village, at the head of the Grand Rapids in the northwestern corner of Wood County, the second State dam exists, or rather two dams from an island the north one being seventeen hundred feet and the south one six hundred and sixty-one feet in length. The slackwater from this dam supplies the Miami and Erie Canal in its lowest course to the lake level at Toledo. The dam is five and one-half feet high and gives, with the natural depth of water, a good depth of broad slackwater for pleasure steamboats to and above Girty Island, a distance of about nineteen miles. This dam is at the head of the most historic series of rapids in the Maumee River's course. They extend to the Village of Maumee, a distance of about fourteen miles, with a fall of

THE GRAND RAPIDS OF THE MAUMEE

And Ohio State Dam for Canal supply in the distance. Looking southeast up the river from the north end of the Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railway Bridge, at a medium stage of water 1st December, 1902. A glimpse of the old buildings of the Village of Gilead and of the later buildings since the change of name to Grand Rapids, are seen on the left.

THE GRAND RAPIDS OF THE MAUMEE

And Ohio State Dam. Looking west from the south end of the Toledo, St. Louis and Western (Clover Leaf) Railway Bridge 15th April, 1902. The low stage of water shows the erosions of the Limestone in the channel. A glimpse of the Village of Providence is seen on the right (left bank) where the Miami and Erie Canal is situated and is fed from the slackwater above the dam.

fifty-five feet. The names of this series of rapids are, the Grand, Fowler, Bear, Wolf, Otsego, Roche de Bout, Presque Isle, and Maumee (Village) with minor intervening ones without name or with name of only local import. The term 'The Rapids' as used in earlier times, usually referred to the foot of the lowest rapids opposite the present Village of Maumee. At first the river flows on a nearly level stratum of Corniferous Limestone, and near the Village of Waterville it is on the shelving smooth surface of the Lower Helderberg or Waterlime, the channel being liberally strewn with the smaller and medium size granitic boulders washed from the Glacial Till above.

The early settlers constructed low dams, wingdams of small extent generally, for grist mill purposes, at the Grand, the Fowler, Roche de Bout, and one or two other rapids. Hedges Dam at the first rapids below Otsego, a wingdam of stone, drove only a sawing mill. It was destroyed by flood in 1845 or before, it being the last one of the smaller dams. At Otsego Rapids a full dam was built. Probably the first full dam was built in the latter part of the first quarter of the nineteenth century on both sides of the large Dodd Island at Waterville. These full dams afforded power to both flouring and sawing mills for many years. They were not substantially built, were injured by floods and ice, and were not long repaired nor rebuilt after the opening of the Miami and Erie Canal along the river in 1842. A hydraulic canal was dug along the right bank of the river from the rapids about five miles above to convey water to mills at Perrysburg. This canal,

OTSEGO RAPIDS OF THE MAUMEE

Showing Remains of the Dam constructed there in early years by individual enterprise for milling. Looking up the river 15th April, 1901, from a point six and a half miles below the Grand Rapids State Dam. Islands on the left. Low stage of water.

which afforded about eighteen feet fall, was also abandoned after several years' trial, its owners being unable to compete with the power derived from the six high locks of the Miami and Erie Canal at the Village of

GREAT ICE GORGE AT OTSEGO RAPIDS OF THE MAUMEE

This Gorge formed early in February, 1904, from very heavy ice broken by the high waters of the late January thaw. It was fixed by long continued cold weather in February, and augmented by another thaw the last of this month, attaining its maximum the first three days of March. It remained into the last week of March when it, and the other gorges below, gradually broke away. Gorges also formed at Fort Wayne for a short time; at the Paulding-Defiance County line, which held for several weeks; at Island Park, Defiance, which held but a few hours with dammed water twenty-six inches lower than at the time of the gorge in February, 1883, yet surrounding about thirty residences; at Napoleon; at Grand Rapids, the village of this name being damaged more than at any other flood in its history; at Waterville, with severe damage; at the Villages of Maumee and Perrysburg; at Toledo, where much damage was done along Water Street and the Wharves, and from flooding of basements up to, and above the Spitzer building; and gorge at the mouth of the Maumee. The bridges were much injured at Grand Rapids, Waterville, Fassett Street Toledo, and the lower Railway and Terminal Company; and much injury was done on the peneplains of the lower Maumee. The last gorge to break away was in Maumee Bay. This moved out with the ice of the western part of Lake Erie the 26th March, at which date there was yet much unbroken ice in all the upper Great Lakes.

Easter morning April 3, 1904, another flood culminated at Defiance, the central part of the Basin, with water from natural rainfall to a depth of nine inches over the basement floor under the north building of Masonic Hall Block, number two hundred Clinton Street, whereas the first days of March it was one inch over, and the 28th March three inches over. From the ice gorge of February, 1883, the water was dammed for a few hours to a depth of about three feet over this floor. The rivers here also attained about this last mentioned height in June, 1862. But the highest of all records was attained January 5, 1847, when water was dipped from the river by persons standing on the front doorstep of the brick farmhouse built 1834-36 and yet (1904) standing at 429 Auglaise Avenue, Defiance; and a boat carried its passengers to this doorstep, according to evidence of yet living people, including Edward P. Hooker, and Jonathan Lewis a half-brother of the owner and then occupant of this house, William Lewis. This stage was fully seven feet higher water at Defiance than any other record. The United States water gages, in their recent revised and more permanent condition, will insure more carefully recorded data regarding river variation, and greater protection against the dangers of floods and water gorgings.

Maumee nearly opposite. Stock in this company, however, was in demand in 1903; and the power of these favorable water privileges will, doubtless, be better built upon and utilized in the future.

Opposite the mouth of Tontogany Creek the river is deep, about one mile in width, and includes several islands, the two smallest having names Graw and Marston. The next larger, formerly called Indian Island and now known as Whitney, contains about ninety acres; and the next down the stream, the largest island in the Maumee, has been called Mission, and Station, Island and the broad expanse of deep, still water around called Station Pond, from the former Presbyterian Missionary Station for the Aborigines, on the opposite bank to the southward—see *ante* page 399. This island is about two miles long and narrow at the lowest end. It contains about two hundred and thirty acres, is very fertile, and is cultivated in part.

One-half mile below Mission Island, seven miles below Grand Rapids, and one mile above Waterville, the river has worn through the sectile limestone of the Onondaga, Lower Helderberg or Waterlime, group to the depth of forty feet below the present rock surface, the rock bluff being in the left bank, and a small high island of the rock remaining at about one-third of the distance in the present channel. This rock point in the stream was a landmark to the early French, and they gave it the name *Roche de Bout** a name yet current among the older people in the vicinity. A short distance north (to the left) of the present shore bluff of Roche de Bout is a deserted channel of the river in ancient times, which is about thirty feet above the present channel—see engraving *ante* page 194. The rock bluff covered with till rising fifteen feet and more above this deserted channel, was long an island in the river nearly a mile in length. The increased distance to the outer banks—to two miles or more in places—for miles above this ancient natural dam, and the terraces of their sides, mark the great volume of water and the successive heights at which the river flowed before the rock barrier gave way, and the present channel was worn.

Three miles below Roche de Bout there is a prominence of thicker till, also on the left bank, and a like deserted Maumee channel to the left (northwest). The peninsula-like appearance of this eminence was so prominent that the early French named it Presque Isle—see engraving *ante* page 196. This name was also applied by them to the point east of the mouth of Maumee Bay, and to other prominent places. It was on and around this Maumee River Presque Isle, particularly the northwestern end, that the Battle of Fallen Timber was waged and won by General Anthony Wayne 20th August, 1794—see *ante* pages 195, 196.

---

* Pronounced very like Roosh de Boo. This name signifies standing rock, or rock point. It has sometimes been improperly written *Roche de Boeuf*. Peter Manor (Manard) or 'Yellow Hair' a half-breed (French-Ottawa) in the first quarter of the nineteenth century told the following legend relating to *Roche de Bout*, viz: A party of Ottawas were encamped near-by when a boy, while playing above the precipitous edge of the shore rock, accidentally fell to the flat rock below a distance of about forty feet, and was killed by the fall, the rock at the base of the ledge being bare at low stages of the river. The father, upon his return from the hunt and learning of the death of his boy, became enraged at the mother because she did not prevent the accident, and he hurled her over the precipice. Her friends rallied and treated him in like manner. This was the final signal for the gathering of the factions, and their angry struggles for revenge did not cease until the strength of those above the precipice was exhausted and a large part of their number had been thrown to the rock below.

One mile above the foot of the lowest rapids is Hollister Island which is near one-half mile long, and narrow. Several small islands are in its vicinity. Two miles below Hollister is Ewing Island oval in form the second largest in the river, containing about two hundred acres. It is situated between the Villages of Maumee and Perrysburg—see Map *ante* page 309, and engraving page 334.* In the channel to the right of Ewing are Garden, War Club, Hop, and Sandbar Islands; in the left channel are Willow and Corn Islands, and at the lowest end Muskrat Island. Grassy Island is near the right bank at the mouth of Grassy Creek; Delaware and Clark Islands near the left bank at the mouth of Delaware Creek; Horseshoe, Corbut, and several other low grassy islands near and within the upper limits of the City of Toledo, belonging to the State, complete the list of the principal islands.

ROCHE DE BOUT AND RAPIDS

The Point of Rock on the Right, to which the name applies, is about one-third across the channel from the Rock Precipice forming the Left Bank. Looking northeast down the Maumee at medium low stage of water 15th April, 1902. The *Roche de Bout* Rapids here seen are typical of the flat and ledgy sectile Onondaga Limestone through which the channel has been corraded for thirty feet or more, this rock here being a dam in prehistoric ages.

The head of the Maumee River's lowest natural slackwater, which is practically the level of Lake Erie, is at the upper part of the Village of Maumee about fifteen miles above the mouth of the river at Maumee Bay. One mile and a half below the Village of Maumee a ledge of limestone lessens the deep water below to a summer stage of six and a half feet in depth above, this ledge only preventing lake boats of heavy draft from coming opposite Maumee and Perrysburg.

---

* This Island is often locally called Pilliod Island from an early owner. The Geographer of the recent United States Survey of this region has, however, recorded it as Ewing Island from a yet earlier owner, which should permanently fix Ewing as the proper name.

The increased distance to the rock in the channel of the Maumee between this ledge and the lake, also of Swan Creek and the Ottawa River of Maumee Bay, in common with this condition of drowned river or estuary form of many other streams tributary to Lake Erie, signifies preglacial channels at these places and a long period of corrasion of the rock when the lake was at a much lower level than now, if there was a lake then at these points.* The average width of the Maumee's lowest slackwater is about one hundred rods (1650 feet) and the average width above Perrysburg at the usual summer stage of water is but little more than half this distance; while the former outer banks are separated by a distance varying from one to two miles.

The earliest European explorers left no record of their observations and experiences along the Maumee. While it is true that the southeastern shore of Lake Erie was not so early written about by the explorers as those parts of the upper lakes readily accessible by the Ottawa River route from Montreal, the western part of Lake Erie and its main tributary from the southwest, the Maumee which afforded the shortest and best route to the south and southwest, were undoubtedly ranged along at an early date. The early chroniclers observed among the Aborigines along the Maumee articles which they supposed were brought across the Atlantic by a French fleet in the year 1527. Were this statement authenticated beyond a doubt, we can only presume that these articles were brought from the lower St. Lawrence by none other than the Aborigines themselves.

The following is a list of dates, events, and of notable individuals and parties who are on record as having passed along the shores of the Maumee River, or its channel, viz:

1611-12. Samuel de Champlain is reported as visiting the Mascoutin and Neutral Aborigines, and Lake Erie.†

1614-15. Samuel de Champlain probably visited the Maumee River in one of these years, if not at the date before written.

16—. *Coureurs de Bois.* The date of their first visit and their names and number were not recorded so far as now known.

16—. French Missionaries‡ or explorers visited the Maumee River previous to the years 1654, 1656, 1660 — see Maps of the French Cartographers *ante* pages 75 to 80.

---

* Geologists tell us that Lake Erie is the result of the glacial filling of the former drainage channel of its region, probably underneath the Valley of the present Grand River in Ontario. Also that the earth has been and yet is in process of being elevated at the eastern end of Lake Erie, and that the depth of the lake is thereby yet increasing.

† Paris Document IV, *New York Colonial Documents* volume ix, page 378. ‡ *Idem* page 383.

1669. 'In 1669 possession was taken in the King's [Louis XIV of France] name of the countries and lands in the environs of Lake Erie; the Royal arms were erected there at the foot of a cross with an inscription indicative of taking possession.' *

1669. Réné-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle probably passed up the Maumee in the autumn of 1669 on his way to the Ohio River. †

1670. Sieur de la Salle probably passed down the river on his return from discovering the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

1670. Jesuit Priests from France by way of Canada were along the Maumee River. ‡

1671, June 4. Sieur de St. Lusson, or Loison, Subdelegate of M. Talon Intendant of New France, by *Proces-Verbal* 'took possession of the country lying between the East and West from Montreal to the South Sea.' §

1672-74. See maps of the French Cartographers *ante* page 79.

1676. French priests from Canada were along the Maumee River. ¶

1680. The Maumee was known to Reverend Claude Allouez, and others. **

1680. Iroquois warriors from New York to and from battle with the Illinois Aborigines. ††

1680, November 9. La Salle wrote as follows: There is at the end of Lake Erie ten leagues below the strait [Detroit] a river [the Maumee] by which we could shorten the route to the Illinois very much. It is navigable to canoes to within two leagues of the route now in use. ‡‡

1682. La Salle again wrote: I could no longer go to the Illinois but by the Lakes Huron and Illinois, as the other routes which I have discovered by the head of Lake Erie and by the southern coast of the same, have become too dangerous by frequent encounters with the Iroquois who are always on that shore. §§

1682. The Miami Aborigines sent deputies to Montreal to meet Count de Frontenac. ¶¶

1683. The Iroquois of New York made war on the Miamis along the Maumee.

1684. The Iroquois passed on their way to attack La Salle's Fort St. Louis, at the present Peoria, Illinois.

1686. Nicholas Perrot, with twenty Frenchmen, marched into the Miami Country. The French established a post near the Ohio boundary, probably at the present Fort Wayne, Indiana. ***

1687. War continued between the Iroquois and the Miamis.

1690. French traders from Canada passed up the Maumee River.

1693. Ambassadors from Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York with presents for the Miamis.

1693. "The only disagreeable intelligence we got was, that the Miamis had received some presents from the English through the medium of the Mohegans. This

---

* Paris Document VI, *New York Colonial Documents* volume ix, page 787.

† See the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* volume xii, page 107 *et seq.*, article Sieur de la Salle Along the Maumee River, by Charles E. Slocum; also *ante* pages 77 to 79.

‡ *Journal of Captain William Trent* Cincinnati 1871, page 6.

§ *Jesuit Relations* Cleveland ed., vol. lv, p. 107. Paris Document IV *New York Colonial Documents* vol. ix, p. 383.

¶ Haymond's *History of Indiana*, page 355.

** *Magazine of Western History* volume x, page 600. *American Antiquarian* volume ii, page 123.

†† Parkman's *La Salle and the Great West.* And the *Journal of Captain William Trent.*

‡‡ Pierre Margry in his *Decourvertes des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale,* volume ii, page 98. §§ *Idem* 296.

¶¶ Trent p. 7.

*** *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History* volume ix, page 486, afforded a just subject of apprehension lest that Nation had received them in order that they might trade in their country, and lest they would possess, by this means, free intercourse with all the others, which would bring about the entire ruin of Canada, both in regard to trade and war. The Count [Frontenac] was, therefore, under the necessity of sending a much larger number of Frenchmen, Regulars and Militia, than he had at first proposed, to expel the enemy from that post [at the head of the Maumee] if they had seized it, or to prevent them entering it. This is to be done by Sieurs de Manteth and de Courtemanche whom also he dispatched at the head of all the Frenchmen, whose orders are, to think more of fighting than of trading."*

1693. Captain Nicholas Perrot built a trading post at the west end of Lake Erie.

1695. Severe war continued between the Iroquois and Miamis.

1696. The Iroquois, instigated by the British, again made war on the Miamis.

1697. A bloody engagement occurred by the Maumee between the Miamis and the Senecas, of the Iroquois, resulting in the defeat of the latter.

1697. Captain de Vincennes was dispatched with soldiers from Canada for a 'Post' among the Miamis, probably at the head of the Maumee. He was 'very expressly forbidden to trade in beaver.' †

1699. Messengers from the British Earl Bellomont Governor of New York to the Miamis, were captured by the French along the Maumee and taken prisoners to Canada.

1699. Pierre Lemoine d'Iberville passed up the Maumee with a colony of Frenchmen on their way from Quebec to Louisiana. M. du Tessenet followed with other colonists. ‡

1700. Frenchmen built a trading post within the limits of the present City of Toledo, by the Maumee.

1700. September 24. Reverend Father Gravier wrote while passing down the Mississippi River as follows: The 24th we found a quantity of grapes, but much fewer than I had been told; and they are neither as good nor as large as those found on the *Rivière des Illinois,* and especially on the *Rivière des Miamis* [Maumee] where they are found in greater quantities.

1702. A treaty of peace was effected between the Miamis and the Iroquois, with some exchange of prisoners.

1702. Messengers from Lord Cornbury (Edward Hyde) Governor of New York, came to the Maumee to invite the Miamis to visit him for the purpose of entering into trade arrangements.

1702. Captain Francis Morgan (?) de Vincennes, with French soldiers and others from Canada, established posts along the Maumee and the Wabash as far southwest as Vincennes, Indiana.

1704. Captain de Vincennes or 'Siéur de Vinseine, formerly commandant at the Miamis [head of the Maumee River Fort Miami] by whom he was much beloved' was sent with six men, two canoes, and 'some goods' as special messengers from M. de Vaudreuil Governor of Canada to the Miamis. §

1707. M. de Cadillac with French Soldiers passed up the Maumee against the Miamis.

1708. A company of Miamis passed along the Maumee to and from Albany, New York, on invitation of Lord Cornbury Governor, to arrange terms of peace and trade.

1712. Captain de Vincennes was again sent as a messenger 'of peace or war' to the Miamis on account of their trading with the British; whereupon the Miamis again promised loyalty to the French.

---

* Paris Document V, *New York Colonial Documents* volume ix, page 569. † *Idem* page 676.

‡ *Mémoire de la Marine et des Colonies,* Beckwith's Notes page 97.

§ Paris Document VI, *New York Colonial Documents* volume ix, page 759.

1715. British traders from New York again came among the Miamis along the Maumee and Wabash.

1716. The Maumee River and Wabash route had become of general use.

1718. A French traveler wrote: The entrance of the Miamis River from Lake Erie is very wide, and its banks, on both sides for the distance of ten leagues up, are nothing but continual Swamps, abounding at all times, especially in the fall and spring, with game without end; swans, geese, ducks, cranes, etc., which drive sleep away by the noise of their cries. This river is sixty leagues in length, very embarrassing in summer in consequence of the lowness of the water. Thirty leagues up the river is a place called *La Glaise* [at the mouth of the Auglaise River] where Buffaloes [Bisons] are always to be found; they eat the clay and wallow in it.*

1719. Eight or ten canoes of Miami Aborigines passed down the river on their way to Albany, New York, with furs; and the same year they returned with firearms, ammunition, and trinkets received in exchange.

1719. The French endeavored to remove the Miamis along the rivers to the south to their brethren along the St. Joseph River above the French fort. This was an effort to get them away from the British traders, but it was not successful.

1719. Sieur Dubuisson, by command of M. de Vaudreuil, passed up the Maumee with his guard to take command of Post Vincennes made vacant by the death of Sieur de Vincennes at Kekionga the present Fort Wayne.

1720. M. François Morgan passed with his command, on his way to build Ouiotenon, near the present Lafayette, Indiana, the first distinctly military post on the Wabash above Post Vincennes.

1721. A company of travelers from Canada, by way of Niagara, with merchandise to trade with the Miami Aborigines.

1721. The Maumee route was recorded as the shortest way from Lake Erie to the Mississippi River, it being the most public announcement of this fact made among the British up to this date.†

1723. A company of Miamis passed to and from New York to invite British traders to continue coming to the Maumee with supplies.

1724. The British traders from New York passed up the river with supplies for the Miamis.

1725. Frenchmen from the Governor of Canada with presents, passed up the Maumee River to induce the Miamis to cast out the British.

1733. Sieur d'Arnaud with troops from the post at Detroit, came in expedition against the Aborigines by the Maumee and Wabash who were 'rebelling' against the French in favor of the British.

1734. Several French families passed up the Maumee, on their way from Canada to settle at Vincennes.

1735. A company of Frenchmen passed for the Wabash settlements.

1739. M. de Longueuil with soldiers from Detroit, came against British traders in Ohio and Kentucky.

1742. A company of French Herdsmen with live stock from Detroit, came along this route on their way to the forts on the Maumee and Wabash, including Vincennes.

1744. M. de Longueuil from Detroit, with a guard of soldiers and a company of Ottawa Aborigines, passed up the Maumee on their way to rout British traders in Ohio and Indiana.

1747. Coldfoot, *Piedfroid* of the French, chief of the Miamis, *Porc-épic*

---

* Paris Document VII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume ix, page 891.

† London Document XXII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume v, page 622.

(Hedgehog) and their young men, passed down the river on their way to Montreal to 'counçil' with the French Governor, and to join his war excursions against the British.

1747. Frenchmen with peltries from the White and Wabash Rivers passed down the Maumee. They were massacred at Sandusky by Chief Nicolas' band.

1747. Many Aborigines passed up and down the river in conspiracy with Chief Nicolas against the French, in the interest of the British.

1747. Coldfoot and his guard, came on their return from Montreal with presents from the Commandant at Detroit, M. de Longueuil, for the rebelling Huron Chief Nicolas and his bands.

1747, Autumn. The French Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee was captured by the Aborigines, followers of Chief Nicolas' conspiracy, in interest of the British.

1748, February. Sieur Dubuisson with French soldiers from Detroit, passed up the Maumee to recapture and rebuild Fort Miami.

1748. Companies of Frenchmen established trading posts along the Maumee, from its mouth to its source.*

1749, September 27 to October 5th. Captain Pierre Joseph de Céloron and his command passed down the entire length of the Maumee on his return to Montreal, from his taking formal possession of the country north and south of the Ohio River, and burying lead plates so inscribed by order of Marquis de la Galissonnière Captain General of New France. He was accompanied by two hundred French soldiers and thirty-five eastern Aborigines. Rev. Pierre Jean de Bonnécamps accompanied this expedition and wrote as follows regarding their passage down this river, viz: The *Rivière des Miamis* [the Maumee] caused us no less embarassment than *Rivière a la Roche* [the Miami of the Ohio] had done. At almost every instant we were stopped by the beds of flat stones, over which it was necessary to drag our pirogues by main force. I will say, however, that at intervals were found beautiful reaches of smooth water, but they were few and short [this was a season of drouth with low stage of water]. In the last six leagues the river is broad and deep and seems to herald the grandeur of the lake into which it discharges its waters. At six leagues above Lake Erie I took the latitude, which was found to be 42° 0′.† We entered the lake on the 5th of October. On entering it, there is to the left the bay of Onanguisse, which is said to be very deep.‡ Soon after one encounters to the right the *Isles aux Serpents* [islands where there are snakes].

1749. Eighty-eight Miamis, with eleven canoes and seventy-seven packs of furs, passed down on their way to market at Oswego, New York.

1751. Four British traders from Pennsylvania were taken prisoners by the French. Three were taken to Detroit, and one to Quebec 'on account of his mutinous conduct and threats.'

1751. Chevalier Paul Joseph le Moyne de Longueuil and M. Belletre, with French soldiers, traders, and 'two hundred Orondack Aborigines' passed up the Maumee on their way to suppress the Miamis and British traders at La Demoiselle's Fort, known by the British as Pickawillany, on the Miami of the Ohio at the mouth of Loramie Creek.

1752. Winter and spring. The Miamis suffered severely from the smallpox. The Aborigines caught this disease from the Europeans.

1752, May. M. St. Orr (Our?) from Detroit, with companies of French and Canadian soldiers and a large body of Ottawas and Chippewas, under Charles Langlade, passed up the Maumee on their way to suppress the returned British traders, French deserters, and their Miami allies at Pickawillany. This was the first considerable massacre of the French-British War, ending with the British succession in 1760.

---

* *The Firelands Pioneer*, June 1866, page 118.

† These figures are too large. The latitude of the central part of the City of Toledo, ten miles above Lake Erie and five miles above Maumee bay, is 41° 39′. Reverend Bonnécamps' records average well, however, for the time given to them with the means at his command.

‡ This reference is to the arm of Maumee Bay at the mouths of Ottawa River and Halfway Creek,

1752, Autumn. Chevalier de Longueuil* with four hundred Canadians, a small detachment of French regular troops and Senecas, passed up the river to treat with the Miamis. He marched into their towns with great display, and deeply impressed them by his elaborate ceremonies and presents.

1756. French Ambassadors, by way of Detroit, passed up the river to arrange terms of peace between the warring Miami and Illinois tribes.

1757, Spring. James Smith, twenty years of age, came with his Aborigine captors from the Cuyahoga River along the south shore of Lake Erie in canoes laden with peltries, and 'put in at the mouth of the Miami of the Lake [Maumee River] at Cedar Point, where we remained several days and killed a number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and swans.' They passed on to a Wayndot town opposite Fort Detroit where they sold the peltries, taking part payment in fanciful clothing; but most of the pay was taken in brandy on which the Aborigines became intoxicated and so remained until all the brandy was gone. Returning, they again stopped at Maumee Bay and engaged in a deer drive. The squaws and boys remained in the canoes along the shore, and the others ranged along the land some distance from the shore. Thirty deer were secured.† Part were shot on the land, and part were killed in the water by tomahawks. Many escaped. "We had now great feasting and rejoicing as we had plenty of hominy, venison, and wild fowl. Here our company separated. The chief part of them went up the Miami [Maumee] River that empties into Lake Erie at Cedar Point, whilst we proceeded on our journey in company with Tecaughretanego, Tontileaugo, and two families of the Wyandots."‡ Smith further wrote: The Aborigines are a slovenly people in their dress. They seldom ever wash their shirts, and in regard to cookery they are exceedingly filthy. . . It is a common thing among them for a young woman, if in love, to make suit to a young man; though the first address may be by the man, yet the other is the most common. The squaws are generally very immodest in their words and actions, and will often put the young man to the blush. The men commonly appear to be possessed of much more modesty than the women. . . They have their children under tolerable command; seldom ever whip them, and their common mode of chastising is by ducking them in cold water; therefore their children are more obedient in the winter season than they are in the summer, though they are not so often ducked. . .

1757. A large body of Miami warriors passed down the Maumee River on their way to Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George, New York, to assist the French in its siege and capture from the British.

1759. Captain Aubry with three hundred French regular soldiers and militia and six hundred Aborigines gathered on the route passed down the Maumee carrying 200,000 pounds of flour from western Illinois. Their route was by way of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash Rivers, down the Maumee and along the southern shore of Lake Erie, to help protect Fort Venango, and thence to aid Fort Niagara. Captain Aubry was taken prisoner by the British at Niagara which fort the British captured July 25, 1759.§

1760, November 22. Major Robert Rogers' command on its way to receive the surrender of Detroit from the French commandant M. Picoté de Belletre to the British, encamped about ten miles east of Cedar Point the northeast point at the mouth of Maumee Bay; and the next morning they sailed to Cedar Point where they again encamped to continue negotiotions with a 'large encampment' of Ottawa and Wyandot Aborigines.* The next morning the command passed across the mouth of the Bay by Turtle Island. The weather was so foggy that the drum was necessarily beaten all day to keep the boats together.

---

* Paris Document X, *New York Colonial Documents* velume x, page 251.

† See *Life Among the Aborigines* by Reverend James B. Finley, page 384 where 'ring hunts' are mentioned, as many as 500 deer being killed in one such hunt, also numerous other animals.

‡ *James Smith's Captivity Among the Ohio Aborigines from 1755 to 1761*, written by himself. Lexington, Kentucky, 1799, and printed in *Aborigine Captivities* by Samuel G. Drake, Auburn, 1852, Reprinted in Cincinnati in 1870.

§ Paris Document XVI, *New York Colonial Documents* volume x, pages 986, 989,

1760, December 7. 'Mr. Butler of the Rangers set off with an officer and party to relieve the Garrison at the Milineys.'† . . They passed up the Maumee.

1763, May 1. A large number of Aborigines passed down the Maumee on their way to Detroit to aid Pontiac in the siege of that fort.

1763, May 23. Jacques Godefroy with four other Canadians, and Aborigines, from near Detroit, passed up to the head of the Maumee to aid in the capture of the then British Fort Miami in aid of Pontiac's Conspiracy.

1763, Summer. Pontiac returned to the Maumee from the Siege of Detroit. It is recorded that Pontiac was born by the Maumee River at Defiance—see *ante* page 105.

1764. A part of Colonel Henry Bouquet's army was along the River St. Mary and at the head of the Maumee.

1764, last week of August. Colonel John Bradstreet's army was at the mouth of Maumee Bay. This army against the savages excited by Pontiac, was subjected to great losses by desertions and storms, and did but little good—see *ante* page 114.

1764. Captain Thomas Morris of the British 17th Regiment Infantry was detached by General Bradstreet from his command and sent as an ambassador to the Aborigines along the Maumee and to the southwest. He left Cedar Point, the northeast point of land at the mouth of Maumee Bay August 26, accompanied by two Canadian Frenchmen, two servants, and upwards of twenty Aborigines including five Mohawks of the Six Nations Iroquois of New York among whom Captain Morris had been commandant of Fort Hendrick at Canajoharie. They found Pontiac with six hundred warriors at the Ottawa village either near the Grand Rapids of the Maumee or further up the river as noted *ante* page 115. Here, after escaping many dangers, the Captain purchased three horses for riding, and hired two canoes to carry their little remaining baggage, and they continued to the Miami villages at the head of the Maumee where other serious dangers awaited him.‡ Escaping from his persecutors, the Captain and Godefroy returned to Detroit with but few attendants. They rode horses most of the way; and detourred to the left, northward from the Maumee, to avoid the Ottawa villages.

1765, August 1. George Croghan Commissioner from Sir William Johnson, with Aborigine chiefs and British prisoners surrendered to him by their tribes, arrived from the Wabash River at the Portage to the Maumee. On the 6th August they started down the Maumee in canoes—see *ante* page 122.

1765, September 1. Deputations of several Aborigine tribes, from Commissioner Croghan at Detroit, passed up to confer with the Illinois and other tribes.

1774. A French record§ describes 'The Road from Detroit to the Illinois by way of the Forts Miami, Ouiatanon and St. Vincent with some Remarks' as follows, namely:

---

* Possibly this is where Major Rogers first met Pontiac—see *ante* page 103; and Croghan's Journal.

† This is supposed to be the French garrison of Fort Miami near the Head of the Maumee—see map *ante* page 97; and these Rangers were soon succeeded by a small number of the Royal Americans commanded by Lieutenant Robert Holmes. See George Croghan's Journal, reprint by The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1904.

‡ See *ante* page 116 *et seq.* Also the Captain's *Journal* of this embassy in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* London, 1791, by Captain Thomas Morris; or reprint of this *Journal* by The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1904.

§ From 'Documents Relating to the French Settlements on the Wabash' gathered by Jacob P. Dunn and printed in the *Indiana Historical Society Publications* volume ii, Number 11, page 33.

From Detroit to Lake Erie, eighteen miles.

To the River Miamie [Maumee], thirty-six miles.

To the Foot of the Rapids, eighteen miles.

To the Top of the Rapids, eighteen miles. N. B. Part of the Ottawas & a few of the Hurons inhabit this part of the River. In the former when the water is low, Canoes cannot pass the Rapids otherwise than by being dragged over the stones & frequently the Traders are obliged to carry their goods the whole eighteen miles.

To the end of the stillwater, twenty-four miles [to near the present Florida, Henry County, Ohio].

To the Top of the next Rapids, nine miles [to the present State Dam four and a half miles below (east of) Defiance].

To the Grand Glaise, a River so called on the left going up, six miles. N. B. A few Ottawas live here [at the mouth of the Auglaise River within the present City of Defiance; this record showing a distance of seventy-five miles from the mouth of the Maumee].

To the Little Glaise on the right, three miles [the present Tiffin River. The distance by River is but one mile and a half. Other distances given in this table are only approximate].

To the King's Glaise on the right, twelve miles. A few Ottawas live here [mouth of Platter Creek, Defiance County].

To the Elm Meadow [nearly opposite the present Village of Antwerp, Paulding County, Ohio] fifteen miles.

To Sledge Island (so called from a stone resembling a sledge) twelve miles.

To the Split Rock, six miles.

To the Wolf Rapid [latterly known as Bull Rapid, in Maumee Township, Allen County, Indiana] twelve miles.

To the Great Bend, twelve miles.

To Fort Miamie [by the River St. Joseph see map *ante* page 97] fifteen miles. N. B. The Miami Nation live opposite the Fort and consist of about 50 Men able to bear arms. The Fort is inhabited by Eight or Ten French Families.

From Fort Miami to Cold Feet where the old French Fort was, three miles. [This was the site of the first Fort Miami by the River St. Mary—see map *ante* page 97. The distance here given is too great; but the distances given from the mouth of the Maumee aggregate one hundred and sixty-two miles which is nearly correct. 'Cold Feet' was the name of the village of the Miami Chief Coldfoot's band]. The carrying place to the Little River, nine miles. To the River à Boite, six miles. To the Flats, twenty-one miles. To the Little Rock [Little Rock River, now known as Bull Creek] three miles. To the Ouabache, six miles. [Ouabache, the French spelling of Wabash. This was at the mouth of Little River, one mile and a half below the site of the present Village of Huntington, Indiana]. N. B. Between the Miamie [Maumee] & the Ouabache there are Beaver Dams which when water is low Passengers break down to raise it, & by that means pass easier than they otherwise would. When they are gone the Beaver come and mend the Breach, for this reason they have been hitherto sacred as neither Aborigines nor White people hunt them." This account is continued to the Illinois country, it giving the entire distance from Detroit as 879 miles, 240 of which being across 'Plains and extensive Meadows' from the lower Wabash River.

1777 (?) John Edgar, a well-known merchant of Detroit, passed up the Maumee on his way to Kaskaskia, Illinois, his place of banishment by the British on account of his sympathy with the Colonists. His goods were confiscated. Congress in after years gave him 2000 acres of land as compensation for his loss.

1778, Spring. Daniel Boon and ten other Kentuckians were taken prisoners by the

Aborigines, and taken down the Auglaise and Maumee to Detroit. They were soon thereafter returned to 'Old Chillicothe' whence Boon soon escaped from his captors.

1778, June. The Miami, Shawnee, Pottawotami, Wabash and other savages passed down the Maumee on their way to a great council with Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Abbott of Vincennes, John Hay Aborigine Agent, and M'Kee, at Detroit. This council of the middle of June was attended by 1683 Aborigines of both sexes.*

1778, August 10-15. M. de Céloron passed up the Maumee with war-belts from Hamilton of Detroit to the Miami and Wabash savages, to hold them firm with the British against Colonel George Rogers Clark's successes in the southwest.

1778, August. Captain de Quindre with a company of Canadians and Aborigines from Detroit, passed along the Maumee on their way to and from their raid on Boonsboro, Kentucky, in interest of the British against the Americans.

1778, August 25. A war party of fifteen Miamis started from the head of the Maumee for a raid along the Ohio. They were followed on the 30th by a chief and thirty warriors.

1778, September 14 to 22. Charles Beaubien British Agent among the Miamis at the head of the Maumee River, passed down with his escort on way to report to Hamilton at Detroit.

1778, September 29 to October 4. Captain Alexander M'Kee British Superintendent with escort, belts of wampum and presents, passed up the Maumee as a war messenger from Lieutenant Governor Hamilton at Detroit to the Shawnees.

1778, October 1st to 11th. A Lieutenant and militia from Hamilton at Detroit passed up the Maumee to its head to assist in repairing the Portage Road to Little River, and Fort Miami.

1778, October 10th to 24th. Lieutenant Governor, and Colonel, Henry Hamilton of Detroit passed up the Maumee on his way to recapture Vincennes from Colonel Clark's detachment. He was accompanied by Captain William Lamothe's company of volunteers composed of Major Jehu May in general charge, including a large amount of presents for the Aborigines; Captains Normond M'Leod and Alexis Maisonville; Lieutenants Jacob Schieffelin, Joncaire Chabert, Chevalier Chabert and Pierre St. Cosme; Adjutant Medard Gamelin; Quartermaster Chapman; Surgeon John M'Beath; Commissary of Provisions at Head of Maumee Charles Louvain; Commissary for the Expedition Adhemar St. Martin; Storekeeper Nicholas La Salle; Armorers Augustine LeFoi and Amable Cosme; Boatmaster Francis Maisonville; Master Carpenter Amos Ansley; and seventy-one private soldiers. Also about seventy Aborigines led by Captain Charles Reaume and Lieutenants Lepiconiere De Quindre, Pontchartrain De Quindre and Joseph Bondy. Regular soldiers of the King's Eighth Regiment were to soon follow, viz: one lieutenant, two sergeants, and thirty-one private soldiers; also one lieutenant fireworker and two matrosses [artillerymen].† This expedition progressed laboriously up the Maumee with its many bateaux and large pirogues (see *ante* page 138) heavily laden with food, supplies, including one six-pounder cannon, and presents, valued at $50,000.‡ It had been a fall of unusual low water, but some recent rains had given hope of rise in the rivers. They arrived at the rapids October 11th and at the head of the Maumee in the good time of thirteen days.*

---

* See Haldimand MSS. Also *History of George R. Clark's Conquest* by C. W. Butterfield, page 153 *et seq.*

† From Hamilton's letters to General Frederick Haldimand Governor of Canada, in the Haldimand MSS. There has been much fiction of statement regarding this important expedition as, also, regarding most other events in history. See Bancroft's *History of the United States;* Monnette's *History of the Valley of the Mississippi;* English's *Conquest of the Country N. W. of the Ohio. Annals of the West; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections:* Butterfield's *History of Clark's Conquest; Ante* page 137, etc.

‡ Oxen, carts, and beef-cattle preceded the boats. Most of the army supplies were left during the winter at Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee where, Colonel Hamilton wrote, there will be a depot,

1779, Early spring. Aborigines with several prisoners from Kentucky, including Captain Nathan Bullit, and Jesse Coffer, passed on their way to Detroit to surrender them to the British 'who were then paying more for live meat than for scalps.'

1779, Last part of March or first of April. The militiamen who accompanied Colonel Hamilton to Vincennes in the fall of 1778 and were there taken prisoners by the American force under Colonel George Rogers Clark and paroled by him, passed down the river on their return to Detroit.

1779, June. Simon Kenton, Captain Nathan Bullit and Jesse Coffer, passed up the west side of the Maumee Valley on their return home after escaping from the British at Detroit.†

1779, October. Captain Matthew Elliott, Simon and George Girty, and Aborigines passed on their return to Detroit with prisoners and booty captured from David Rogers' company of seventy Americans by the Ohio River near the mouth of the Licking, 4th October.

1780, Early June. Colonel Henry Bird with six hundred British soldiers, Canadians, Simon, James, and George Girty, and Aborigines, and two pieces of artillery, from Detroit passed up the Maumee and Auglaise to the massacre of Americans at Bryant's and Riddle's, or Ruddell's, Stations, Kentucky.‡

1780, Last of July. Colonel Henry Bird's command returned down the rivers to Detroit, with about one hundred and fifty American prisoners and many scalps to sell to the British.

1780, October 27. One of the common great gatherings of Aborigines was held at the lower rapids with much drunkenness as usual, following the payment of British bounties for their savage work against Americans during the Revolutionary War.

1780, Autumn. M. la Balme, of France, with a small company from Kaskaskia, came up the Wabash to the head of the Maumee against the British and Aborigines.

---

a store of provisions, perhaps of ammunition and goods for the Aborigines. As soon as I arrive there I shall order a redoubt to be thrown up, the houses to be fortified, or such other precaution taken for its defense as may appear best suited to the number of inhabitants and nature of the ground. . . thus the time spent in councils with the Aborigines (which are sometimes very deliberate) may be employed at the Miamis in fortifying that depot. . . If the rebels [Americans] at Fort Pitt, with the assistance of the Delawares in their interest, could effect the surprise of such a place, they would not only possess themselves of our magazine but *cut off one* of our communications with Detroit, as we might in that case be obliged to return by the way of St. Joseph [near Lake Michigan] and be distressed for provision. I shall represent this to Captain Lernoult [Commandant at Detroit] who will judge how far a detachment sent to the Miamis [at head of Maumee] will be a cover to Detroit, and facilitate and secure our correspondence and communication.'

* At Fort Miami Hamilton reported they met several tribes of Aborigines previously summoned there and held several conferences, made them presents, dispatched messengers to the Shawnees and other tribes on their route inviting their company, 'or at least to watch the motions of the rebels [Americans] on the frontiers, for which purpose I sent them ammunition.' The report also gives the following experience after leaving Fort Miami: Having passed the portage of nine miles we arrived at one of the sources of the Ouabache [Wabash] called the Petit Rivière [Little River]. The waters were so uncommonly low that we should not have been able to have passed but that at the distance of four miles from the landing place the beavers had made a dam which kept up the water; these we cut through to give a passage to our boats, and having taken in our lading at the landing passed all the boats. The beaver are never molested at that place by the traders or Aborigines, and soon repair their dam, which is a most serviceable work upon this difficult communication. See *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, volume ix; also *ante* page 138.

† *John M'Donald's Biographical Sketches*, page 238.

‡ Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, volume ii page 294.

His company was successful at first, then in an unguarded moment they were massacred by the rallying savages near the Aboite River on their return. See *ante* page 144.

1781. George Holman and Richard Rue captives with an Aborigine party led by Simon Girty were brought down the Auglaise, and taken down the Maumee and to Detroit. Holman was taken back to Wapakoneta, and Rue was taken to the Mississinewa. He escaped to his friends after a few years. See *Firelands Pioneer.*

1781. The Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaise was the refuge and abode for a time of the survivors of the Moravian Christian Aborigines (Delawares) after the sad massacre of their brethren at the Tuscarawas River.

1781–83. War parties of savages continued to come from and return to the British at Detroit, passing up and down the river or across its lower course.

1787. A large council of Aborigines was held at the foot of the lowest Maumee rapids, on the right bank. The British Deputy Agent (a deserter from the Americans) Alexander M'Kee, was present, also the noted Joseph Brant of New York.

1788. Another council of Aborigines was held by the lower Maumee, with the same British emissaries present as in 1787. The United States was also represented by Thomas Girty, who continued loyal notwithstanding the influence of his three renegade younger brothers Simon, James, and George, who were active among the Ohio savages engendering disaffection against the Americans in favor of the British. The savages, however, decided to attend council with the Americans at Fort Harmar.

1783 to 1790. But few white people passed along the river other than French, British, and a few American, traders with the Aborigines.

1790. Colonels Joseph Brant and Alexander M'Kee, and others of the British troops, had storehouse at the foot of the lowest Rapids for supplying the savages with food and the munitions of war.

1790, April 12. ——— Freeman and ——— Gerard, messengers of peace from Brigadier General Wilkinson of Fort Washington, to the Aborigines, were murdered by them at the lower rapids of the Maumee.

1790, April 23. Antoine Gamelin with guard arrived at the Miami town at the head of the Maumee, with a letter from Governor Arthur St. Clair by way of Major John F. Hamtramck at Post Vincennes. This letter, addressed to the Aborigines along the Wabash and Maumee, expressed the desire of the writer that these tribes be at peace with the United States. There were British traders then along the Maumee who kept alive antipathy to the Americans, and the Americans could not secure peace.

1790. Gabriel Godfrey and John Baptiste Beaugrand, from Canada, establisbed a trading post at the foot of the lowest rapids.

1790. Pirogues of Canadian make, laden with Aborigines, supplies and munitions of war obtained from the British, passed up the river against General Josiah Harmar's command.

1790, September or early October. James Girty passed down the Maumee to the site of the present City of Defiance, fleeing with his stock for trade from his trading house at St. Marys before General Harmar's army.

1790, October 15 and 17. General Josiah Harmar arrived from the south along the headwaters of the Maumee with an army of 1453 U. S. Regular troops and militia, and three pieces of artillery, against the Aborigines who defeated him—see *ante* page 163.

1791, May 25. Two hundred Aborigines, in war parties, moved from Sandusky to Roche de Bout. . Also June 11th, large war parties from Detroit passed up the river to the Miami towns at its head. Simon Girty and other British agents were present and active with the savages against the Americans.*

---

* Thomas Rhea's Report in the *American State Papers, Aborigine Affairs* volume i, p. 196.

1792. The largest gathering in the history of the Aborigine councils was held at the junction of the Auglaise with the Maumee, at the northern part of the First and Second Wards of the present City of Defiance. Over three thousand and six hundred were reported present—see *ante* page 178.

1794, April. The British under direction of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe built Fort Miami on the left bank of the Maumee about two miles below the lowest rapids, and garrisoned it with four hundred and fifty men and ten pieces of artillery.

1794. James Girty fled from the site of the present City of Defiance down the Maumee with his merchandise to Canada before the coming of General Wayne's army.

1794, August. General Anthony Wayne with an army of about two thousand men came down the left bank of the Auglaise, established Fort Defiance from the 8th to the 15th, and passed down the left bank of the Maumee to the Battle of Fallen Timber August 20, which occurred on the left bank of the river about four miles above the foot of the lowest rapids. He started on his return August 23rd and arrived at Fort Defiance the 27th where he remained, strengthening the fort, until September 13th, when he started up the left (north) bank of the river to build Fort Wayne.

1794, October 28. Colonel Richard England, Commandant of the British garrison at Detroit, wrote to Francis Le Maitre Military Secretary, complaining of the great amount of food supplies taken by Colonel M'Kee to the Maumee at the mouth of Swan Creek for the Aborigines; also for those taken 'for the garrisons at Fort Miamies [by the lower Maumee] and at Turtles Island' near the mouth of Maumee Bay. He paid the soldiers of these garrisons 'a Dollar a chord for Cutting & piling the Fire wood necessary for these Posts for the Winter.' . . Loss by death at these posts 'by that unfavorable Climate' was very severe. At this date of Colonel England's writing there were "of the 24th Regiment only one hundred & fifty-four on the Surgeon's sick list Report. Those who survive will not I fear be fit for any Duty this Winter, as their disorder is of such a nature as to give but little hope of a speedy or *permanent* recovery. Every attention is paid to them that this [Detroit] Post will admit of, but from the very unusual Consumption of Medicine, Our Stock, as well as all that could be purchased here, is totally Expended, and we look with impatience for a supply from Lower Canada."*

1795, Spring. Many Aborigines passed up the Maumee on their way to the Treaty at Greenville.

1795. At the Treaty at Greenville Chief Little Turtle desired for the Miami Aborigines the exclusive control of the Portage between the Maumee, or the lower waters of the River St. Mary, and the Little River; but it was not granted to them. They had succeeded in monopolizing it for a long time previous to the coming of General Wayne's army. The transportation of peltries, merchandise, etc., between the Maumee and Little River had become so great that they boasted of having received as tolls for it as much as one hundred dollars a day, which is probably an extreme statement. As the Aborigines did not like work, it is presumed that they desired the exclusive control for the purpose of levying toll contrary to Article IV of the Ordinance of 1787, and not for the purpose of organizing facilities for the transportation of goods. Some of their horses and men could be hired, however, to aid in the work.

1796, Early summer. Count Constantine François Classeboeuf de Volney, French traveler, writer, and philosopher, passed down the Auglaise and Maumee on his way from Vincennes to Detroit and Philadelphia, coming by way of the Ohio River, Frankfort and Lexington, Kentucky. He was under charge of a military convoy from Cincinnati 'through the kindness of Major Swan [U. S. Army] by a road formed by the army through over two hundred and fifty miles of forest. Five palisaded forts, neatly constructed

---

* *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, vol. xii pages 148-150. Also see *ante* pages 194, 211 and onward.

[Forts Loramie, St. Marys, Auglaise, Defiance and Miami] were the only stages in this journey.'*

1796, May 17. Colonel John Francis Hamtramck, leaving a small garrison at Fort Wayne, passed down the Maumee with his command to Fort Defiance which was probably dismantled and abandoned about June 1st; and the garrison moved down the Maumee to Fort Deposit.

1796, July 5th. Captain Moses Porter with his company of sixty-five soldiers, moved from the lower Maumee to Detroit where he took possession of Fort Lernoult upon its evacuation by the British garrison July 11th.

1796, July 11th. The British garrison, according to the terms of the Jay Treaty, evacuated Fort Miami by the lower river, which was at once taken possession of by Captain Marschalk and his company, of Colonel Hamtramck's command.

1796, July 11th. Colonel John F. Hamtramck 'embarked all the troops' from the lower Maumee for Detroit, where he arrived the 13th.

1796. James Girty returned from his retreat in Canada, and had for some time a trading post on the north bank of the Maumee opposite Girty Island to which he would retreat when there were signs of danger. Later he removed to the Shawnee town on the left bank of the Maumee three miles below Fort Wayne. On the approach of General Harrison's army to raise the Siege of Fort Wayne in 1812, he again fled to Canada where he died 15th April, 1817.

1803, June [?]. Colonel Thomas Hunt and the 1st Regiment U. S. Infantry from Detroit, passed up the Maumee in fifty Montreal Bateaux, on their way to St. Louis.† These boats were hauled across the Portage to the Little River by the soldiers.

1804, April 15. Two members of the Society of Friends from the Baltimore Yearly Meeting who went to Fort Wayne on horseback to establish an agricultural and Christian mission among the Aborigines (see *ante* page 391) started down the Maumee in a pirogue propelled by Corporal King and a private soldier of the Fort Wayne garrison. There were many Aborigines along the river, mostly Ottawas, with hunting and maple sugar camps, and children including infants bandaged tightly to boards, with faces painted very red, silver bracelets around the wrists and heavy silver rings in the ears. Larger children were in calico frocks to which were attached numerous silver brooches from top to bottom with like ornaments around the wrists and neck and in the ears. Their huts were made of two upright forked sticks with one stick horizontal in the forks and bark from trees leaning against it, and sometimes covered with rushes sewn together into mats with thready fibers obtained from bark of the buckeye tree by pounding it. Occasionally a pointed tepee was seen. Game was plentiful, and

'The prowling wolf howled hideous all night long,
And owls vociferated the dread response.'

A maskalonge was speared by the occupants of this pirogue, measuring four feet two inches in length, and larger ones were reported to them. They stopped to view the remains of Fort Defiance. 'The situation is very beautiful and commanding at the junction of the River Great Au Glaise with the Miami [Maumee]. The two rivers make a large body of water, the width being about two hundred yards. A Canadian trader only resides here.' They passed Girtytown, the former trading station of James Girty, opposite Girty Island. They passed from the head of Grand Rapids to the foot of the lowest rapids, fourteen miles, in one and a half hours, carefully noting Roche de Bout or standing rock on the way which was described as thirty feet high above surface of water, circular with diameter the same, and top of the regular appearance of the roof of a house. 'Its appearance is additionally handsome from the circumstance of the roof, as it is called, being covered with cedar' trees. Below the lowest rapids their progress was slow from strong head wind and "prudence seemed to dictate that we should put into a harbor, which we did at the mouth of Swan Creek where is a small fort [Fort Industry] and garrison lately established by the United States. Introductory letters were given us at Fort Wayne to Lieutenant Rhea the Commandant, which we delivered. He treated us with respect, and with him we spent the remainder of the day and lodged. On our way we stopped to view an old fort called Fort Miami which was garrisoned by the British at the time Wayne defeated the Aborigines.'* Many Aborigine villages and wigwams were seen on both sides of the lower Maumee, and many French dwelt there, having married into the tribe and adopted the tribe's customs. Some of these houses were of a better class, built of small round logs, and roofed with bark.

---

* *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America.* etc. By C. F. Volney. Philadelphia, 1804, page 356.

† Magazine of Western History, volume x.

1809 to 1811. Tecumseh and other Chiefs, and numerous other Aborigines, passed along the Maumee many times on their way to and from the British at Amherstburg and the Wabash to confederate the Aborigines against the Americans.

1812, September 25–28. A strong force of British and savages from Malden passed up the Maumee to about twelve miles above Fort Defiance, and then retreated before the on-coming Americans.†

1812. General James Winchester, with about two thousand soldiers of the Army of the Northwest, started down the river from Fort Wayne September 22nd and arrived at the ruins of Fort Defiance the 30th. Here he built a large 'handsome fort' (Fort Winchester) and remained until December 30th, the main force occupying alternately five encampments where they suffered from cold, want of food, and disease as much, probably, as any American troops have endured. Leaving Fort Winchester December 30th, his army, now reduced to near one thousand men, arrived at Presq'ile, the Battle Field of Fallen Timber, January 10th, 1813, where he built Fort Deposit No. 2 about two miles below the site of General Wayne's Fort Deposit No. 1.

1813, January 12. General Payne, of General Winchester's army, routed a gathering of Aborigines from an old stockade post on the north bank of Swan Creek near its mouth (ruins of Fort Industry ?)

1813, January 17. Colonels Lewis and Allen, from General Winchester's force, were dispatched with five hundred and fifty men against the British and Aborigines at Frenchtown (Monroe).

1813, January 19. General Winchester moved from the lower Maumee to his complete defeat at Frenchtown (Monroe) Michigan.

1813, February, March, and April. Fort Meigs was built, by order of General William H. Harrison, on right bank of Maumee at the foot of the lowest Rapids just above the present Village of Perrysburg, Wood County, Ohio.

1813. Colonel Richard M. Johnson with a regiment of Kentucky cavalry, passed to and from Fort Meigs several times along the Maumee.

1813. Many large boat loads of army supplies were taken down the river, from Fort Wayne and from the Auglaise to Fort Meigs.

1813, May 1st to 5th. Fort Meigs was besieged by the British with heavy cannon and a strong force under General Henry Proctor. They were successfully resisted by the garrison under General Harrison.

1813. General Green Clay's command of twelve hundred Kentucky and other soldiers left Fort Winchester May 3rd to aid the besieged Fort Meigs. They had eighteen large flat scows with high thick sides to shield the troops against bullets of attacking foes.

---

* *A Mission to the Aborigines, from the Aborigine Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting* [of the Society of Friends] to Fort Wayne in 1804, page 96. Compare *ante* pages 386 and onward.

† See *ante* page 287; And the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, volume xv pages 151–154.

1813, May 4. Colonel William Dudley's Kentucky troops, of General Clay's command, were defeated on the west side of the river opposite and below Fort Meigs, and he with six hundred and thirty of his force of eight hundred, were captured and many were massacred.

1813, July 21. Second (bloodless) investment of Fort Meigs by British and savages.

1813–1815. There was much of passing down and up the Maumee of troops and supplies for the armies during and at the close of the War of 1812.

1814. Major John Whistler passed up the Maumee from Detroit with troops to assume command of Fort Wayne.

1815, May 15. Fort Meigs was dismantled by its garrison of about forty men. Its armament, including four heavy pieces of ordinance and military stores, was taken to Detroit on the schooner *Blacksnake* commanded by Captain Jacob Wilkinson.

1815, and onward. The influx of permanent settlers was considerable, particularly at the head of the river, foot of the lowest rapids, and at Defiance, increasing in number each year.

1815–16. Fort Wayne was rebuilt by its garrison under Major John Whistler.

1817. Major Joseph H. Vose, of the 5th U. S. Regiment Infantry, succeeded to the command of Fort Wayne.

1819, April 19. Major Joseph H. Vose, in compliance with orders, dismantled Fort Wayne and passed down the Maumee with the garrison of ninety-one men, and equipment including one six and one twelve pounder cannon, on their way to Detroit, thus removing from this Basin the last garrison of United States soldiers.

1822. General Lewis Cass and Henry R. Schoolcraft historian of the Aborigines, with attendants, went up the Maumee in canoes on their way from Detroit to the Mississippi. They returned by this river. General Cass had before this journey been up and down this river several times by boat in his public dealings and treaties with the Aborigines.

The foregoing is but a brief outline of the former importance of this waterway as a thoroughfare. Its full importance in early times cannot well be comprehended at this distance in time and development, particularly by those not conversant with water transportation and the great scope of country which focused along this river. Hundreds of warring Aborigines of the many tribes, in addition to the foregoing list, were often passing up and down its course; and their women, children and aged found their greatest pleasure along its waters. In the later history of the Aborigines here, about the time annuities were to be paid at Fort Wayne, there was an especial assembling of their entire number for the journey thither, many traveling far from direct route for the purpose of passing along the river. They came along the Maumee from villages east and west of its mouth, and down the Auglaise and Tiffin to Defiance where two thousand or more have been encamped for a time before renewing the journey up the river to receive the Government's bounty. The days of exclusively licensed traders had passed, and every tradesman was alert to get his share of traffic. Some even accompanied them to Fort Wayne (the late Brice Hilton of

Brunersburg among the number) piroguing their stock for trade up the Maumee while the Aborigines generally went by land, some on horseback and others on foot, to meet at night in or near the same camping place. It was generally necessary to trust the Aborigines for their purchases until the receipt of their annuity. It was also necessary to be close at hand with the demand for payment upon its receipt; and even then some bills would remain unpaid. These Aborigines, who loved the Maumee River so well, have long since departed to far distant western reservations, and to the Spirit Land, leaving but little expression of the sentiment that the more thoughtful of them must have felt in their better moments.*

The commerce of and for the settlers along the Maumee River above the lowest rapids culminated in 1842, to be largely superseded the following year by the Miami and Erie and the Wabash and Erie Canals. The river transportation, on all streams above and below Fort Wayne, was led prior to 1830 by Francis Minne and Jacob Bush; and subsequently by Patrick Ravenscraft and John Barber. Individuals, or two or more neighboring farmers, however, would do their own transporting by pirogues, even to Detroit. The boating from Fort Wayne to Maumee Village or Perrysburg and return usually required one week's time. All kinds of products and merchandise then current were transported.

---

* In the late Isaac Van Tassel's Journal of the Presbyterian Mission to the Aborigines at the middle of the lowest series of rapids we find the statement, printed in the *Missionary Herald* of December, 1831, that "Since the Treaty [of 1828 whereby they were to be removed to the far westward reservation] some of the Aborigines have said they will never leave this country. If they can find no place to stay, they will spend the rest of their days in walking up and down the Maumee, mourning over the wretched state of their people." Using this sentiment as a subject, Josiah D. Canning, of Gill, Massachusetts, communicated to the *American Pioneer*, volume ii, 1843, page 78, the following poem entitled

THE BANKS OF MAUMEE.

I stood, in a dream, on the banks of Maumee!
'Twas autumn, and nature seem'd wrapped in decay,
The wind, moaning, crept thro' the shivering tree—
The leaf from the bough drifted slowly away:
The gray-eagle screamed on the marge of the stream,
The solitudes answered the bird of the free;
How lonely and sad was the scene of my dream,
And mournful the hour, on the banks of Maumee!

A form passed before me — a vision of one
Who mourned for his nation, his country and kin;
He walked on the shores, now deserted and lone,
Where the homes of his tribe, in their glory, had been:
And thought after thought o'er his sad spirit stole,
As wave follows wave o'er the turbulent sea;
And this lamentation he breathed from his soul,
O'er the ruins of home, on the banks of Maumee:

'As the hunter, at morn, in the snows of the wild,
Recalls to his mind the sweet visions of night;
When sleep, softly falling, his sorrows beguiled,
And opened his eyes in the land of delight —

A few passengers sought conveyance in these boats. Going down the stream in a good stage of water, the ride was rapid and exhilarating. But some amusing stories were told of persons who engaged conveyance on freight boats at Port Lawrence, Maumee and Perrysburg up the river, particularly during low stages of water. During the journey they were obliged to either wade in the water and help to lift and push the boat up the rapids, or work with a pole to push the boat up the deeper and more sluggish current. They would soon 'recognize the joke' forsake the boat, and make the journey much easier and quicker in walking along the shore path unencumbered.

The means and system of transportation across the Portage between the Maumee and Little River developed with the river commerce. Some of the more enterprising Frenchmen led the business, at first in the name or partly in the interest of the Miami chiefs, who sought to levy tribute on the portage notwithstanding Article IV of the Ordinance of 1787, and then for themselves. Louis Bourie of Detroit established a store at Fort Wayne, and his chief clerk conducted the Portage Transportation business largely from 1803 to 1809. This business increased to large proportions, horses and carts being used; but land transportation was here wholly superseded by the canal which was completed from Fort Wayne to Huntington in 1835.

The first of the larger sailboats, recorded by the newspaper *Miami of the Lake* in April, 1846, and others, as built by the lower Maumee to

---

So, backward I muse on the dream of my youth:
  Ye peace-giving hours! O, where did ye flee!
When the Christian neglected his pages of truth,
  And the Great Spirit frowned, on the banks of Maumee.

'Oppression has lifted his iron-like rod
  And smitten my people, again and again;
The white man has said there is justice with God —
  Will he hear the poor Aborigine before him complain?
Sees he not how His children are worn and oppress'd —
  How driven in exile? — O, can he not see?
And I, in the garments of heaviness dress'd,
  The last of my tribe, on the banks of Maumee?

'Ye trees, on whose branches my cradle was hung,
  Must I yield you a prey to the axe and the fire?
Ye shores, where the chant of the pow-wow was sung?
  Have ye witnessed the light of the council expire?
Pale ghosts of my fathers, who battled of yore,
  Is the Great Spirit *just* in the land where ye be?
While living, dejected I'll wander this shore,
  And join you at last from the banks of Maumee.'

There is but little poetic literature relating to the Maumee known to the writer; and this fact induces the reprinting of the foregoing effusion. Rev. N. B. C. Love, D.D., who has resided many years by and near the Maumee River, dedicated in 1897 'To the Pioneers of the Maumee Valley, Living and Dead' a poem of 236 lines entitled *The Maumee* which, though faulty in construction, embraces more correct sentiment than does the foregoing. It is printed in the pamphlet of the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association for 1897, and separately.

coast along Lake Erie, were the sloop or schooner *Miami* of 25 tons capacity, built at Perrysburg in the year 1810 for Detroit owners. The *Blacksnake* of the same size was in use from 1814, and the *Leopard* from 1819. The *Guerrière* of 75 tons was built at Swan Creek. She was sold at auction January 1, 1834, in Sandusky by John Hollister and Company of Perrysburg. Then were built at Perrysburg, the *Eagle* of 130 tons in 1827 which continued to ply quite regularly between the Maumee and Buffalo, Captain David Wilkinson being master in 1832; and the *Antelope* of 75 tons built in 1828, the last three being owned at Perrysburg. Up to the year 1846 the list of such vessels had increased to the number of twenty, the largest being of about 150 tons burden.

The first steamboat built for the Great Lakes was the *Walk-in-the Water* of 340 tons, built at Black Rock, Buffalo, by Doctor J. B. Stewart of Albany, New York, and other parties interested in land about Perrysburg. She was completed in the year 1818. Noah Reed, a passenger on her, wrote in his *Memoirs* that she left Black Rock August 18, 1818, arrived at Detroit September 15th. Job Fish was then captain and he ran the boat up the Maumee to Perrysburg. This and the two succeeding summers she continued to make successful runs between Buffalo and Detroit, and June 10, 1820, she left the Maumee on the first excursion to the upper lakes. On a dark night, later in this year, she was driven near the Canada shore at Pointe Albino twelve miles from Buffalo, and her captain dropped anchor there. The trough of the sea was so low that her rudder struck the rock and was torn loose. To avoid the disastrous shipwreck on the rocks that seemed imminent, steam was raised as high as practicable, the cable was slipped and, with a hawser trailing from each aft quarter to aid in guiding her course, she was driven on the sandy shore of Buffalo Bay where a sailor took a line ashore and made it fast to a tree. No lives were lost; but the boat was wrecked.* The *Enterprise* was the next steamboat to come to the Maumee, in 1823. The next was probably the *Ohio* built at Sandusky in 1832. This boat was in later years abandoned by the shore of the 'Middle Ground' between the Maumee and Swan Creek near their junction, and her hulk was there burned. The steamer *General Gratiot,* Captain Arthur Edwards of Detroit, made weekly visits to Vistula, Port Lawrence, Maumee and Perrysburg in 1832. The men active in promoting the development of Vistula (now part of Toledo) endeavored in 1832 to induce the regular Buffalo-Detroit steamboats to call there. Not being successful in this effort arrangements were made for the steamer *Pioneer* of Sandusky to ply between that port and Vistula, hoping to attract settlers by advertising at Buffalo direct communication with Vistula by changing from the Detroit boats to the *Pioneer* at Sandusky. This arrangement was soon discontinued, however, from want of patronage. A canalboat built and changed for steam power at Rochester, New York, was brought to the Maumee early in 1833. In the spring of this year she passed up the Maumee to Fort Wayne in charge of Captain Deniele, taking as pilot Isaac Woodcox of Antwerp. She then bore the name *Phenomenon*, and the people of Fort Wayne called her 'quite a large, elegant boat.' She was there accorded a general welcome and a general public dance was held on board.[*] This boat was afterward run on the lower river by Captain C. K. Bennett.

---

* On authority of Officer —— Slocum. Compare *Michigan Pioneer Collections* volume iv, page 80.

From this date steamboats were built along the lower Maumee, viz: at Toledo, the *Detroit* of 200 tons in 1833 for Cleveland owners; *Don Quixote* 80 tons in 1836, and the *Indiana* 434 tons in 1839. At Perrysburg for owners there were built the steamboats *Commodore O. H. Perry*[†] 382 tons in 1834; *Anthony Wayne*, 390 tons in 1837; *John Marshall*, 35 tons in 1837; *General Vance*, 75 tons 1839; *Wabash*, 44 tons 1838; *St. Louis*, 618 tons 1844; *Superior*, 507 tons 1845; and the *John Hollister*, 300 tons in 1848. At Delaware Creek was built the steamboat *Chesapeake* of 410 tons in 1838. At Maumee Village the *Miami* in 1838; *General Harrison*, 293 tons in 1839; *James Woolcott*, 80 tons 1840; *Troy*, 547 tons in 1845; *G. P. Griffith*, 587 tons 1846; *Albion*, 132 tons 1848; and the *Minnesota* of 749 tons in 1851-52.

A steamboat was built in 1836 at Brunersburg on the Tiffin River one mile and a half above the Maumee. She was of 18 tons capacity and bore the name *Anthony Wayne*. She made several runs along the Maumee in trade between Fort Wayne and the towns on the lower river. For the winter of 1836-37 she was tied up at Fort Wayne and during this time was sold to a man of the Village of Maumee. At the going out of the ice towards spring she was torn from her wharf and carried down stream. She was caught, and afterwards was used along the lower river, with the name *Dave Crockett*.

The first boat run by screw propeller on Lake Erie was built at Perrysburg in 1843. She was called the *Sampson* and was of 250 tons capacity. The *Princeton* of 400 tons was also built there in 1845. Also the *Globe* of 380 tons was built at Maumee in 1845. The first steam barge, the *Petrel*, was built by or for Joel W. Kelsey of Toledo in 1849, and used largely to bring lumber from Saginaw.

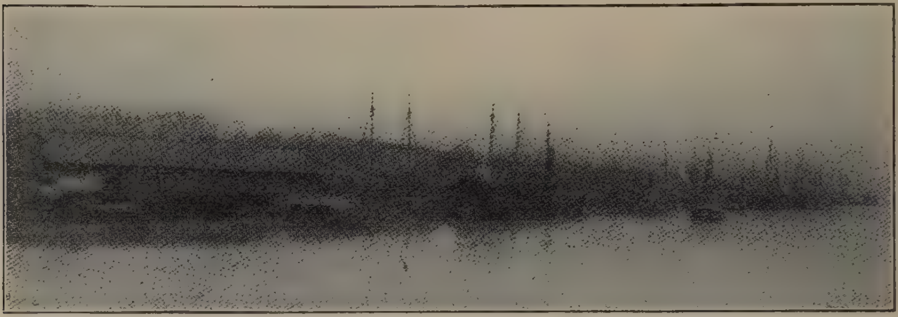
---

[*] Compare *History of Fort Wayne* by Wallace A. Brice, 1868, page 323.

[†] The steamers *Commodore O. H. Perry*, Captain David Wilkinson; *Anthony Wayne*, Captain Amos Pratt; and *Rochester*, were advertised in the first number of the newspaper *The Ohio Whig*, Perrysburg 18 August, 1838, as making regular runs between Perrysburg and Buffalo. Also the *Caroline*, Captain C. Perry, between Perrysburg, Maumee, Toledo, Manhattan and Cleveland; and the *Sun*, C. K. Bennett master, between Toledo, Maumee and Perrysburg. Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley*, page 434.

There had been up to this date about forty-six additional steamboats stopping at the different wharves in the Maumee River, which was the small beginning of the river's commerce by steam power. The first tug-boat was brought to Toledo as late as 1857, from Philadelphia via New York and Erie Canal, by Captain David Miller who was yet living in Toledo in 1903.

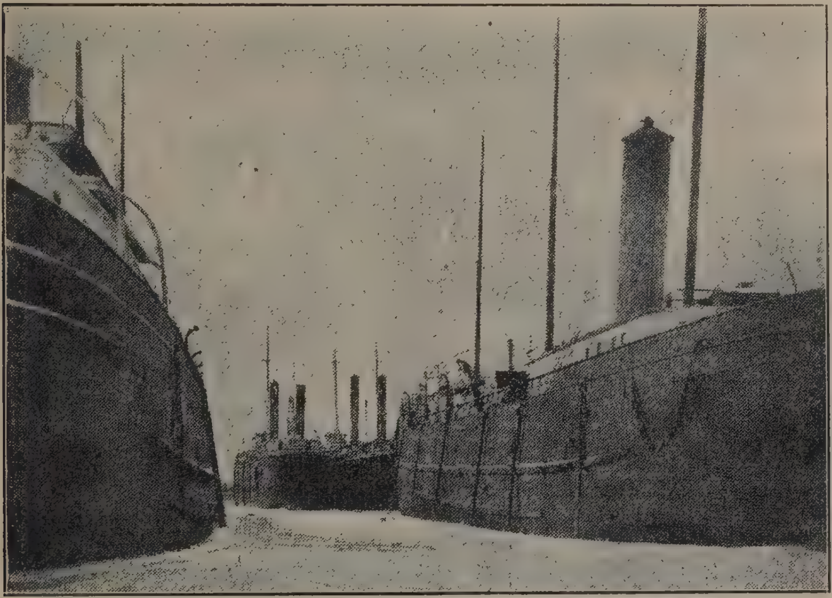
The lower Maumee River affords the best harbor of Lake Erie and, everything considered, it is the best harbor of the Great Lakes with facilities sufficient for all their commerce. The hardor has no shipping docks, and but few piers. As yet wharves of the quay form are ample and more convenient. The shipping at this port has kept pace, quite well, with the great increase of the lake commerce. Latterly the increase has been very rapid, now excelling all ports in coal, and there are good reasons why the increase should continue with greater ratio.



GLIMPSE OF TOLEDO SHIPPING
A comparatively short sketch of Maumee River Wharf (Quay) in 1902.

The improvement of the aggraded main channel, yet in progress but nearing completion at the bar with large funds in hand, to a straight channel twenty-two feet in depth and four hundred feet in width, has already been favorably felt. In addition to this improvement a new lighthouse has been built, which was completed for service the last of May, 1904, and is officially designated The Toledo Harbor Light. It is situated near the mouth of the extended channel, about two miles eastward from the former Turtle Island Light. Notwithstanding it having been substantially built of stone, steel and brick, the crib was injured by the thick ice and high waters of the spring of 1904. The residence is three stories high and the tower rises to a height of ninety feet. The illuminating apparatus is of first class; was made in Paris, and it was a feature of the United States exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo 1902. Improvements along the Maumee, Swan Creek, Ottawa River and Maumee Bay, would afford conveniences for near one hundred miles of pier line—equal to the increase of passenger, merchandise, grain, ore, coal, and other commerce for generations to come. The convenience and safety of this port are being more recognized, and owners of the large steamers have latterly been sending a greater number of these ships to the Maumee for winter quarters.

The shipyards at Toledo have for some years been building some of the best boats of the Lakes; and they have, also, produced a goodly number of ships which are now plying between distant ports on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Two ships of this character were completed at the Craig Yards in 1899, three in 1900, three in 1901, and two in 1902.



FREIGHT SHIPS OF THE GREAT LAKES IN WINTER QUARTERS
At Toledo, December, 1903.

The largest of this fleet is the *Meteor* of 2301 gross tonnage, it being about the largest that can pass through the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals on the way to the Ocean. There is ample capacity at these yards for the building of large ships for commerce on the Great Lakes. In April, 1903, the Toledo-built steamship *George L. Craig* ran to Duluth on her trial voyage with a cargo of 5100 tons of coal; and a contract is in hand for a ship nearly twice this size. This yard was opened at Toledo in 1889; and in 1890 the first iron steamer, the *John W. Moore*, was built in Toledo. There are now iron furnaces, steel works including machine shops and wood works, in connection with these shipyards, and the entire ship is here constructed. The one hundredth ship built by this company was launched at the yards in Birmingham, Toledo, March 17, 1904. She was the side-wheel steamer *City of Benton Harbor* for service between Benton Harbor and Chicago. Her engines have capacity of 3000 horse power, and her carrying capacity is 3000 passengers. She is one of the best and speediest boats on the Great Lakes. The launching of another vessel, the *Indianapolis*, followed on May 4th, built for the Indiana Transportation Company.

The exhilarating recreation of yachting has received considerable attention on the lowest Maumee slackwater in connection with Maumee Bay and the western part of Lake Erie. The Maumee River Yacht Club and the Toledo Yacht Club (name changed February 12, 1904, from that of Toledo Yachting Association) have for some years had creditable fleets composed of different classes of boats, which have been increasing in number of late years. They were formerly all sail yachts, but latterly steam and other modern powers have been added in new boats. Several interesting regattas have been held which have suggested improved qualities dear to the yachtsman's heart. These clubs have occupied comfortable quarters for meetings. An impetus

THE LAUNCHING OF THE STEAMSHIP BUCKMAN

At the Craig Yards, Toledo, in 1901. This ship is now of the United Fruit Company's Fleet, plying with passengers between Philadelphia and the West Indies. Her sister ship *Watson*, of the same fleet, launched here in 1901, runs from New York to the West Indies.

was added to the sport, however, by the completion and occupancy in the spring of 1903 of the Toledo Yacht Club's new and commodious club house on the shore of Bay View Park. These clubs have connection with the Inter-Lake Yachting Association of which Commodore Tracy's yacht, the *Dolomite* of Toledo, was the Flag-Ship for 1903. The Toledo Canoe Club has also been in flourishing condition, with boat house on the left shore at the mouth of the river.

Toledo is exceedingly fortunate in her waters for commerce and for all kinds of aquatic recreation. Coursing through her business center is the broad river with deep water extending for miles above the city, free from unpleasant current, while the widening Maumee Bay adjoining the city and extending an additional five miles below, opens into Lake Erie which is studded with island gems at varying distances to serve as goals, all affording a variety and completeness unexcelled.

Toledo in 1903 exhibited inducements for the location of a United States Naval Training School for the Great Lakes by Maumee Bay or a few miles distant on Put-in Bay Island near the place of Commodore Perry's victory in 1813.

The United States Steamship *Essex* of 1375 tons displacement, which had been in service on the Atlantic Ocean since her completion in 1876 and is yet in excellent condition, was loaned in 1904 to the Toledo members of the First Battalion of Ohio Naval Militia, usually styled locally the Toledo Naval Reserves, by the Navy Department for training purposes. This vessel is a man-of-war of the third rate, bark-rigged for sails and also carrying steam propulsion indicating 800 horse power. Her length is 185 feet, with 35 feet beam and 14 feet draft of water. The Ohio Legislature, session of 1903-04, appropriated $9300 for bringing this man-of-war to Toledo and maintaining her there for use of the Toledo Naval Militia. Orders were received by them 27th May, 1904, from Governor Myron T. Herrick through Adjutant General Critchfield, for Lieutenant Anthony J. Nicklett, four officers and forty petty officers and seamen, volunteers from the Toledo one hundred and ten members of the Naval Militia to proceed at once by railway to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and there receive from the commandant of the United States Navy Yard charge of the United States Steamship *Essex*, which received recent improvements and repairs, and to conduct her to Toledo. She was manned entirely by these Toledo volunteers who required only the aid of pilots familiar with the Atlantic Coast, Gulf and River St. Lawrence, and Canals, through which she passed. This is the first United States Ship brought to the Great Lakes by militia. After many delays she arrived in the Maumee River at the Elm Street Wharf, Toledo, in the evening of August 7, 1904; and upon invitation the people generally were received aboard on the 9th.

Defiance also has had a number of citizens who loved the rivers, but the time has been very limited in which they could court and enjoy the pleasures of them. The rivers in and near this city afford the best of waters for small boats propelled by paddle, oars, steam and other modern powers; and a goodly number of such craft has been in occasional use. In 1880 a good canalboat was here fitted with steam power for pleasure purposes by a small party of friends. This boat was much enjoyed for a season or two after which it was sold for commercial use. A promising boat club was organized in 1872 which gave a creditable regatta with shells in 1873. This attracted considerable attention, bringing a glow and life before unknown on these waters. The club, however, soon declined from removals and business engagements. In 1876 another club was organized and named the Farragut Boat Club. Some accidents befalling the frail boats, and hunting desires diverting the leaders, this club also languished.

An occasional modern steam launch was brought to these waters by individuals; and in 1891 the steamer *Laurina* was brought to Defiance for passenger traffic. She was a boat of graceful lines, built at Geneva, Ohio, steel hull 42 x 9 feet size, with carrying capacity of from 75 to 115 persons. She was often chartered by fishing and hunting parties, and for runs about the rivers, and for long distance excursions through the canal, being well patronized. She was sold in the fall of 1902 and shipped by car to Louisiana for use on the Latannier River of the Mississippi Delta. A flat bottom steamer, the *Goldie*, was built at Defiance in the winter of 1899-1900, with large stern paddle wheel mostly above the water like many of the boats in the southern rivers. She would carry from 175 to 200 people, and became popular. She was sold to Napoleon parties in the summer of 1901 for use principally on the Maumee between Napoleon and Girty Island; and she has been run back to Defiance, through the Miami and Erie Canal, when wanted there on special occasions. Boats have often come up the canal from Toledo to ply on the Defiance slackwater in passenger traffic. These have been comparatively small boats, but they have given much pleasurable recreation to thousands of passengers, without physical injury, both of which features are not small items in the affairs of life.

A number of houseboats have, also, been in use along the central Maumee and the Canal. These had beginning here with the cabins on floats placed in the timber rafts early in the second half of the nineteenth century, in which the raftsmen carried their cooking utensils, and where they slept at night. After the completion of the Miami and Erie Canal in 1843, and with the rafting through it, these cabins were better built to be returned by the horses that towed the rafts to Toledo. Many of them formerly wintered at Defiance, being occupied by a raftman's family or by one or more bachelors. The owners of the later houseboats have wandered in them about the rivers and canal at will.

The beauties and advantages of the Maumee River have thus far been but little sung, and been comparatively but little appreciated by the masses since the making of the canals and the railroads. The residents along its course have, as yet, generally been too busy in the very serious business of making their lives secure against the Aborigines; in clearing the forests to produce the necessaries of life; in the sharp competition for fortunes; and in various other work or diversions of a necessary, speculative, or of sporting character, to enjoy the attractions of the river and the bay as they will yet be appreciated.

The River St. Joseph

Has origin on the northwest side of the Maumee River Basin, in Hillsdale County, Michigan, most of the southern half of which county being drained by the several streams composing its headwaters. Its sources have altitude of about 1050 feet above the tide water and 477 feet above Lake Erie. Some of these streams spring from small lakes which are but short and easy portage distance from the headwaters of its brother St. Joseph River draining the northwestern part of the county and flowing westward into Lake Michigan, and of the three other rivers near-by, Hillsdale County being also drained in part by the headwaters of the Kalamazoo River in the north, the Grand River in the northeast, and the Tiffin of this Basin in the east, thus giving origin to five rivers. From the principal source of the St. Joseph of the Maumee to its mouth at Fort Wayne, in direct line the distance is about one hundred miles. It flows through the northwestern county of Ohio, Williams, and about thirty-five miles through northeastern Indiana, in a general southwestern direction on the southeast side of the commingled moraines and the Aboite Moraine, and along the west side of, and guided in its course by, the St. Joseph Moraine before described. Its present channel is replete with short meanderings through the course of a much larger prehistoric stream. The average fall is about two feet per mile in its course through Indiana; but there were many sluggish places in its current before the building of dams across its channel many years ago for milling purposes. It has rather a narrow bottom, and its valley is cut through the till from 25 to 50 feet. The area of the St. Joseph watershed is 1,132.29 square miles, 243.96 being in Michigan, 225.46 in Ohio, and 662.87 in Indiana.

The tributaries of the St. Joseph, other than of a very local nature are important, but few in number. Burt Creek, a northeastern tributary, drains Bird Lake and the southern part of Jefferson Township, Hillsdale County, Michigan. At the beginning of this outlet a dam has, during the past years, furnished water power for carding and sawing mills. The chief central tributary drains six lakes through the western part of Cambria Township, namely: Big Bear (see engraving *ante* page 42), Wilson, Brock, Pike, Bear, Hog, and Cub Lake. A dam at Cambria Mills forms a large pond which has afforded power for important flouring and sawing mills. The tributary next west forms the outlet of the Turner chain of four small lakes near the southwest corner of Reading Township. It formerly turned like mills at four or five places in Camden and Amboy Townships, Michigan; but in several of these places greater and more constant steam power has in later years been adopted. Silver Creek, with its accessions, flowing in a southerly course through the central and eastern parts of Hillsdale County, Michigan, receives Clear Creek from the west, south of the Michigan State line. On account of its nearness to the St. Joseph Moraine on the east all prominent later tributaries come from the westward.

In the northeastern part of Indiana there is a group of small lakes, the largest of which have the names Clear and Long, which have outlet through Michigan and Ohio into the St. Joseph—see engravings *ante* pages 40, 43. These lakes are popular summer resorts. Clear Lake is two miles long, over one mile wide, and with greatest depth of over one hundred feet. In Williams County, Ohio, Nettle and Eagle Creeks are received, the former having source in Nettle Lake which was formerly of considerable area. About a mile below this lake its outlet was, many years ago, raised by a dam which afforded water power to a small mill. Steuben County, Indiana, contains over one hundred intra and inter-morainic lakes which have names on the local map; and here is one of the best of places for the study of the geologic history of the formation and decline of such lakes. They are the 'kettle holes' within and between these commingled morainic deposits, their great depth and extent with impervious clay bottoms and sides being the cause of their continued existence. Most of these lakes drain westerly into the St. Joseph River of Lake Michigan, the southern headwaters of which are thus, like the northern, very near to those of the St. Joseph of the Maumee.

Fish Creek drains most of the eastern portion of Steuben County. Its west tributary has source in Fish or Hamilton Lake which has a length of about two miles, a breadth of one mile, with uneven bottom giving depth of water to sixty-eight feet. Its elevation is 314 feet above Lake Erie. The large area of this lake, furnishing a broad expanse of water visible at one sweep of the eye, its irregular outline and prominent islands, its bold shores of encircling moraines, and the beauty and profusion of its aquatic vegetation, form a combination of characters which render it one of the most interesting and attractive in the State*—see engraving *ante* page 41. Hamilton Lake and Ball Lake near-by are now owned by the Fort Wayne Water Power Company. The suggestion has been made to use them as reservoirs for the water supply of the City of Fort Wayne forty miles distant. About the year 1840 a dam one hundred feet long was built across the outlet of this Lake at Hamilton thus raising the lake's level eight feet and affording good water power to a flouring mill. Fish Creek is a considerable stream. It enters the St. Joseph near Edgerton, Ohio, having cut a channel through glacial drift in places to the depth of twenty-five to forty feet below the general level. In the early days of the settlement of this region a dam and mill were built near its mouth, both of which were long since swept away by the currents of flood, ice, and of time.

THE RIVER ST. JOSEPH AND THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILWAY BRIDGE

In southeastern DeKalb County, Indiana. Looking north 21st October, 1901, from public bridge. Broad Terraces outside the view, to the right, extending to the crest of the St. Joseph Moraine two to three miles eastward.

The largest and the last important tributary of the St. Joseph River is Cedar Creek which has origin in Indian Lake, Cedar Lake, and several smaller bodies of water in DeKalb County, Indiana, with accessions of streams from the north, and from Noble County to the west. These lakes are being filled in by aquatic vegetation and natural accumulations, and afford interesting studies of nature's lake-extinguishing processes. Already much of the water line cannot well be approached on account of the soft, peaty bog surrounding it to a wide extent.* The crests of the moraines in the northwestern and western portions of DeKalb County drained by Cedar Creek are nowhere less than 1000 feet above tide water, and vary from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet above the Cedar Creek Valley, which Valley varies in width from one mile at Aldrich Lake to five miles in Butler Township. Cedar Creek affords water power by dams at Gloyd, at Kells three and a half miles above, Vanzille below, and at Cedarville, Allen County, Indiana, six miles below, and near where the Creek enters the River St. Joseph.

---

* See Dr. Charles R. Dryer's Survey of Steuben County in the *Indiana 17th Annual Geological Report*, 1891.

THE RIVER ST. JOSEPH AT ROBINSON PARK

Looking north up the River June 8, 1902, six miles above Fort Wayne and one mile above the former Wabash and Erie Canal Feeder Dam across the River.

The Valley of the St. Joseph in Indiana affords some of the best illustrations of river terracing in tne Maumee Basin. The St Joseph is one of the oldest rivers in the Basin. There is abundant evidence of its having existed in glacial times, long before the present Maumee River had existence. It then discharged larger quantities of water, at one time flowing at a level of fifty feet and more higher than now, with outlet down the Valley of the Wabash River. Its Valley is well abutted with moraines and bluffs and varies in width, averaging less than one-half mile but occasionally extending to one mile and more, the general expanse being west of the river. In the east bank in Newville Township, Allen County, there is a wide terrace twenty-five feet high, extending along the river for a distance of three miles. Near the crossing of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad there are three terraces. In fact the moraines, the erosions in the drift, the washings, the sand dunes, and the clay knobs of the St. Joseph afford interesting studies in glacial and fluvial history.

---

* See Chapter on Moraines. Also the *Indiana 16th Annual Geological Report*, page 101.

At Hursh and at Leo, about three miles apart, above the mouth of Cedar Creek, there are dams with flouring mills yet in operation. About six miles by river above the mouth of the St. Joseph a dam was built by the State of Indiana in 1832-33 to supply water for the Wabash and Erie Canal southwest and northeast of Fort Wayne. The slackwater of this dam affords delightful opportunity for pleasure boating which is well utilized, by numerous boats varying from the canoe to the steamer, at Robinson Park one mile above the dam; and the former Canal Feeder has latterly given water-power to the electrical plant in Fort Wayne. The upper St. Joseph and its tributaries were taken into consideration as sources of water supply in the proposed enlargement of the Miami and Erie, and the former Wabash and Erie, Canals with favorable report. See Chapter on these Canals.

There was formerly a mill-dam about one mile below the State dam, supplying power to Antrap's Mill. Near the mouth of the St. Joseph in Fort Wayne the channel is about 300 feet in width; and it was here dammed in early days for mill purposes.

Being derived from lakes and springs, and flowing over a bed composed more largely of sand and gravel than the other rivers in the Basin, the waters of the St. Joseph average clearer, and maintain a greater relative volume in dry seasons than the others, the minimum natural flow at its mouth being 4000 cubic feet per minute. In times of highest floods its waters with those of the St. Mary rise to a level within ten feet of the summit of the divide between the Maumee and the Wabash in the ancient drainage channel of the Maumee Glacial Lake.

The name St. Joseph was given to this river by the French at an early date. Some of the Aborigines called it We-a Se-pe or Sepon, the River of the Wea band of Miamis who were then by it.

THE RIVER ST. MARY

Drains the southwestern part of the Maumee River Basin, its eastern headwaters springing near the western source of the Auglaise River.

Its headwaters consist principally of Clear, Muddy, Center, Clark, and West, Creeks, which last-named was near the eastern headwaters of the Wabash River before their absorption by the Grand or Mercer Reservoir for the Miami and Erie Canal. These streams originate in Shelby and Auglaise Counties, Ohio, and there is but short portage from them, particularly from West Creek, over the divide to the south to Loramie Creek, tributary to the Miami River. This was the principal portage path between the waters tributary to western Lake Erie and those tributary to the Ohio River other than that leading southwest of Fort Wayne to connect with the Wabash. The St. Mary was sometimes called the Miami of the Lake or the Maumee, considering it in name, as it is in fact, one of the headwaters of the Maumee.*

The highest altitude of these small streams is about 975 feet above tide water, 238 feet above the mouth of the St. Mary, and 402 feet above Lake Erie. Probably there was temporary drainage of the Maumee Glacial Lake over this divide to the Miami River southward. This dividing ridge or watershed between the Maumee River Basin and the Mississippi River Basin, is the Salamonie Moraine—see map *ante* page 28. The River St. Mary at the City of St. Marys flows through a gap in the Wabash Moraine at the vertical erosion of sixty-two feet, with sloping banks to the crest the lateral erosion of which is about two miles in extent.† Most of this St. Mary Water Gap was made by the waters of the Maumee Glacial Lake draining across the Wabash Moraine and down the Wabash River. The cut was thus made deep enough, and the washings and deposits to the south side of the Moraine high enough, that upon the subsidence of the Lake the land drainage waters reversed the flow, thus forming this part of the River.

Father Bonnécamps, the diarist of Captain de Céloron's expedition through Ohio in 1749, writes ‡ that "a little more than half way [from the mouth of Loramie Creek to Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee River 'five days journey by land'] we began to skirt the River of the Miamis [the St. Mary] which was on our left. We found therein large crabs in abundance. From time to time we marched over vast prairies, where the herbage was sometimes of extraordinary height."

About the year 1783 James Girty, with his Shawnee wife Betsey, settled in a palisaded trading post at the site of the present City of St. Marys, and a mongrel village formed around which received the name Girty Town. Here he held for several years a monopoly of the trade with the Aborigines, having the peltries received in trade boated to

---

* See the Chapter on the Auglaise River for description of the near-by portages eastward; also the Chapter on the Miami and Erie Canal for further description of this St. Mary-Loramie Portage.

† See *Early History of Auglaise County* by J. D. Simkins, page 97.

‡ *The Jesuit Relations,* Cleveland edition, volume lxix, page 189.

Detroit by way of the St. Mary and Maumee Rivers, and receiving his supplies up the same channel. At the coming of General Harmar's army in 1790, he boated his stock in trade to the head of the Maumee and thence to the site of the present City of Defiance, where he remained until the approach of General Wayne in 1794.

Fort St. Marys, built by General Wayne late in 1794 or early in 1795, and Fort Barbee built by Colonel Joshua Barbee in September and October, 1812, occupied about the same site on the west bank of the river just below the union of the creeks before mentioned. Other storehouses for army supplies were built in fortified camp near-by for the War of 1812. Supplies for Fort Wayne were boated down the St. Mary; also those for Forts Defiance, Winchester, and Meigs, during wet seasons. In seasons of better roads, supplies for the three last named Forts were carried about twelve miles east of north across to the site of Fort Amanda to be boated down the larger Auglaise River. Stockade stations were maintained at Fort Adams, Shane Crossing the present Rockford, and about the present Decatur or within about

SHANE CROSSING OF THE RIVER ST. MARY

The Village to the rear was later called Shanesville, and now Rockford, Mercer County, Ohio. Looking west of north on a rainy morning 29th April, 1902, down the former river channel, now closed by the roadway on the right built in 1891, and across the river at the historic crossing (fording) place. The old mill building on the left marks the site of the first log building used by Anthony Shane (Chesne) as a trading station and tavern. His Reservation was beyond the river — along the north (right) bank.

twenty miles of Fort Wayne, where boats could be lightened, or the loads increased according to the stages of water. About 100 barrels of flour capacity was considered a large boat for the St. Mary; and seven days time a good average run from St. Marys to Fort Wayne in moderate stages of water, the boat being tied up each night. After the War of 1812 settlers made use of its waters and, up to the completion of the Miami and Erie and Wabash and Erie Canals in 1845, the St. Mary River was a thoroughfare for supplies, and products. Adam Millman was one of the leaders in transportation, controlling a fleet of boats between St. Marys and the lower Maumee.

The general course of the River St. Mary is northwest, tending somewhat in its general meander to the southward. In direct line its length is about sixty-five miles, and by way of the river's many and short windings its length is over one hundred miles. It has an average fall of 2.38 feet per mile, being far less than this, even quite sluggish, in its course in Indiana; and its waters are sluggish and muddy in much of their course. Its watershed embraces 783.62 square miles, of which 427.54 are in Ohio and 356.08 in Indiana. The channel averages less than two hundred feet in width in most of its course. It courses within four miles, on average, of the south side of the lateral St Mary Moraine named from it; and consequently it is fed on its north bank only by springs and runs of very local extent.

Its watershed on the south is the north side of the Wabash Moraine and, being but ten to fifteen miles distant, the streams entering from the left are also of short length and small size, Black Creek and Twelvemile Creek in Mercer County, Ohio, and Blue Creek in Adams County, Indiana, being the largest; hence the highest rise in the river seldom overflows the general banks of its channel. This channel generally beds in the glacial drift, seldom more than 25 feet in depth; but it touches Niagara Limestone at Mendon and again at Willshire, near the Indiana line. Several stone quarries have been, also, easily operated in later years at Decatur, Indiana.

At the south line of Allen County, Indiana, the St. Mary Moraine on the north bank of the river rises to a height of eighty feet; then a more level surface prevails, to be succeeded by undulations, eskars, etc., to a height of nearly eighty feet near the river's mouth in the City of Fort Wayne. The regions of the lower river afford interesting opportunities for the study of its ancient channels, long since successively deserted. At the great bend of the river in Marion Township, Allen County, Indiana, is the first deserted channel, in descending the river, through which a branch or part of the river flowed northeast for a distance of seven or eight miles, into the Maumee Glacial Lake by the present Village of New Haven. The summit of this old channel is now about ten feet above low water, so that the highest rise of the river yet sends some water through this course, which is an erosion through the St. Mary Moraine. The near banks of this old channel have an average height of fifteen feet; and the bottom of it is sixty feet below the summit on the west, and forty feet below that on the east.* Probably the water and the ice of the Maumee Glacial Lake were the first to cut through this moraine and, later as the Lake subsided, the river reversed the flow. Another ancient channel is found on the other (left) bank of the present river, about five miles below the first. This was the way of the river's discharge, at one period of its history, in a southwesterly direction about six miles to the last drainage channel south and southwest of the Maumee Glacial Lake, leading to the Wabash River. This second abandoned channel is about fifteen feet above the river's present channel. A third deserted channel, of lower level and consequently of later use, has origin one mile below the second and courses westward two and one-half miles to the same outlet as the second. The width of these abandoned channels is, of the first mentioned, one-quarter of a mile in its first part and one mile and a half wide in its lower part; of the second, one-half mile; and of the third one quarter mile wide. The region around these deserted channels affords, also, an interesting study in eskars or osars, kames, and in post-glacial ridges — see *ante* page 43.

Near the center of Wayne Township, Allen County, Indiana, the St. Mary River has undermined the crest of the St. Mary Moraine for a mile or more and, returning to the southern edge, it then follows the southeast bank of the Maumee Glacial Lake outlet for another mile or more until its waters unite with those of the River St. Joseph in the City of Fort Wayne. It was at the extreme western bend of the St. Mary within this city that the Portage Path of the Maumee-Wabash travel began — see map *ante* page 97.

Different mill-sites have been utilized along the St. Mary. The first dam and mill were built in 1822 at the present Willshire, Ohio, near the Indiana line, by Captain James Riley one of the United States land surveyors. The short rapids at this point in the river were then known as The Devil's Race Ground. Samuel Hanna and James Barnett built a dam and mill in 1824-25 about three miles from Fort Wayne which later became known as the Beaver Mill. At Williamsport, about ten miles above Fort Wayne, a dam and grist mill were built; also at the north part of the present Village of Decatur, Adams County, Indiana, as late as the 1860's, and another at Pleasant Mills, five miles above Decatur. These early dams afforded better boating waters above them, but each one necessitated a portage around the dam that was annoying to the boatmen. The minimum volume of the contribution of the St. Mary to the Maumee is from 1500 to 2000 cubic feet of water per minute, it being less than one-half that of the St. Joseph.

---

* See the *Sixteenth Annual Geological Report* for Indiana, page 112.

The Rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph were named by the French who explored them early in their visits to the head of the Maumee in the seventeenth century. The St. Mary was later sometimes called Pickaway River, and the Delaware Aborigine towns by its lower course were called Pickaway Towns, because these Aborigines came from Pickaway, Ohio. In common with other rivers, it was sometimes called Ottawa River on account of some Ottawas dwelling by it. The Shawnees called it Ca-ko-the-ke Sepe or Kettle River, but neither of these names became common.

THE AUGLAISE RIVER AND ITS TRIBUTARIES, THE OTTAWA, BLANCHARD, AND LITTLE AUGLAISE RIVER.

The Auglaise River originates in the western part of Hardin, southeastern part of Allen, and the southern part of Auglaise County, Ohio, at the southern and southeastern parts of the Maumee River Basin: also at the crest of the Salamonie Moraine which is here the divide between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. The greatest altitude of the divide in this region is 486 feet above Lake Erie and 1059 feet above tide water. The general course of this river is but little west of north, and the distance from its source to its mouth in the Maumee River within the City of Defiance is about fifty-five miles in direct line, and by way of the river's channel seventy-four miles or more. The average fall of the river proper is 4.4 feet per mile, it having generally the most rapid current in the Basin. The Auglaise River and its tributaries drain an area of 2,503.63 square miles.

The name Auglaise was applied to this river by the French in the seventeenth century, it being the first of the rivers in the Basin to receive permanent name. The first record of it found by the writer is in a description of the Maumee River under date 1718, see *ante* page 466. The French word *glaise* means clay, and loam, the character of the river's banks at Defiance, and of the water of the Auglaise River at its mouth there as first seen. The article *au* (contraction of *à le*) signifies to or at the, hence *Rivière au Glaise* denotes the river to the *glaise*, or the river at or of the clay and loam banks. The region of its debouchement into the Maumee was later often termed *Le Grand Glaise*, also its lower course, to distinguish them from the Little Auglaise River (*La Rivière Petit au Glaise*) its largest tributary from the west. The Aborigines sometimes called it the River of the Falling Timber from the erosion of the banks under large trees, the Shawnee words for this being Cow-the-nah-ke Sepe, and the Wyandot, Qus-quas-run-de; but they were not of general use.

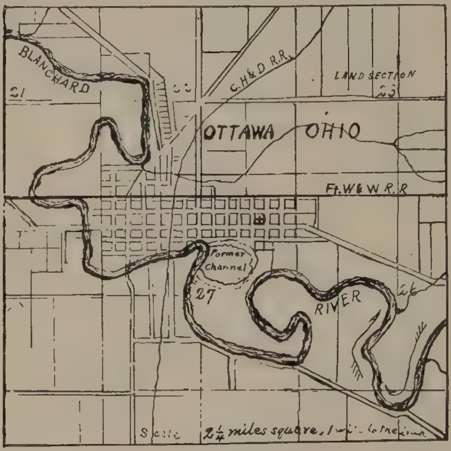
The main travel from the east and north to the southwest in early times probably continued up the Maumee River and down the Wabash; but no inconsiderable part turned up the Auglaise and passed down the Miami, or continued further up the Auglaise and over portages to the Mad River or to the Scioto. The most southern tributaries of the Auglaise, Pusheta Creek and Quaker River a yet smaller stream named from the Quaker mission school on its banks (see *ante* page 395) have source near Loramie Creek and yet nearer Wolf Creek, both of which are the principal of the headwaters of the larger Miami River. A traveler in the year 1803 mentions the Auglaise and the Portage Path of the divide as follows: 'The Au Glaise, one of the branches [tributaries] of the Miami of the Lake [the Maumee] sometimes called Omee and Maumick, is navigable with canoes to the portage towards the head of Loramie Creek, a head water of the Great Miami. The portage is three miles. It is said that in the time of the spring floods the waters of these two rivers are blended.'* This blending of the rivers was through somewhat of a prairie marsh.

The accessions to the Auglaise in Auglaise and Allen Counties are from springs and of a local nature. In Auglaise County the river banks average from ten to fifteen feet above the summer stage of water, other than at the watergaps through the Wabash and St. Mary Moraines and the glacial lake beaches (drainage channels of the Maumee Glacial Lake) where the banks vary from 25 to 50 feet in height—see Moraine Map page 28, and illustration of Wapakoneta. It was at the Auglaise Water Gap through the St. Mary Moraine that General Wayne built Fort Auglaise 'at the head of navigation' late in 1794 or early in 1795 —see *ante* page 218. This was also the site of Fort Amanda in the War of 1812—see page 289. The channel is eroded to the native rock only at one place in Auglaise County, in Logan Township, where the Onondaga Limestone (Waterlime) appears. The river also touches this rock several places in Allen and Putnam Counties. In the channel near the middle of Jackson Township, Putnam County, there is a boulder of Corniferous Limestone near the left bank which measured fifteen feet above ground before two large pieces were blasted from it a few years ago—see *ante* page 35. In Jackson and Perry Townships, Putnam County, within the distance of four miles, the Auglaise receives two material additions, of the Ottawa and Blanchard Rivers.

---

* *The Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Allegheny Mountains, Made in the Spring of the Year 1803*, by Thaddeus Mason Harris, A. M., page 115. For description of this divide see Chapters on the moraines, and the Miami and Erie Canal.

*The Ottawa River** springs from the former Hog Creek Marsh in Hardin County and is augmented by tributaries arising in Auglaise, Hancock, and Allen Counties. It flows through the City of Lima on the rock, the banks of its course occasionally rising to a height of thirty feet. Its tributaries also often expose the Ohio Shale and the Onondaga Limestone; and an occasional exposure of the Niagara group is seen. The first general course of the Ottawa is westward, and then to the northward, receiving considerable additions from the southeast in Putnam County by Sugar Creek and Plum Creek. In 1836 Messrs. Guthrie and Sarber built a dam across the Ottawa and a flouring mill at Kalida, about three miles above its entrance into the Auglaise. This was the second mill built in this region. The water in the Ottawa becomes very low in dry seasons and much polluted with the sewage of the City of Lima, including refuse from a paper manufactory and other mills. This has had disastrous effect on fish and most other forms of aquatic animal life. A narrow channel has been cut in the rock bed of this stream through Lima to deepen and facilitate the flow of sewage. In high stages of water this river has done considerable damage to residences and manufactories along its rather narrow flood plains, the flood of April 1, 1904, being reported the most injurious of all, the water then being two feet higher than ever before noted.†



MEANDER OF THE BLANCHARD RIVER

in Central Putnam County.

---

* The Ottawa River of the Auglaise was formerly called Hog Creek from the large number of hogs that flourished along its banks, a drove being abandoned there by an army contractor in the War of 1812 on account of his being pursued by the savages. Another account regarding the source of these hogs, is as follows: Alexander M'Kee the British Aborigine Agent had a force at the Machachac towns by the Mad River during the incursion against the savages of General Logan from Kentucky in 1786; and they were obliged to move towards Canada, which they did with the plunder accumulated from the American settlements but abandoned the hogs at this stream. See, also, Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio.* The later Aborigines called the stream Kosh-ko Se-pe, meaning Hog River. Andrew Coffinberry, in his poem entitled *The Forest Rangers,* refers to this region of the river as Swinonia.

† A United States Water Gage was placed in the Ottawa River at Lima in November, 1902. There are different streams called Ottawa in and near this Basin, and confusion often results therefrom. Ottawa River on the north line of the Basin, draining part of Lenawee and Monroe Counties, Michigan, and more of Lucas County, Ohio, flows into Maumee Bay at the Ohio-Michigan line with a deep channel in its lowest course, it being of the 'drowned river' series like the Maumee. The name came from the Ottawa Aborigines who were much along these streams.

The Blanchard River is the largest tributary of the Auglaise; and it is named Auglaise on some of the older maps. Its sources are in the eastern part of the Basin, draining a small part of Seneca and Wyandot Counties, and more of Hardin and Hancock. The principal tributaries in its upper course are Lye, Eagle, and Ottawa Creeks, all entering from the south. Its general course is northward to the southern slope of the Defiance Moraine in the eastern-central part of Hancock County, and thence westward, The City of Findlay (see engraving in description of HancockCounty) and the Village of Ottawa are built on its banks.

CASCADE NEAR CLOVERDALE, PERRY TOWNSHIP, PUTNAM COUNTY, OHIO

Looking south, up the Auglaise River at Kilcannon Rapids, low stage of water 29th May, 1902. The former Myers' flouring mill, high dam, and slackwater, show beyond the wagon bridge. The Bridge of the Findlay, Fort Wayne and Western Railway (now operated by the C. H. & D. Ry. Co.) crosses a few rods below. Cascade Park, a summer resort, is beyond the mill.

The River being very tortuous in its course, particularly at Ottawa, parts of these towns have suffered considerably from floods. The highest flood known up to that time culminated 28th February, 1903, the water then being ten inches higher than in February, 1883, which was the highest water noted up to that date. A part of Findlay was flooded, and the press dispatches reported three men drowned thereby in and near the city. There were about as high floods, also, the latter part of January, the first and last parts of March and the 2nd April, 1904, the last being the highest. The area drained by the Blanchard is 924.47 square miles; and a United States Water Gage was placed in the river at Ottawa in November, 1902, to determine the quantity of run-off. This river was frequently traversed by the earlier French. The name Blanchard is that of one of the early French settlers, a tailor by trade—and from this the Aborigines called it the *Shah-po-quah-te Se-pe* or Tailor River. The French called it navigable to the site of the present City of Findlay, about forty miles above its mouth. The Blanchard has generally been called a sluggish stream, but several dams across the river and its tributaries have furnished, at good stages of water, fair water power for the small mills built in pioneer times, John D. Bishop built a sawing and a flouring mill on Eagle Creek in Eagle Township, Hancock County, in 1832, at which place mills have been operated nearly every year since that date. Dams and mills were built on the Blanchard in Delaware, Marion and Findlay Townships. Two and one-half miles below Findlay the dam is two hundred feet in length and five feet in height, its slackwater extending to the city. A flouring mill has been in operation by this dam for many years. Joseph Stout built a dam and flouring mill on Riley Creek at Pandora in the southeastern part of Putnam County in 1835 In 1837 Elisha Stout built a

LOOKING SOUTH ACROSS THE MOUTH OF BLANCHARD RIVER ON THE LEFT

And up the Auglaise on the right 29th May, 1902. Here, and below, is a long stretch of deep water and beautiful river scenery. In Perry Township, Putnam County, Ohio.

dam and flouring mill on the Blanchard at Gilboa in the eastern part of Putnam County. These mills, and the one above near Findlay, ground corn and wheat for some of the early settlers in Paulding County, and for pioneers in more distant places. The main tributaries of the Blanchard in Putnam County are Riley and Cranberry Creeks the beds of which, with that of the river, show frequent exposures of Onondaga Limestone. The river at Findlay and its more eastern tributaries are eroded to the Niagara Limestone.

THE LITTLE AUGLAISE RIVER

Looking upstream from near its mouth toward the site of the first flouring and sawing mills in Paulding County, Ohio,

The Auglaise River has rapids in Perry Township, Putnam County, three miles below the mouth of the Ottawa River and a mile above the Blanchard, which received the name of Kilcannon Rapids the name of one of the first settlers in this region. Samuel Myers from Maryland purchased the land thereabout and in 1834 constructed a dam across the river. A sawing mill was built at the west end of the dam, and in 1840 a flouring mill was completed at the east end. The dam was destroyed by ice and flood, and a second one was completed in 1860. The first frame of the flouring mill yet stands but it has been resided and recovered. These were among the earlier mills for a great extent of country during many years. At the building of the Findlay, Fort Wayne and Western Railroad in 1892, a town was platted at this place and named Cascade, since which time this part of the river has been much frequented by summer pleasure seekers.

In the year 1836 Doctor Jacob Dewees platted a town on the left bank of the Auglaise a short distance above the mouth of the Blanchard, which he named Franconia. He also built a dam across the Auglaise at his projected village, and a mill. He did not build securely and, fortune and the floods proving adverse, he abandoned his work here in 1839.

THE MOUTH OF THE LITTLE AUGLAISE RIVER

Looking northward down stream, and across the Auglaise which begins about 100 feet beyond the Bridge. The view overlooks the military road along the left (proximal) bank of the Auglaise, the route of General Wayne's army to Defiance in 1794, and of many of the soldiers during the War of 1812. Fort Brown was situated along the banks of these rivers at the point to the right of the Bridge. This view and its mate on page 501 were taken 29th May, 1902, in an exceeding high wind, with Camera at full diaphragm and exposure of 1-100th part of a second. Standpoints forty feet above the water.

The Little Auglaise River is received as an important tributary of the Auglaise from the south-southwest in Brown Township, Paulding County, five miles below the mouth of the Blanchard. This river's headwaters and tributaries, from the southwest, are Dog Creek and Town Creek flowing through the City of Van Wert, Maddox, Hagerman and Prairie Creeks, which drain the most part of Van Wert County and the southeastern part of Paulding County.

The other tributaries of the Auglaise River in Paulding, other than of very local nature, all flow northeast and are as follows: Blue Creek from northwest Van Wert County; Crooked or Flat Rock Creek, draining southeastern Allen County, Indiana, and intervening territory; Little Flat Rock Creek; and Six-Mile Creek, from Indiana, north of Crooked Creek. The north tributary of Six-Mile Creek is often within one mile of the Maumee River, which River the Creek nearly parallels for about thirty miles — see maps pages 28 and 450.

LOOKING NORTH DOWN THE AUGLAISE RIVER

May 29, 1902. The Village of Charloe (named from an Aborigine chief) Paulding County, Ohio, is on the left beyond the bridge. This is the site of one of the Ottawa towns mentioned in the Diary of General Wayne's Campaign in 1794; and after the wars Ottawas returned here and remained until their removal to their Kansas Reservation. Their cornfields were on the lower lands on the right bank. In the treaty the Aborigine village is styled Chief Occonoxee's Village or town. Charloe was for several years the second seat of justice for this region — see description of Paulding County.

About the year 1840 Doctor Jacob Dewees came from the mouth of the Blanchard and built a dam across the Auglaise in the Northeast Quarter of Section Nine, Defiance Township. He also built a flouring mill on the left bank. The high waters carried away the dam and injured his mill, and he discontinued his efforts here after a year or two, as he had done at Franconia above.

In the autumn and winter of 1902-03, surveys were made of the lower rapids of the Auglaise River to determine the amount of its available water power for the generation of electricity, and the feasibility of developing it. The reports of the surveyors were very favorable, and the Auglaise River Power Company was organized in June, 1903, with capital stock of $200,000; but construction work has been delayed. In May, 1903, a Water Gage was placed at the English Bridge across the Auglaise in Defiance Township, by United States authority, for daily record of the flow; and the last of November, 1904, a more complete Gage was placed by the Hopkins Street Bridge across the Auglaise in Defiance.

Powell Creek is the only important tributary of the Auglaise River in Defiance County. This, with its several feeders including North Creek and South Creek, drains the northwest part of Putnam and the southeast part of Defiance County. Many years ago a dam and sawing mill were built on this creek in Section Nineteen, Highland Township, Defiance County, which have done efficient work during good stages of water; but in dry seasons the water ceases to flow. After an extreme meandering course of a general northwest direction Powell Creek enters the Auglaise River one mile above (south of) Defiance City limits the

THE AUGLAISE RIVER AND TWO OF ITS SMALL ISLANDS

In the Southeast part of Section 34, Defiance Township. Looking east 20th October, 1901, into the mouth of Powell Creek which extends from the white bank on the right to near the timbered land on the left.

channel, like that of the Auglaise at this place, being corraded into the thick bed of Ohio Shale. The erosions, flood-plains, monadnocks or former island prominences that have withstood the general wear, and the irregular banks about this region are interesting studies. Blodgett Island, sixty acres in extent, the most important island of the Auglaise system, is in this region just below the mouth of Powell Creek—see illustration *ante* page 59.

The Auglaise River discharges large quantities of water in wet seasons, but is greatly reduced in dry seasons. In fact it became a dead river, that is ceased to flow, from many miles south to its mouth during the season of great drouth from the latter part of July, during August, and until near the middle part of September, 1895, according to personal observation and notes made at the time by the writer. Pioneers have assured the writer that the Auglaise ceased to flow also in the exceeding dry summer of 1838. The waters of this river, and many of its tributaries, have worn through the Glacial Drift in many places. Through Paulding and Defiance Counties the river bed is corraded into the Onondaga and Corniferous Limestone almost continuously; with frequent quartzose boulders that have been washed from the Drift, strewing the channel. A very large, probably the largest, granite boulder lies in deep water about half mile below the Frances Street Bridge in the City of Defiance. On account of the rocks in the channel of shallower water the evaporation during the hot summer days is very great. Also, from the past failure of shallower springs and wells in seasons of drouth, thousands of barrels of water have been hauled from the streams for family use, and live stock has been driven to them from great distances, all being material causes of their depletion.

Until the building of the Miami and Erie Canal, and railroads in their vicinity, the Auglaise River and its larger tributaries were important thoroughfares. Large pirogues, flatboats, and rafts of timber, carried products to Defiance, and the boats were returned laden with merchandise and other necessaries for the increasing settlements along their banks, and for much inland country as well.

The public roads along these streams have been greatly improved the last few years, and now afford delightful drives, with frequent and beautiful changing views, along their banks. The slackwater from the Ohio State Dam across the Maumee, four miles and a half below the mouth of the Auglaise, extends about three miles up this river and, in connection with the Maumee and the Tiffin, affords the best of waters for the use of smaller pleasure boats.

THE TIFFIN RIVER

Has origin in the northwestern and western parts of Lenawee County, Michigan, and the eastern part of Hillsdale County. Several streams of its headwaters come from small lakes, the largest of which are named the Horseshoe, Devils, Posey, and Bear, in Lenawee, and Lake Mallory and Lime Lake, in Hillsdale County. A number of the lakes in this region are without visible outlet, their level being regulated by percolation through the sand and gravel composing their beds and shores. Springs thus abound which serve as feeders of the river, the waters of which in its upper course being therefrom clearer than in most of the streams in the Maumee Basin; and a more uniform flow is maintained, also partly from the less relative evaporation on account of there being a less number of boulders, washed from the drift, in its channel.

THE VILLAGE OF HUDSON, MICHIGAN, AND UPPER VALLEY OF TIFFIN RIVER

Looking northeast from the Tower of the High School Building late afternoon of 5th July, 1902, in high wind. The standpoint is on the highest of the many knoll extensions of the St. Joseph Moraine and its beaches, about 100 feet above the river, and about on level with the horizon, that to the right being of the Defiance Moraine.

The western headwaters of the Tiffin River are quite near those of the St. Joseph of the Maumee, the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, the Kalamazoo, and the Grand River; and its eastern sources are quite near those of the River Raisin. Along and between the headwaters of these several rivers the tide of Aborigine wanderings, to and fro along the portage paths, was considerable, from time immemorial.

The mouth of the Tiffin is directly south from its most northern source. It debouches into the Maumee River one mile and a half above the mouth of the Auglaise, the three rivers at and between these points being within the City of Defiance. The present Maumee slackwater for the Miami and Erie Canal uses, extends about two miles up the Tiffin.

The Tiffin's bed is wholly in the Glacial Drift to within four miles of its mouth where it exposes the Ohio Shale, here of the darker color; and in places the corrasions extend into the Corniferous Limestone.* Its course is often very tortuous, doubling upon itself usually in short bends, (see map of its meander under heading Public Lands) at first generally inclining somewhat eastward into Fulton County, Ohio, and then westward, but at no point extending much further than six miles east or west from a central north and south line. The distance from its source to its mouth in direct line is about fifty-five miles, and by way of its channel eighty miles and more. The average fall in the

A GLIMPSE OF TIFFIN RIVER

Looking east up the River in the south part of Section Four Noble Township, Ohio, 24th October, 1901. The two small white spots in the distant water are Corniferous Limestone Boulders, the last seen in going up the River.

---

* These formations are termed Huron Shale, and Hamilton Shaly Limestone in the early Geological Surveys.

river proper is about four feet per mile.* The channel in Fulton County is between the First and Second, and in Defiance County between the First and Third Glacial Lake Beaches—see map *ante* page 28.

The Tiffin is usually termed a narrow and deep river with frequent precipitous banks, rising in some places to forty feet or more in height, first on one side and then on the other according to the trending and erosion of the current. The opposite, advancing, shore shows usually but a small skirt of peneplain or bottom land; but at the longest and most narrow bends, where the current has cut through the narrow neck, shortened its course, and worn away the high ground intervening between the former and the new channel, as in the north part of Defiance County, the extent of this lower level eroded land or made shore admits the river to spread its waters to near one mile in width in time of greatest floods. In highest floods the water rises twenty feet or more; and in the dryest seasons there is neither record nor tradition of its having been a dead river, that is the current has not ceased to flow, like many of the smaller western rivers.† In May, 1903, a Water Gage for daily record of flow was placed by United States authority under the county bridge one mile above the county bridge at Brunersburg, in Noble Township, Defiance County.

The Tiffin's principal tributaries are Beach Creek from the east and Deer Creek from the west in Fulton County, Ohio; Leatherwood and Beaver Creeks from the west, and Brush Creek from the east in Williams County; with Lick Creek a perpetual stream, Mud, and Buckskin Creeks from the west, and Webb Creek from the east in Defiance County. The tributaries from the east drain the westward slope of the Defiance Moraine north of the Maumee River, and those from the westward drain the northeastern slope of the St. Joseph Moraine.

The Tiffin, like the larger rivers of the Maumee Basin, was much traversed by the Aborigines, the early French, the *Coureurs de Bois* and other traders, and by the Colonists. From the beautiful cove appearance of the mouth and lower waters of the Tiffin, and the plentiful natural growth of beans along its fertile banks, the French early gave it the name *Anse des Fèves* Cove or Creek of the Beans, and *Crique Fève* Bean Creek in English; and so it is yet called by many farmers along its course notwithstanding the fact that at the United States Survey and Platting of the lands in this region in 1820–22, it was officially given the name Tiffin River in honor of the then Surveyor General of the West, Edward Tiffin, M. D., who had served Ohio well as the first Governor, then United States Senator, etc. The north central Land and Civil Township in Defiance County, through which this river flows, was also given the name Tiffin.

---

* In the *Second Report of an Investigation of the Rivers of Ohio as Sources of Public Water Supply*, by the Ohio State Board of Health, 1899, page 126, it is stated that the Tiffin has a length of about sixty-five miles, with an average fall of 4.5 feet per mile. Its watershed is also there given as 669 square miles.

† This information has been obtained by the writer from farmers who have resided on the banks of the Tiffin since the year 1830.

In 1820–22 John Perkins built a dam across the Tiffin River two miles above its mouth. At the east end of this dam a primitive 'up and down' sawing mill was built, the only iron or steel about it being the straight saw; the connections, bearings and pins being made of hickory. It was soon in operation cutting plain boards for doors, roofs and floors for use in log houses, and lumber for the first frame houses built in Defiance, and in the Village of Brunersburg which soon sprung up at the west end of this dam. A grist (flouring) mill was soon (1822?) built at the west end of the dam. These were then the only water-power mills in the Basin, excepting possibly one at the Grand Rapids of the Maumee and one at Willshire on the St. Mary. They were patronized by settlers from great distances. As the number of settlers increased, Brunersburg became a very busy place. The

THE MAUMEE RIVER AND THE MOUTH OF THE TIFFIN

Looking northwest within the City of Defiance, Ohio, 15th April, 1901. The course of the Maumee is seen in the distance. The army of General Wayne in 1794, and of General Winchester in 1812, encamped on the high bank of the Maumee just back, and to the left, of this standpoint.

general mode of conveying the grists to and from the mill was by boats —pirogues at first. They came down the Tiffin from Michigan, down the Auglaise, and from both ways along the Maumee. Daniel Bruner (from whom the village was named) who bought these mills in 1833 (1839?) and Brice Hilton, who some years later bought and operated them and their successors until the final destruction of the dam in 1884, had boats that ran regularly along the Tiffin and the other rivers in those early times, usually pirogues of from three to five tons or one hundred and seventy-five bushels of corn and wheat capacity. Payment was made for the grain in money, lumber, or flour according to the desire of the producer; thus the boats usually carried loads both ways. Contracts were occasionally made, principally between the years 1830-1843, for the entire product of wheat, corn, oats, hogs, etc., even before planting time. The demand for these products came from the increasing number of immigrants, the numerous villages that were platted along the rivers, and the thousands of laborers brought from the East to make the Miami and Erie, and the Wabash and Erie Canals.

LOOKING NORTH UP THE TIFFIN RIVER

October 19, 1902, from the northwest corner of Section 15 Noble Township, Defiance County, Ohio, the Village of Brunersburg on the left (right river bank). The remains of the John Perkins Mill-dam, one of the first in the Basin, are seen in the distance beyond the small island.

A much larger boat was soon built at Brunersburg by William Bridenbaugh and Solomon Stoner for Gilbert C. Coffin a Delaware Township farmer. This was a very large boat for those days, and substantial. It carried cargoes of 2500 bushels of wheat to Maumee City; was afterward sold to John Tuttle an early warehouse man at Defiance and was used in the Miami and Erie Canal after its completion in 1843. In 1837 a steamboat was built at Brunersburg for Sargent and Mudgett, traders at that place. This boat was christened *Anthony Wayne* and plied mostly on the Maumee River—see *ante* page 481. These were days of enterprise and emulation in the developing country. A grain boat was built at Evansport on the Tiffin with capacity for six hundred bushels of wheat; but this experiment (which was also the name of the boat) proved unprofitable. She was sold for the Maumee River trade and, later for many years, was run in the Canal, retaining her first name, *Experiment*, to the last. The maximum of this active business along the rivers was attained during the building of the Miami and Erie Canal during the years 1840-41-42.

In 1835 a dam and flouring mill were completed at Evansport by Jacob and John Coy and John Snider. Two years later they added a sawing mill. Soon thereafter a flouring mill was built at Pulaski on Beaver Creek; and about 1846 a flouring and sawing mill were built at La Fayette, later called Lockport, on the Tiffin River. Other mills were constructed—flouring mills at Edinburg, Fulton County, Ohio, and at Hudson, Michigan, and yet later a sawing mill at Addison, Michigan. Only the one last named remains as a water-power mill. Objections to the dams were raised on account of the increased overflow of 'bottom' lands therefrom, and some explosives were used under those at Lockport and Evansport by unknown parties. The mills were also consumed by fire one after another, those at Brunersburg and Evansport in 1884-85.* Another flouring mill was built at Evansport and is operated by steam power.

Scarcely any commercial boating has been done on the Tiffin River in later years. By way of experiment the passenger steamer *Laurina* was run, with little cargo, three times from Defiance to Evansport during a favorable stage of water in March, 1892. The first time she brought down from the Evansport steam mills fifty barrels of flour, the second time sixty, and the third time sixty-eight barrels of flour and two tons of 'chop feed.' The time occupied in going up was about four hours on account of the strong current. The return required only one hour and three-quarters. The distance by wagon road is twelve miles; by river about twenty-four miles.

---

* In the spring and summer of 1903 indictments were found against several citizens of Williams County for arson. A number, even those with property and of good standing, plead guilty to a repetition of this crime for many years, and they with others were sentenced to the penitentiary. The writer is not aware, however, that any attempt was made to connect their operations with the destruction of these mills.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST AMERICAN SETTLERS — THE DIVISION INTO COUNTIES — THE ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES.

But few Americans settled in this Basin until after the surrender by the British in 1796 of Fort Miami by the lower Maumee and of Fort Lernoult at Detroit. Then American traders with the Aborigines increased in number, while British and French traders, yet probably in the majority, continued their traffic; thus there was a mixed competition for the Aborigine trade. This competition changed as the British more and more attracted the Aborigines to Malden; and yet more when the United States established trading posts with desire for the better control of the Aborigines within their territory—see *ante* page 259.

People desiring to found homes began to gather along the lower Maumee River early in the 18th century. It is supposed that Colonel John Anderson was at Miami, site of the British Fort Miami two miles below the foot of the lowest Maumee rapids, from the year 1796 as a trader and farmer—see *ante* page 397; also William Dragoo—see *ante* page 396. Several American families were with or near the Ottawa Aborigine villages there and below in 1806. The French were in the majority on the right bank at the mouth of the river, among the number being the Navarres, Peltier, J. B. Beaugrand, Mominie, and Antoine La Pointe. It is also supposed that in 1807 there dwelt by the lower Maumee, at the site of Fort Miami, families of, or individuals named, William Carter, Andrew and William Race, three families named Ewing, and David Hull a trader and tavern keeper with the assistance of his sister. These were joined in 1807 by James Carlin a former Government blacksmith from Detroit by way of Frenchtown, now Monroe.*

During the year 1810 there came to and near Miami, Major Amos Spafford as Collector of the Port of Miami, Erie District, Thomas and Halsey W. Leaming, Stephen Hoyt, George Blalock, Daniel Purdy, James Slason or Slawson, Jesse Skinner, Thomas Dick, William Peters, Ambrose Hickok, David and Robert Race, Daniel Murray, Samuel Merritt, Richard Gifford, and Captain Jacob Wilkinson who built a schooner for the river and lake trade. At the opening of the War of 1812 there were sixty-seven families of Caucasion blood at or tributary to the small Village of Miami, as seen by General Hull's army—see *ante* page 271. Among the reminiscences of Mrs. Amelia

---

* See Hezekiah L. Hosmer's article in *Howe's His. Collections of Ohio*, vol. ii, page 859.

W. Perrin, daughter of Captain Wilkinson, regarding the alarms of these times is the following:

One morning in the summer of 1811, a man came riding down the river warning the settlers that a large body of savages, hideously painted, was forming above and their appearance and actions indicated that they were upon the war-path. The rumor created terrible alarm in the vicinity, and the thoughts of each were immediately directed to finding a place of safety for themselves and their children. Father took his family to the woods, some distance away, and there left them (mother and her four children) concealed in a brush heap, with the promise to return as soon as he was assured of their safety, and enjoined them to keep quiet and closely concealed. All that long day they remained there, scarcely daring to move for fear of attracting the attention of some lurking savage. In his haste father had forgotten to bring anything to eat, but fear of the Aborigines kept

AN EARLY HOME IN THE WILDERNESS

Generally of but one room, built of logs shaped with the axe. Sometimes one or two other tools were at hand, an augur and the hunting knife, used in pinning together the split plank to form the door, the window blind, and the family table, as frequently no nails were at hand. The door hinges and latch were also of wood. A string attached to the latch and threaded through a small opening in the door above enabled friends without to raise the latch and enter, hence the form of invitation 'you will find the latch-string out.' This string was usually kept drawn within the door to prevent sudden and unwelcome intrusion of foes. When the open spaces between the logs were chinked and daubed with mud as protection against the savages and to shut out the cold, greased paper was stretched across the one or two window holes for light by day when safe and the open firelight was not sufficient. For special lighting there was used a piece of hickory bark, a saucer of grease with a narrow cutting of cloth protruding or, later, a dipped tallow candle. The ground served as floor until convenient time to make a floor of puncheons. Beds were often composed of boughs of trees, covered with skins of the large wild animals dressed with hair on, placed on the floor or on poles supported above the ground. The gun was constantly at hand, necessary to supply game as the only meat for the table or as protection against savage wild beasts and Aborigines. The loft often had portholes for observation and defense. Nuts, tubers, berries, nettle tops and other wild edibles were gathered in season and stored in the loft for use in times of need, the first crops of grain being uncertain.

the little ones quiet and caused them to forget their hunger, except the baby which nursed until it drew blood. As the dread hours of that long, weary, terrible day passed slowly, one by one, and father did not come, mother's anguish grew almost unendurable, for she imagined he had fallen at the hands of the savages. When he finally appeared, just as the darkness of night was closing around us, there was a most joyous reunion. It seems that the uncertainty of the purpose of the Aborigines had prevented him from returning to us sooner. The savages were merely out upon 'a lark' and had gobbled up a number of white men, father among the number, and pestered them just by way of amusement.*

The following is also taken from the reminiscenses of Mrs. Hester Green, daughter of Daniel Purdy:

We lived in security until a messenger arrived informing us that General Hull had sold his army, and that we would have to leave. Then all was fright and confusion. We and most of the others, excepting the soldiers, gathered what we could handily and left. We stopped at Blalock's a short time, and there an Aborigine messenger arrived and told us to come back as they would not kill us, but only wanted some of our property. Looking around until he found Blalock's gun he took it, went out and got a horse my mother had ridden to this point, and departed. We went back and remained three days in which time the Aborigines were pretty busy in driving off our live stock (we lost sixteen head) and in plundering the houses of such as had not come back. Mr. Guilliam was one who fled leaving everything behind; and had not the presence of danger filled us with alarm, we would have been amused to see the Aborigines plundering his house. The feather beds were brought out, ripped open and the feathers scattered to the winds, the ticks alone being deemed valuable. But our stay was short, only three days, when the commandant of the fort [for other mention of this fort see *ante* page 272] informed us that he would burn the fort and stores and leave, inviting us to take such of the provisions as we might need. Consternation again seized upon us, and we hastily reloaded our wagons and left. We stayed the first night at a house eight or ten miles south of the [foot of the] Rapids. In the Black Swamp the load became too heavy, and they rolled out a barrel of flour and a barrel of meat which they had obtained at the fort. Mr. Hopkins, John Carter, Mr. Scribner, and William Race went back the next fall [1812] to gather their crops, and they were all killed by the savages. John Carter was attacked while in a boat on the river, and they had quite a hard fight before they got his scalp. After many years the Government gave the Purdys four hundred dollars for the crops and stock left behind them in their flight.

Mrs. Philothe Case Clark wrote for the *Firelands Pioneer* volume v page 114, that her father Isaac P. Case† came to the Vicinity of Fort Miami May 1, 1811. She pathetically describes much sickness, and several deaths in the family, with the unavoidable privations of the wilderness. The dead were buried in coffins made by the friends from basswood trees, split and hewn with axes. After the surrender of Hull at Detroit some of the families left Miami by open boats. Her father and family, in company with twelve other families, went by wagons drawn by oxen. Their route was southward along the way of Hull's army. After a toilsome journey of two weeks through the mud, greatly annoyed by mosquitoes, sometimes with no water except what was gathered from the cattle-tracks, they arrived at Urbana where they drew military rations until recruited in strength to resume their journey to their relatives.

---

* See *Firelands Pioneer;* and *History of Wood County, Ohio,* 1897, page 359.

† Isaac P. Case was born at Simsbury, Connecticut, March 3, 1772; married at Cooperstown, New York, Miss Eunice Tracey. They came to southern Ohio and down the Ohio River in 1808 with three daughters and one son. In the spring of 1811 this family, with another and two young men named Scribner and Lapeer, started northward for the Maumee. At Wapakoneta they made a large pirogue of two basswood logs, and in it they passed down the Auglaise River to the ruins of Fort Defiance. Here they found Burgess Squire and wife and her mother who were also mother and sister to Case. They had passed the winter here in company with the only white settler, a French trader, and his Aborigine wife. Taking all his relatives and crew into his pirogue, Case passed down the Maumee and arrived at the foot of the lowest rapids May 1, 1811, after exciting experiences on the river.

Some of the families residing at Fort Miami were French, and some of them went to the British, or to Canada, at the outbreak of the War; others remained there or thereabout, and a few of their number did good service for the Americans in common with Peter Manor (Manard) and Peter Navarre. All the American families retired to the protected parts of Ohio soon after the surrender of Detroit to the British by General Hull and the abandonment of the small fort at Miami by Lieutenant Davidson—see *ante* page 272. Major Spafford was the last to leave with his family and immediate friends; and they escaped the savages in a rude and shaky barge by way of Lake Erie to Milan. The crops of these refugees were harvested and destroyed in part by the British, the savages, and the American soldiers.

At the close of the War of 1812 many of these families returned to Miami, with some friends and former soldiers who desired places for settlement with their families; and immediately after the departure of the garrison in May, 1815, the buildings of Fort Meigs were occupied by the successive arrivals until houses could be built on choice locations. Contentions were engendered, however, regarding the pickets and other timber of the Fort, and finally one of the parties to the quarrel set the remaining ones on fire. Amos Spafford and others built their dwellings in the summer of 1815 partly of timber obtained by taking apart flat boats that had served their purpose in transporting army supplies from Fort Winchester. John Carter and John Race were shot and tomahawked by Aborigines at their cabin near Turkey-foot Rock (at upper Presqu'ile) the summer of this year; and later in the season Levi Hull went to drive in the cattle from the woods on the present plat of Perrysburg; several gun reports were heard, and he not returning in due time, a search party was organized and he was found where the Methodist Church building of Perrysburg now stands, shot dead and scalped.* These were the last of the murders by savages along the Maumee River for some length of time.

A village plat was surveyed at Fort Meigs, principally along the river under the bluff and given the name Orleans, or Orleans of the

---

* From the MS. of the late Willard V. Way, copied into the *History of Wood County*, 1897.

North. A few log cabins were here built. Captain Jacob Wilkinson who (assisted by his nephew afterward Captain David Wilkinson who became a prominent boatman for the lower Maumee) had taken the garrison and equipment of Fort Meigs to Detroit in May, sailed his schooner *Blacksnake*, of about twenty-five tons burden, to Buffalo for supplies, and on his return brought other settlers among whom were the families Hunter, Mulholland, Hopkins, Scott Robb, and probably others. Of the other settlers, David Hull and Thomas M'Ilrath opened supply stores and taverns. Jesse Skinner, Samuel Ewing, a bachelor Irishman named Thomas Dicks, and others built cabins near the river and on the bluff above. Ephraim and Thomas Leaming carpenters and mill-wrights built dwellings near the river in what is now the west part of Perrysburg. In the spring of 1818 they removed to Monclova and rebuilt the sawing mill begun there on Swan Creek before the War of 1812 by Samuel Ewing. This was the first mill in the Basin, and it was well patronized by the settlers. Previous to this time the settlers went to the River Raisin, Michigan, for their lumber and flour. In 1816 Captain Jacob Wilkinson returned to remain and he built a house at Orleans; also Seneca Allen, Charles, Christopher, and Elijah Gunn, who settled on the north side of the river. Allen opened a store for trade with the Aborigines at Roche de Bout where Isaac Richardson was building a mill. Joshua Chappel arrived in April, 1817, and about this time Samuel Vance and his brother Wilson opened a general store for their brother Joseph Vance who was later elected Governor of Ohio. About the first of June John and William Hollister arrived with a stock of goods and opened a general store. A great flood, experienced at the going out of the river ice in the spring of 1818 damaged the Village of Orleans, and this, with the insufficient building space and the number of competing towns, soon caused the decline and abandonment of the town.

Those who were driven from their homes at Miami at the beginning of the War of 1812, claimed compensation from the United States on their return for their property used and destroyed during the War. A meeting was held at the dwelling house of Amos Spafford* in the evening of 8th November, 1815, and the minutes show the appointment of Amos Spafford and Captain Daniel Hull as a committee to meet General Harrison on his way to Detroit and to "request of him such information and certificates as the said General may have in his possession respecting the corn that was found standing in possession of the inhabitants on his arrival at this place in the winter of 1812-13, which corn was made use of by the army under his command." The

---

* The later residence of this pioneer by the lower Maumee was on the right bank of the River, where he died in 1817.

24th November Amos Spafford was appointed agent and attorney to go to Washington and apply to Congress for the payment of the claims of the following named persons: William Carter, Daniel Hull, William Peters, Samuel H. Ewing, Samuel Carter, Thomas M'Ilrath, Samuel Ewing, Chloe Hicox or Hickok, William Skinner, James Carlin, Stacey Stoddard, John Redoad, and Jacob Wilkinson. Among the other claimants were George Blalock, James Slawson or Slason, Jesse Skinner, Thomas Dick, Ambrose Hickok, Daniel Purdy, Baptiste Mominie, and Richard Gifford. There were claims other than for corn. Those of James Carlin, blacksmith, were for dwelling house or cabin valued at $110; blacksmith shop $55; one two years old colt taken by Wyandot Aborigines $30. Oliver Armstrong also claimed for one horse stolen valued at $60; wheat of six acres in the barn, burned; four tons hay; clothing and bedding burned or stolen, amounting to $525. The total of the former settlers' claims was somewhat over four thousand dollars.

The United States Reservations on the lower Maumee at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, included the land on both sides of Maumee Bay and the river above to the extent of one hundred and eighty square miles (six and twelve miles square). The boundaries of these Reservations were marked in 1805 by Elias Glover Deputy United States Surveyor, with assistants; but the first American settlements were made on these Reservations without permission, that they might have choice possession claims when the Reservations were opened to settlers. In 1816 parts of these Reservations were surveyed for settlers by Agent Alexander Bourne and Surveyors Joseph Wampler and William Brookfield, including the plat of the present Village of Perrysburg according to Act of Congress that year; and the lands and lots were offered for sale in February, 1817, by officers of the Land Office at Wooster, Ohio. This village plat was named in honor of Commodore Oliver H. Perry at the suggestion of Josiah Meigs Commissioner of the General Land Office. Several log houses were built in Perrysburg that year, and in 1817 the first frame house there was built by David W. Hawley of Black Rock, Buffalo, of lumber brought from Buffalo by Captain Jacob Wilkinson in the schooner *Blacksnake*. Doctor J. B. Stewart of Albany, New York, and J. J. Lovett, bought the river tracts 65 and 66, including the site of Fort Meigs and the settlements next to the river. The prices current following the War of 1812, taken from the account book of John T. Baldwin, were: for common laborers $25 per month and board; shoes $2.50 per pair; half-soling a pair of boots $3.00; making fine shirt $1.00; making woolen trousers $1.50; making linen trousers 50 cents; flour four cents a pound; bacon 20 cents; beefsteak 10 cents; pork 18¾ cents; butter

31 cents; cider $8.50 a barrel; chickens 25 cents each; beaver hats $7.00; tobacco 50 cents a pound; whisky 50 cents a pint; tin plates 31 cents each; nails 25 cents a pound; salt $8.00 a barrel. At the close of the year 1819 the number of Americans along and with settlements adjacent to the lower Maumee River, was estimated to be but little over six hundred.

THE FIRST MASONIC LODGES, AND CHURCHES.

Army Lodge No. 24 Free and Accepted Masons held meetings in Fort Meigs from 1813 until the abandonment of the Fort by the soldiers in May, 1815.* March 5, 1817, Henry Brush Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ohio Free and Accepted Masons granted from Chillicothe a dispensation for Northern Light Lodge No. 40 at Waynesfield, the present Village of Maumee and vicinity. There were along the Maumee at this time about forty families scattered from Waterville above to Delaware Creek below, of which families five men were Free Masons. The dispensation named Almon Gibbs W. M. William Griffith S. W. and Charles Gunn J. W. D. J. Thurston and James Adams were the other members. Seneca Allen was the first applicant for the degrees. A charter was granted to this Lodge 21st December, 1818. Its meetings were held in the second story of a building erected by the Cincinnati Land Company which owned the village site. Owing to the great anti-Masonic excitement, this Lodge discontinued meetings from December 27, 1827, after electing officers as follows: James Wilkinson W. M. J. H. Jerome S. W. R. A. Forsyth J. W. Harry Conant Treasurer; Thomas R. M'Knight Secretary; John Hollister S. D. J. S. Herrick J. D. David Hull, Tyler. This Lodge remained voluntarily suspended about eighteen years. Upon petition of Andrew Young in October, 1845, the charter was renewed and meetings again began the 21st of November. Meantime, Wood County Lodge No. 112 was organized under dispensation granted 29th April, 1843. The Charter was received in October of this year. The meetings of this Lodge were held for many years in the garret of the log dwelling house of Emilus Wood, a short distance northwest of the site of the present Village of Tontogany. The first officers were: Jarius Curtis W. M. Emilus Wood S. W. Morris Brown J. W. The present members claim this as the Mother of Lodges in Northwestern Ohio. Toledo Lodge No. 144 was the next one here organized a few years later.

The first Protestant society among the Americans by the lower Maumee River was a Methodist Episcopal Church organized at Orleans in 1819 by Reverend John P. Kent. Aurora Spafford was appointed class leader, with William Kelly, John Knowles and Sarah Wilkinson members. Captain Jacob Wilkinson's dwelling house was their first meeting place, and Hollister's store the second. Later, the meetings were held in Perrysburg. The succeeding ministers were Paul B. Morey of the Detroit (Monroe) Circuit in 1820, Elias Patten in 1822, S. Baker in 1824, John Baughman in 1825, G. Walker in 1827. The next church organized was the Presbyterian 13th November, 1834* but their clergymen had previously visited there.

---

* *History of Wood County, Ohio*, 1897, page 380.

Division into Counties.

The claims of the Aborigines to the lands in this Basin and its vicinity having been largely purchased by the United States (see Treaties, Chapter XII) the Legislature of Ohio, by Act of 12th February, 1820, provided for the division of northwestern Ohio into fourteen counties. This Act was carried into effect 1st April, 1820, in the division and the naming of the following counties wholly or partially embraced in this Basin, viz: Allen, Hancock, Hardin, Henry, Mercer, Paulding, Putnam, Seneca, Van Wert, Williams, and Wood. Some of these counties were in after years divided and others organized to form the present list—see table *ante* pages 4 and 5. Some of the counties first named were not organized for several years, their territory being placed under the jurisdiction of those that were organized until each gained population sufficient to sustain the expense of individual government. Thus Hancock, Henry, Paulding, Putnam and Williams, were subject to Wood County, and Allen and Van Wert were for a time governed by Mercer. At the organization of Williams County in 1824 with court and officers at Defiance, the previously outlined territory of Henry, Paulding, and Putnam, Counties were attached to it for their government.

Wood County, Ohio,

Was named in honor of Colonel Eleazer D. Wood, Engineer of Fort Meigs. The first Commissioners, appointed April 1, 1820, were Samuel H. Ewing, John Pray, and Daniel Hubbell, the latter acting as clerk or secretary at their first meeting held in the Village of Maumee 12th April, 1820. William Pratt was then appointed County Treasurer. The next meeting was held May 3rd when Seneca Allen, County Auditor, was appointed clerk for the Commissioners. The bond of David Hull as Sheriff was then accepted, with Samuel Vance and Peter G. Oliver as sureties; also the bond of William Pratt, Treasurer, with Samuel Vance and Aurora Spafford sureties; and the bond of Seneca Allen, Auditor, with Almon Gibbs and Thomas R. M'Knight as sureties. The Auditor was chosen by joint ballot of the Ohio General Assembly. General John E. Hunt was allowed $11.25 for services as lister of taxable property and house appraiser; and David Hull was appointed Collector of Taxes. The Commissioners, at this meeting, rented for one year at forty dollars the room over Almon Gibbs' store in the Village of Maumee, where their meetings had been held, for their use and for the meetings of the court. At the session held 12th December, 1820, Daniel Hubbell, John E. Hunt, and John Pray, appeared as Commissioners. March 4th, 1822, they appointed Thomas W. Powell Auditor of the County; and declared the Township of Waynesfield, which was organized in 1816 for the government of the United States Reservations hereabout, to be coextensive with the Counties of Wood and Hancock; and they organized the Township of Auglaise to be coextensive with the Counties of Henry, Williams, Paulding and Putnam. At their session June 3rd, Doctor Walter Colton was appointed Treasurer.

---

* For the names of later ministers in these and other Churches in this region, the reader is referred to the report of Charles W. Evers in the *History of Wood County, Ohio*, 1897, page 378; also to the history of Missions *ante* page 399.

The United States Congress vested May 7, 1822, the right to all unsold lots and outlots of the town plat of Perrysburg in the Commissioners of Wood County, Ohio, on condition that the public buildings of the said County be permanently located there. A special session of the Board at Perrysburg 19th March, 1823, was 'convened for the purpose of attending to the erection and repairs of the public buildings of the County.' The Commissioners at this time were John Pray, Samuel Spafford, and Hiram P. Barlow. They examined the County Jail 'which had been removed from the town of Maumee and erected in the town of Perrysburg agreeable to a contract entered into for that purpose with Daniel Hubbell' at a cost of $48. It was further "ordered that so much of the Township of Waynesfield as is included in the organized County of Wood, and lying and being on the south of the south channel of the Maumee River, from the west line of the County to the line between the original surveyed Township in Number One and Four in the United States Reserve, thence along the north channel to the State line, be set off and organized into a township by the name of Perrysburg; and that the election for Township Officers be held on the 19th day of June, A. D. 1823, at the house of Samuel Spafford in said Township."

A Court House for Wood County was built at Perrysburg in 1823 by Daniel Hubbell and Guy Nearing under contract for $895. This Court House was succeeded in 1843 by one of brick at a cost of $20,000. In April, 1870, the County Records and offices were removed to a new Court House in the Village of Bowling Green which was used until the year 1894, when the records were removed to the City Hall and work was begun on the present ornate stone structure which was completed in the fall of 1896 at a cost of $255,746.84 including the lots and their improvement.

The first newspaper published in or near the Maumee River Basin was *The Miami of the Lake,* first issued 11th December, 1833, by Jesup W. Scott a lawyer who later removed to Toledo and Henry Darling who brought the type and hand press from New York. This newspaper passed into the hands of J. H. M'Bride; and it was succeeded in name August 18, 1838, by *The Ohio Whig* under the management of H. T. Smith. Other newspapers were started and had brief history. In 1872 but one newspaper was continued in Perrysburg, *The Journal,* edited by James Timmons.

The first court in this Basin was held over Almon Gibbs' store in the Village of Maumee beginning 3rd May, 1820. This Basin was then in the Third Judicial Circuit. George Tod, father of David Tod Governor of Ohio in 1862 to 1864, was President Judge, and Doctor Horatio Conant, Samuel Vance and Peter G. Oliver were Associate Judges. Their commissions were for seven years from March 1, 1820. Thomas R. M'Knight was appointed Clerk. John T. Baldwin, Aaron Granger, Parris M. Plum, Aurora Spafford, Jeremiah Johnston, William Pratt, Richard Gunn, Collister Haskins, Ephriam H. Leaming, Josephus Tilor, Daniel Murray, John Hollister, Norman L. Freeman, John Jay Lovett, and William H. Bostwick, composed the Grand Jury, the last named being foreman. Ebenezer Lane was the second President Judge in 1825, and David Higgins the third, in 1830.

The illegal sale of spirituous liquors in less quantity than a quart, and in some cases without license, resulted in many indictments and fines during the early years of this Common Pleas Court. Samuel Ewing was found murdered at Roche de Bout in May, 1822, and the verdict of the Coroner, Francis Charter, was ignored on motion of Thomas H. Powell Prosecuting Attorney, and an indictment for manslaughter against John Lewis was returned instead. Lewis was found guilty, and was sentenced to the Ohio Penitentiary for three years. He soon escaped from the County Jail and was not caught. One French, convicted of passing counterfeit bank notes, was also sentenced to the Penitentiary for three years by Judge Tod.

The first capital punishment in this Basin was inflicted 5th November, 1830, on George Porter a half-breed Mohican who expiated his crime in the ravine at the east end of Fort Meigs. In brief the story runs as follows: About the year 1817 Isaac Richardson and one Thompson purchased land including Roche de Bout and, later, built a dam across the Maumee at the rapids there and completed flouring and sawing mills and began their operation. Difficulties arose and continued from the insecurity of the dam which bred endless strife and litigation. The one would one day tear down and destroy what the other had built up the day before.

> Without saying any thing about Thompson, Richardson was in every sense of the word a bad man. he was a tall man with a well-proportioned figure, flaxen hair and corresponding features; and it was then remarked that he would make a good model for an ancient Anglo-Saxon. If a bad man was needed for such a model, certainly they could scarcely obtain a better one. Porter had labored for Richardson at the mills as a carpenter and laborer, and had considerable claims for such labor, while Richardson could not be induced to pay nor do anything except to taunt Porter with the assertion that he could not collect his claims. This taunt, without denying in any manner the justice of the claims, he would cast up to Porter in the most aggravating manner. At last Porter became indignant and irritated beyond the powers of his endurance. One evening after dark while Richardson was sitting in his hall with his family and others around him, Porter came unexpectedly and immediately shot Richardson dead in his chair.

The late Thomas W. Powell, from whose reminiscences the foregoing is taken* was Prosecuting Attorney, and David Higgins, afterwards President Judge of Common Pleas, was appointed to defend Porter who had the sympathy of the Community; but he was convicted and hung as before stated.

The first bridge across the lower Maumee River was built in 1839 by the citizens of Maumee City at the site of the present structure, at the cost of about $4000. Ferry boats were used up to this date.

One of the largest meetings held in this Basin was at Fort Meigs on the 11th June, 1840, during the Presidential Campaign and in favor of General William H. Harrison's candidacy. The number in attendance was variously estimated at from 40,000 to 60,000 people who came from various parts of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, New York and Pennsylvania. The principal speakers were General Harrison and Thomas Corwin. Many of the soldiers who had served under General Harrison at Fort Meigs and elsewhere were present and great enthusiasm prevailed.† Among the enlivening incidents of this meeting was the degrading of a hickory pole that had been brought to the site of the Fort by some Democrats to be erected to display their party flag in opposition. Whigs of Maumee and Perrysburg gathered in the night and thrust this pole little end down into the deep water well outside the Grand Traverse — Well No. 1, see Ground Plan of Fort Meigs *ante* page 316. During the meeting the contrast between this reversed pole and the stately oak which held aloft the Whig banner, afforded much amusement. This 'Pole in a deep hole' can yet be seen extending above the filled-in well. It is now, however, nearly gone from decay.

---

* Compare *The Defiance Democrat*, weekly newspaper of 2nd May, 1868.

† See *The Toledo Weekly Blade* for the week of 11th June, 1840.

A reunion, called for the Survivors of the Siege of Fort Meigs, was held on the site of the Fort in June, 1870, at which forty-four responded to the roll-call. Some of these men were about eighty years old, and all were approximating this age. Their enjoyment of the occasion was great and heartfelt. Captain Leslie Combs was present, now bearing the title General, but not with full historical accuracy of speech in his address. The able Colonel Charles S. Todd, and Peter Navarre, were also present. These veterans were accorded a warm reception by the citizens of Perrysburg, Maumee, and vicinity. At the head of the large procession to the site of the Fort, was carried a flag that waved over the Fort during the Siege. It was owned by David M'Chesney of Warren County, Ohio, and was carried on this occasion by his father-in-law Colonel Irvine, one of the veterans. This flag was torn and time-stained, but its gilt inscription was yet legible, viz: 2nd Com'd, 1st Squad, 3rd Brigade, 1st Div., Ohio Militia.

THE SITE AND VILLAGE OF DEFIANCE — WILLIAMS COUNTY.

Both the French and English had trading posts for the Aborigines at convenient places along the rivers from early dates — the former from the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the latter from the first half of the eighteenth; and occasionally a post assumed an air of permanence. Defiance was a favorite place for all parties on account of its being the central part of the Basin, and the point of union of three rivers. The following account by Oliver M. Spencer, who was for some time a captive of the Shawnee Aborigines at the site of the present City of Defiance, describes the settlement at this place in the year 1792, two years before the coming of General Wayne's army, viz:

> Extending from the Maumee a quarter of a mile up the Auglaise, about two hundred yards in width, was an open space on the west and south of which were oak woods with hazel undergrowth. Within this opening, a few hundred yards above the point [between the rivers] on the steep high bank of the Auglaise, were five or six cabins and log houses inhabited principally by traders with the Aborigines. The most northerly, a large hewed log house divided below into three apartments, was occupied as a warehouse, store, and dwelling by George Ironside the most wealthy and influential of the traders on the point. Next to his were the houses of Pirault [Pero] a French baker, and M'Kenzie a Scot who, in addition to merchandizing, followed the occupation of a silversmith exchanging with the Aborigines his brooches, eardrops, and other silver ornaments at an enormous profit, for skins [of wild animals]. Still farther up were several other families of French and English, and two American prisoners — Henry Ball a soldier taken at St. Clair's defeat, and his wife Polly Meadows captured at the same time — were allowed to live here and by labor to pay their masters the price of their ransom, he by boating to the [lower] rapids of the Maumee, and she by washing and sewing. Fronting the house of Ironside, and about fifty yards from the bank [of the Auglaise], was a small stockade enclosing two hewed log houses, one of which was occupied by James Girty (brother of Simon) the other occasionally [occupied] by M'Kee and Eliott British Aborigine Agents living at Detroit [by the lower Detroit River, and the lower Maumee]. . . .

> I spent this day very pleasantly among the traders, dining with Mr. Ironside who treated me with great kindness. I found him a very sociable and intelligent man, humane and benevolent. He seemed much interested in the story of my captivity and appeared to sympathize with me, gave me some useful advice and direction for the regulation of my conduct, and a great deal of information relative to the Aborigines, their history, customs and manners. On the following day I was highly gratified in seeing at our cabin [on the north side of the Maumee opposite the point] my late townsman William Moore [also a prisoner with the Aborigines], who had just returned from the rapids about sixty miles below.* . .

Occasionally an American trader tarried here for a time during the garrisoning of Fort Defiance, but no permanent settlement was then attempted by Americans. The British practically held possession of the Maumee, or largely dominated the Aborigines to within a few miles of Fort Wayne, until the coming of the Army of the Northwest in 1812, and the traders and families at the central and upper parts of the Basin, so far as we know, were mostly if not all French and British.†

Several of the soldiers who served at Fort Winchester and along the Maumee in the War of 1812, returned to Defiance and its vicinity at the close of the war. Among those who returned in 1815-16 as settlers in the true sense and were the first to occupy the buildings of Fort Winchester after their abandonment by the soldiers, were John and William Preston‡ brothers; James Partee, John Plummer, John Perkins, and Montgomery Evans. The buildings of the Fort thus again served an excellent purpose, *post bellum auxillium,* as homes for successive new comers so long as their timbers remained in fit condition for their occupancy; and then the better timbers were used to piece out new buildings in the neighborhood, while the poorer ones served as ready supplies for the winter fires.

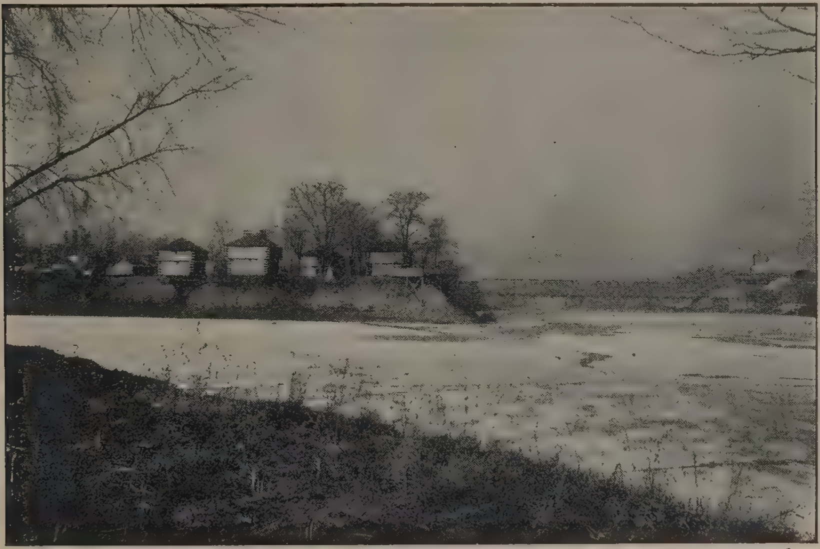
John Preston married a daughter of Judge Ewing of Troy, Ohio. He died about the year 1820. William Preston became the first sheriff in this part of Ohio, in 1824. He married a Miss Butler whose brothers dwelt at the site of the present Florida, Henry County. He removed to a farm in St. Joseph Township, Williams County, probably in 1827, where he died about 1828. His surname is perpetuated at Defiance in island and creek or 'run.' John Perkins came from near Chillicothe, and dwelt some years at Camp No. Three—see map *ante* page 191. He assisted in the United States Survey of these lands, and then built the first sawing and flouring mills in this part of Ohio at Brunersburg in 1822—see *ante* page 509. About the year 1833 (or 1839?) he sold these mills, and built others at Lafayette, Williams County, where he died. He was one of the first three Associate Judges of Williams County. James Partee died many years later on his farm in Noble Township on the right bank of the Tiffin River. He married a daughter of John Perkins. John Plummer also cleared a farm in Tiffin Township.

---

* See *Captivities Among the Ohio Aborigines,* Reprint with Notes by Charles E. Slocum.

† There were many Scotch and Irish in the early armies in America; and the term British as used in this book includes all persons who remained friendly to the British government.

‡ It is supposed that this William was the Captain Preston with General Wayne's army, see *ante* pages 201, 202.



FORT DEFIANCE PARK AND CENTENNIAL BLOCKHOUSES

Looking west across the ice and snow covered mouth of the Auglaise River and up the Maumee, the Clinton Street Bridge in the distance, 12th December, 1900.

These Blockhouses were built in July, 1894, for the Centennial Celebration of Fort Defiance August 8th and 9th, 1894. William M'Kinley, then Governor of Ohio, was the principal orator. The logs composing these Blockhouses were of many species of timber, and were donated and delivered by the citizens of town and country around. The roofs began to decay and, having fulfilled the purpose of their construction, the buildings were sold by the Defiance (City) Park Commissioners to the highest bidder for $143.33 and they were removed in September and October, 1901. Each Blockhouse was 22 feet square on the ground, the logs being hewn (in this instance sawn) to fit closely together. They were two stories in height, the first story being nine feet high. The second story was seven feet from floor to eaves; and it projected over the sides of the first story, all around, so as to leave an opening of eight inches between the inner wall of the second story and the outer wall of the first. This, as well as the diagonal or bastion setting of the houses (see ground plan *ante* page 199) enabled the soldiers on the floor above to keep the outer walls of the first story under full observation. The east Blockhouse carried a square, protected outlook above the roof with inside stairs leading to it. Each of the original Blockhouses carried a cupola—see *ante* page 200. The centennial houses were otherwise built as near like the original ones as possible to determine, and they well fitted the existing embankments. But a short section of Palisade, to illustrate the connection of the inner corners of the Blockhouses, was built for the Centennial Celebration; it is seen in the engraving between the two houses to the left.

The trees in the Park (Honey Locust, *Gleditsia triacanthos*, L.) have grown from the seed since the War of 1812. The largest is somewhat over sixteen feet in circumference at the smallest part of its trunk.

The platform seen at the Point bore no relation to the Fort. It was a resting place and outlook for visitors. Becoming unsafe, it was removed in 1902.

William Travis, father of the present citizens William C. and Forman E. Travis, first visited Defiance in 1819. In addition to the

Americans before named there were then here John Driver and family. He was a silversmith and was soon joined by his brother Thomas who settled on a farm a few miles up the Maumee. There were also here at this time five French traders, three having cabins near Fort Defiance point, one being kept by Peter Lombard who later lived in Delaware Township, two were situated near the Maumee at the present Perry Street, and two at the top of the bluff on the north side of the Maumee near the present Clinton Street. About this time John and George Hollister established a store at the top of the bluff and there continued for several years, the trade being conducted for them part of the time by Peter Bellaire and George Lantz. They were of the four brothers Hollister (Frank and William being the names of the other two) who came from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, through Buffalo. They had a store at Orleans and later at Perrysburg, and perhaps elsewhere along the Maumee, for trade with the Aborigines for furs and other peltries, also for their annuity money. William Travis brought the first wagon into the central part of the Basin to Defiance* taking it apart at St. Marys on account of poor road and shipping it by boat via the River St. Marys to the Maumee at Fort Wayne. The oxen and horses were driven by land along the Auglaise military road laden with part of his goods.

These were years of scarcity of money. The gatherings from the forest that could be exchanged as yet were mainly skins of wild animals which, with the little produce that could be spared from the clearings, comprised most of the medium of exchange. The incoming settlers brought a little money, mostly in bills of banks in the larger towns of Ohio, of nineteen of which banks for a short time seven were called good, and those of the other twelve were rated as decent, middling, and good-for-nothing; and their condition was liable to change to worse any day. A few coins were also in circulation, but many of them were clipped and were rated by their weight by the receiving merchants.†

In the year 1820 the Village of Defiance contained three stores and about one hundred people of the Aryan race; and in 1830 Defiance Township contained a population of 307. The Village of Defiance was platted in November, 1822, by Benjamin Leavell of Piqua and Horatio G. Phillips of Dayton, the proprietors. The plat was acknowledged before Charles Gunn Justice of the Peace April 18, 1823, and the same date it was received for record by Thomas R.

---

* The first spring carriage to pass through this Basin was probably the one in 1815 in which General Lewis Cass, then Governor of Michigan Territory, transported his family from Ohio to Detroit. It is not known to the writer whether they passed along General Hull's road or along the military road down the left bank of the Auglaise River.

† Compare the Detroit *Gazette* newspaper of October 22, 1819.

M'Knight Recorder of Wood County to which Williams County (then including Defiance) was subject. The plat was recorded April 28th. It extended from the Auglaise River on the east to Jackson Street on the west; and from the Maumee River on the north to Fourth Street on the south, embracing one hundred and fifty lots. Fort Defiance point between the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers and Front and Jefferson Streets was donated for public use and is now known as Fort Defiance Park, and the Court House square was donated for county buildings. The affairs of the newly platted village were administered by Mr. Leavell as Mr. Phillips retained his residence at Dayton.

Robert Shirley removed his family from Ross County to Defiance in the spring of 1821, and was among the last to occupy a building of Fort Winchester. He became a prominent citizen. His sons James, Elias and Robert settled on farms up the Auglaise River, and a few of their descendants yet live in that direction. Among the early settlers by the Maumee were Samuel Kepler three miles east of Defiance in 1821; Joshua Hilton two miles west of Defiance in 1822; and farther up the river came that year Benjamin Mulligan, Henry, Dennison and Samuel Hughes, Oliver Crane, Widow Hill and family, Samuel and William Gordon. The next year came Richard, Thomas and William Banks, Frederick W. Sperger, Gad Bellaire, James Shirley from the Auglaise, Horatio N. Curtis, William Snook and several sons, one of whom, Wilson N. is yet living near Antwerp. Thomas Warren and Parmenas Wasson came to Defiance in 1822, and the former became a farmer in Delaware Township and later a good citizen in the town with a large family of which only one member, Isaac, now remains.

The Evans family became further represented here in 1823 in the persons of John and Forman, brothers, and Pierce Evans their cousin; and they continued prominent citizens for many years, rendering efficient aid in the development of Defiance and the adjoining counties. John, generally known as Doctor, opened a general store some years after his arrival, and often dispensed medicine to the sick. Montgomery Evans, before mentioned, was distantly if at all related to these families. He became a trader with the Aborigines, a farmer and a real estate dealer. The last representatives of these families at Defiance was Rinaldo Evans a farmer, son of Pierce, which Rinaldo died without children over sixty-six years of age April 27, 1886, at the homestead of his father one mile and a half east of Defiance on the north bank of the Maumee. Moses Heatley and family from Miami County, settled near Blodgett Island in the Auglaise in 1824. David and Isaac Hull, Timothy S. Smith, James Craig and Robert Wasson came to Defiance in 1825. Payne C. Parker came in 1827 and was a general merchant for fourteen or more years selling medicines and being called Doctor. Within the next six years came C. C. Waterhouse, tavern-keeper, William Semans, Frederick and Peter Bridenbaugh, Walter Davis the first cooper, David and James Jolley the first tanners, Jacob Kniss the first shoemaker, and Pierce Taylor.

At the organization of Wood County in 1820, the outlined Counties of Henry, Paulding, Putnam and Williams (then including Defiance) were attached to Wood for government. The Commissioners of Wood County organized the Township of Auglaise to include the territory of all these Counties. The Court appointed March 7, 1820, John Perkins and William Preston of Defiance Justices of the Peace in and for Auglaise Township for a period of three years, the former qualifying August 12th before Charles Gunn Justice of the Peace, and the latter the 14th August before John Perkins. Timothy S. Smith and Charles Gunn were appointed in April, 1823, in place of William Preston.

Williams County was organized for self-government February 2, 1824, and the Counties of Henry, Paulding and Putnam were attached to it for their government. Defiance was chosen the seat of government by Act of the Legislature January 13, 1825. The first Court of Common Pleas for these Counties was held at Defiance April 5, 1824, in the second story of Benjamin Leavell's store, by the appointed Ebenezer Lane as Presiding Judge, and Associate Judges Robert Shirley, John Perkins and Pierce Evans, whose commissions from the Governor were signed February 4th. John Evans was appointed Clerk, and he produced a bond for $2000 signed by himself, with Forman Evans, Pierce Evans and Moses Rice as sureties. At the next meeting of these Judges, May 8th, John Evans was appointed Recorder of the County. The other County officers had been named, as follows: Timothy S. Smith Auditor; William Preston Sheriff, and Samuel Vance Assessor. Benjamin Leavell was licensed to sell merchandise one year on payment of ten dollars into the County Treasury; and he was also licensed, on payment of one dollar and fifty cents for one year, to operate a ferry across the Maumee River. George Lantz was also licensed to operate a ferry across the Maumee 'at the crossing of the State Road [at Jefferson Street] at Defiance one year for one dollar. The prescribed schedule of charges for ferriage was as follows: One person six pence [6¼ cent piece of silver]; man and horse 18¾ cents [one shilling and six pence]; loaded wagon and team $1.00; four-wheeled carriage and team 75 cents; loaded cart and team 50 cents; empty cart and team, sled or sleigh and team 37½ cents; horse, mare, mule or ass, one year old or upwards 6¼ cents; neat cattle per head 4 cents; hogs and sheep per head 2 cents.

At the convening of the Judges 25th October, Charles W. Ewing was appointed Prosecutor for the County, and Jesse Hilton as Justice of the Peace. Benjamin Leavell was licensed to keep tavern one year at his residence on payment of five dollars. Leavell was indicted for operating a ferry across the Auglaise without license. He plead guilty and was fined one dollar and costs as was, also, Enoch Buck for keeping a ferry across the Maumee without license. Thomas W. Powell exhibited to the Court a diploma of admission to practice law before the Supreme Court. Isaac Hull was licensed to sell merchandise one year for ten dollars, and Samuel Lance to keep tavern at his residence on payment of five dollars.

The County Commissioners, appointed by the Ohio General Assembly, reported to the Court at this session. They were Cyrus Hunter, Charles Gunn and Benjamin Leavell. Their first formal session, of which we have record, was held December 6, 1824, also in the second story of Leavell's store at the present 413 Front Street, Defiance. Timothy S. Smith was chosen Clerk, and it was then determined that the members should serve one, two and three years respectively in the order named above. They granted a public road along the north side of the Maumee from opposite Jefferson Street, Defiance to the east line of Henry County which was attached to Williams for government. William Preston, John Evans and Arthur Burrows were appointed viewers of this road, and John Perkins, surveyor. Pierce Evans and Robert Shirley gave bond to the commissioners for all costs in surveying and viewing 'on conditions the road should not become a public highway.' A State Road along this line was certified to the Commissioners of Wood County, to which this region was then attached, in 1822, and this action of Williams County appears unnecessary further than a recognition of the State's action—see subchapter on Public Roads on later page. It was also ordered that the name of such part of Auglaise Township as organized by the Wood County Commissioners, and is situated in the lately organized County of Williams, be changed to the name Defiance Township, according to the petition of sundry electors. The road on the south bank of the Maumee River from the east line of Henry County southwestward to the farm of Samuel Kepler, three miles below Defiance, was accepted as previously laid out by David Delong, Samuel Bowers and Payne C. Parker, viewers and surveyor. The contemplated road from Samuel Kepler's farm up the Maumee along the south bank to 'Delaware Town' (on the right bank of the river nearly opposite the present Village The Bend) and thence on the north side of the river to the Indiana line, was rejected on account of the viewers' non-compliance with the Statutes.

At the Commissioners' meeting June 7, 1825, William Semans was appointed Treasurer of Williams County. His bond and oath of office were accepted the same date. Specifications were given for a jail 'as soon as the permanent seat of justice shall be established, in the same manner as heretofore described in a former order of said Commissioners.'* . . . The listers and appraisers of property for taxation were this year allowed for their services by townships as follows: Defiance $12.50; Delaware $3.75; Richland $3.12½; Damascus, which included all of Henry County, $1.87½.

At a public sale July 20, 1825, John Blair was the lowest bidder at six per cent for the collection of the County tax. Pierce Evans and James M'Connell were his bondsmen. At a special session of the Commissioners August 22, 1825, Timothy S. Smith resigned the office of County Auditor, and Thomas Philbrick was appointed to fill the vacancy until the next election, but George Lantz served instead. October 15th Isaiah Hughes was appointed by the Court, Commissioner in place of Benjamin Leavell, resigned. Clark Philbrick was allowed two dollars December 6th for making a standard half bushel measure, and a brand, for the County. A County Road was this day granted, to cross the Auglaise River at the present Hopkins Street and extend along the south bank of the Maumee eastward to Samuel Kepler's farm at the Defiance Moraine or South Ridge; also a County Road from the Indiana line along the north side of the Maumee 'to cross Bean Creek [Tiffin River] at or near Perkins' Mill [the present Brunersburg] and thence to the ford of the Maumee River at Defiance opposite [James] Jolly's Tannery in said town.' It was also ordered at this meeting that twenty in-lots be offered for sale on the first Monday of February, 1826, they being one-half of forty lots donated and deeded by the proprietors of the village plat to the Commissioners 'for the benefit of the County.' Others of these lots were sold later.

Horatio N. Curtis, a pioneer to Paulding County, wrote for the Antwerp, Ohio, *Gazette* newspaper in later years that his second visit to this region was in the year 1825. There were then at Defiance one small store, one tavern, and five or six families. Isaac Hull also had a store on the north side of the Maumee 'opposite Defiance, and had an extensive trade with the Aborigines.'

---

* It is evident from this record that there was a former meeting of the Commissioners of which no record is found. The jail here mentioned was built of logs in the most primitive way. It was situated in Defiance on the west side of Wayne Street near Second, on the site of the present jail. The only prisoner at one time in the summer of 1826 was a vagabond Aborigine who had been arrested on the charge of stealing a watch. The time of the next court when he could have legal trial, was several months distant; and several young men, among whom were Allen Braucher, Frederick Bridenbaugh and James Spafford, perhaps at suggestion of some of their adult friends, determined upon his release. One evening when Sheriff Preston was at his home, a double log house easf of the Auglaise River about the present 429 Auglaise Avenue, the party took the key from the nail near the door of the jail where the Sheriff kept it, unlocked the door and told the prisoner to get out of town. His steps were quickened by two rows of young men between whom he was made to pass and who smartly plied the whips in their hands to his back—in fact he was forced to run a mild kind of gauntlet somewhat after the manner of his people—and he was not again seen.

The year 1825 was one of increased activity and extension of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Detroit District was organized this year with two appointments in Michigan Territory (Detroit Station and Detroit Circuit) and two appointments in Ohio, the Defiance Mission and the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky. Reverend William Simmons of Xenia, Ohio, was the first Presiding Elder, and probably the first preacher at Defiance, in 1825. He soon sent Reverend Weir to Defiance as missionary. In 1826 Rev. Elias Pettit (Patten or Pattee?) was sent to this mission which was then in the Monroe, Michigan, Circuit following division of the Detroit Conference. Meetings were held in the dwelling house of Benjamin Leavell until later in 1826 when a Class was organized and a small Church house was built of logs at the present 406 Wayne Street. The names of these first members have not been preserved. Fort Defiance charge included all the Maumee Valley from the Indiana State line to about Waterville which was included with the Village of Maumee. William Sprague was the preacher at Defiance in 1832-33, and Jacob Martin and John W. Cooley in 1834.

GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH BUILDING AND PARSONAGE

Southwest corner Washington and Fourth Streets, Defiance. This Church house was the second one built in Defiance by the Methodists, in 1841 on the southwest corner of Wayne and Third Streets. It was sold to and moved by its present owners in 1872. The original form is retained. From photograph of May 11, 1904.

J. B. Semans, Thomas Warren, James Ward, Isaac Craig and Nathan Shirley, were chosen a new board of Trustees June 26, 1841, and it was then decided to erect a new Methodist Church building on the north corner of their lot, site of the present building 400, 402 Wayne Street. The contract for this building was let to J. B. Semans at the price of $1050. This was a substantial frame building which served the Church well until the spring of 1872 when it was sold to the German Reformed society and removed to give place for the present two story brick house erected in this year. In 1834 Defiance Methodist Circuit consisted of eleven preaching places with only one Church building—the log house at Defiance. The Church services at the other ten places were held at private houses named from their owners in the minutes, the situation of only a part of which are now known, as follows: [John] Perkins [at the present Brunersburg] Bowen's, Richardson's [probably on the present Bryan road] Coy's [at the present Evansport] Hamilton's, Runyan's, Banks', Quick's, Snook's [in the present Delaware Township north of the Maumee] and Shirley's [by the Auglaise River several miles south of Defiance]. Defiance was made a station in 1857 and Reverend Abraham B. Poe was assigned to the charge.

GLIMPSE OF SHAWNEE GLEN, CITY OF DEFIANCE, OHIO

Looking northeast down a tributary 11th October, 1901. Part of Morningside Park.

James Lee Gage of Columbus, contributed to *The Firelands Pioneer* (magazine) of June, 1865, as follows:

I opened a law office in the winter of 1826 in Defiance, Williams County. I think the first in Williams County. It was in an upper room in the inn of Benjamin Leavell, an upright man in whose excellent family I boarded. He was one of the proprietors of the town. My office was also my bedroom and, on public days, it was also the bedroom of many others. Land and lots were far more abundant than dwellings. There were but few families in town—I remember only those of [Robert] Wasson, Benjamin Leavell, Doctor John Evans the Clerk of the Court, George Lantz the Recorder, and Forman Evans. All these have, I believe, passed to the spirit land, unless Judge Forman Evans survives.

SHAWNEE GLEN WITHIN CITY OF DEFIANCE, OHIO

From near the mouth of the principal tributary. Sulphur Springs in the distance.

There were, when I removed to the Maumee country in 1824, in all the fourteen northwestern counties [now by subdivision nineteen counties] but few more white people than are now in the present restricted limits of Williams County. Within these limits [of the present Williams County] there was not then a solitary white man. The settlements were confined to the borders of the rivers, and did not extend far above Defiance. There were on the lower Maumee quite a number of mongrel French and Aborigines; and in the fourteen counties there were more savages than white people. These savages were mostly a degenerate, drunken remnant of Ottawas and Pottawotamies. There were, also, a few Wyandots and Miamis who were splendid specimens of physical man. The sugar consumed in Williams and Wood Counties at that time was mostly made by these savages; and it was a most filthy product inasmuch as they would boil their game in it [in the sap of the sugar maples while condensing to sugar] and that too, I was told [with the game] in undressed condition. They brought this sugar in bark vessels, called Mococks, holding thirty to fifty pounds each. They were so shaped as to be carried like a knapsack. They used small brass kettles for evaporating the sap. These Aborigines also brought in most of the honey that was used. It was always strained, but it was strained through their blankets, which were never washed except after straining this honey. The Aborigines also supplied us with cranberries and whortleberries, both of which were abundant and cheap.

There were then in Williams [that part now Defiance] County, Montgomery Evans, Pierce Evans, Judge [John] Perkins, the two elder Hiltons [Joshua and Horace, brothers] Judge [Robert] Shirley and his two sons [James and Robert] Christian Shouf, Major Rice, Mr. Byers, and an old man named Myers who was drowned in April, 1827, in a little bayou while intoxicated. Judge Samuel Vance and Charles Gunn also resided within the judicial limits of Williams County at *Prairie du Masque* [now Damascus, Henry County]. So did the half-breed Mohegan named Porter, who was afterwards hung at Perrysburg for the murder of Isaac Richardson [see *ante* page 521].

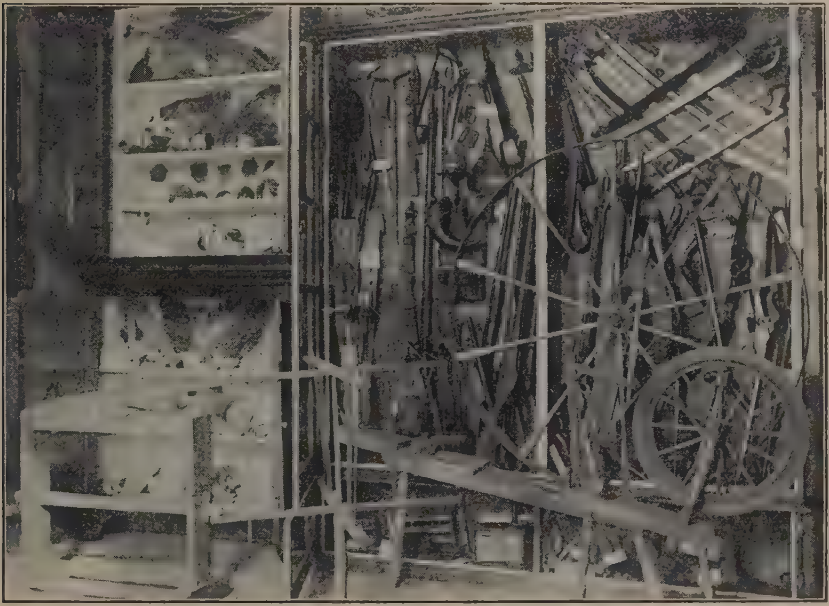
THE FIRST BRICK COURT HOUSE IN NORTHWESTERN OHIO

Looking northeast 21st April, 1902. It was built in 1826 near the northeast corner of Wayne and Second Streets, Defiance. It served the present Defiance, Williams, Paulding, and Putnam, Counties as a Court House and it was also used for religious meetings, schools, etc. The late Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Morrison R. Waite of Toledo, made one of his earliest legal pleas in this house. It has for many years last past been in comfortable use as a private residence by the Hon. Henry Hardy. The First Presbyterian Church to the right was begun building in 1848, and was dedicated in June, 1856.

One day a party put fire to a shell [to the fuse of a six-pounder cannon shell that had been left at the abandonment of Fort Winchester in the spring of 1815] which exploded. One piece struck Mr. Leavell's house eight or ten rods distant, breaking the siding; another piece struck a house nearer with greater force. . . No person was injured. . .

In 1826 I paid the whole of the Williams County State Tax with Wolf-scalp Certificates, and drew a heavy percentage besides from the State Treasury in payment of the balance due the wolf hunters of Williams County for wolves killed that year within the limits of that County [which then governed the present Defiance, Henry, Paulding, and Putnam Counties].

Ebenezer Lane was the second Judge of Common Pleas in northwestern Ohio. He succeeded George Tod in 1825, and was the first President Judge to hold Court at Defiance or by the Maumee in Ohio above Perrysburg. He was succeeded by David Higgins, who wrote as follows:*



A CORNER IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION OF RELICS

June 18, 1903, in all comprising many hundreds of articles that have served important use here in history of man, and have been supplanted by modern inventions. The thrifty pioneers made their clothing from flax and wool. In cases of necessity, usually before flax (*Linum usitatissimum* L.) could be cultivated, the women and children gathered the stalks of hemp (*Cannabis sativa* L.) or of nettles, probably the Clearweed (*Adicea pumila* L., Raf.) and possibly they found some wild yellow flax (*Linum striatum* Walt.) which they stripped, dressed, spun, and wove into linen cloth that did good service.

I was elected by the General Assembly Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit of Ohio in February, 1830. The Circuit lying in the northwest corner of the State, included about one-fifth part of the territory of Ohio, . . and was composed of the counties of Huron, Richland, Delaware, Sandusky, Seneca, Crawford, Marion, Wood, Hancock, Henry, Williams, Putnam, Paulding and Van Wert. The Counties of Henry, Paulding, Putnam, and Van Wert, were unorganized and attached to adjacent counties [from which Allen, Auglaise, Defiance, Fulton, and Lucas, have been since formed]. . .

We had been attending Court at Findlay. Our Circuit route from that town was first to Defiance, and from there to Perrysburg. A countryman agreed to take our horses directly through the Black Swamp to Perrysburg [along the military road, see map *ante* page 28]. We purchased a canoe [the good pirogue Jurisprudence] and taking with us our saddles, bridles, and baggage, proposed to descend the Blanchard and Auglaise Rivers to Defiance. Our company consisted of Rodolphus Dickinson, J. C. Spink, 'Count' [Andrew] Coffinberry, myself, and a countryman whose name I forgot. The voyage was a dismal one to Defiance, through an unsettled wilderness of some sixty miles [and more]. Its loneliness was only broken by the intervening Aborigine settlement at the Ottawa village, where we were hailed and cheered lustily by the 'Tawa Aborigines as would be a foreign warship in the port of New York. From Defiance we descended the Maumee to Perrysburg where we found all well. In descending the Maumee we came near running into [a part of] the rapids where we would probably have been swamped; but we were hailed from the shore and warned of our danger. . .

---

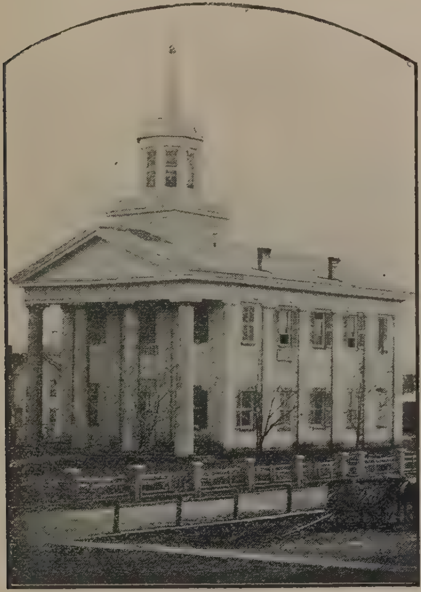
* Compare Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley*, page 279.

Defiance was incorporated as a village in January, 1836, and the election of its first officers was held the second Tuesday of the next April resulting as follows: John Lewis Mayor; James Hudson, Jonas Colby, Amos Evans, Horace Sessions and Jacob Kniss Trustees. The Mayor qualified before Forman Evans Associate Judge of Common Pleas Court, and the other officers before the Mayor, excepting Horace Sessions who declined to serve and John Oliver was qualified instead. George W. Crawford was appointed Recorder in place of E. S. Perkins elected but ineligible; John Hilton was appointed Marshall; E. C. Case Assessor, and Alfred Purcell Treasurer. John Lewis resigned the office of Mayor December 30, 1836, and Doctor —— Crawford was appointed to fill the vacancy. An ordinance at the first meeting of the Trustees provided that 'Any person or persons destroying the public point lying in the junction of the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers [the earthworks of Fort Defiance] either by shooting, chopping or digging, or in any manner whatever, upon conviction before the Mayor shall be subject to a fine.'

In the year 1839 Williams County voted to remove the seat of government from Defiance — Hicksville, Milford, Farmer and Washington Townships in the present Defiance County being most active in this movement — and in July, 1840, land for a Court House was accepted as a gift from the American Land Company at the site of the present Williams County Court House in Bryan, which was then but little cleared of forest trees, and which village there platted was named in honor of John A Bryan, and a Court House was built in 1840-41. The brick Court House at Defiance was sold for private use.

DEFIANCE COUNTY, OHIO,

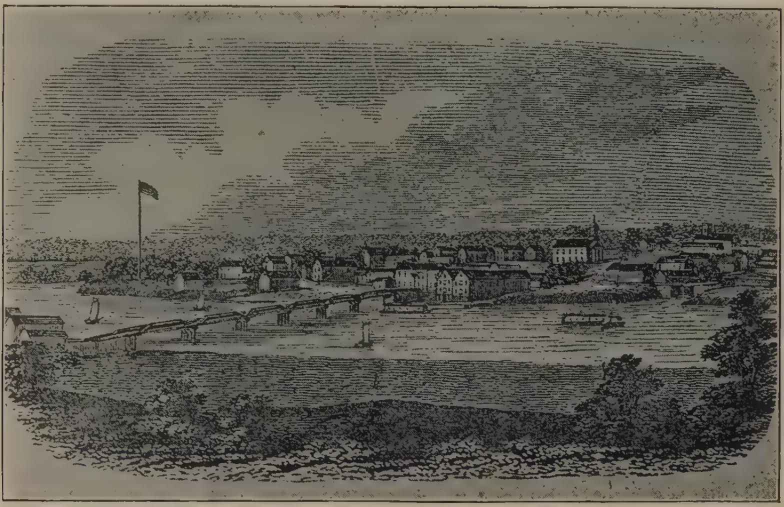
Was organized by Act of the Legislature 4th March, 1845, to become operative after the first Monday in April. This County was composed of townships taken from other counties as follows: From Henry, Adams Township which had as taxpayers in 1837, Phineas Adams, George Briggs, Jacob Becker, Jonathan Davidson, Joseph Frantz, John Hornish came 1836, John Hively, Jacob Hively, Darius Jones, Eli Markel, William Mosher (the first settler in Ridgeville) Jacob Shock, Amos Shively, John Scott, Jacob Tittle. Richland Township which had as settlers in 1837, Edward Bean, Isaac E. Braucher came 1824, Erastus Carter, Christopher Braucher, Susanna Craig, Christopher Cooper, Elizabeth Derum, William Dany, Jacob Davis, Jonathan Evans, J. C. Freedy, Groves Hully Gulick, Jeptha Groves, Edward Hughes, Joseph Hively, Michael Hively, Thomas Hively, Jacob James, Samuel Kepler came 1822, Jasper Landes, Thomas Lewis, George Luckinbill, M. James, James Moorehead, Jacob Markel, John Richart, Frederick Richart, James Lewis, William Rohn, came 1822, Charles Rohn, Samuel Rohn came 1822, John Stout, Solomon Shaw, Edward Shasteen, George Tittle, William Shasteen, Peter Tittle, Ishmael Wilson, Benjamin Weidenhamer came 1834; Highland Township taken in part from Henry Putnam and Paulding Counties, having as tax paying settlers in 1837, Henry Brechbill came 1835, Isaac Fisher, Philip Bellinger, James S. Greer, William Griffith, Henry Graper, Hiram Griffith, Jacob Greer, Sawyer Gonard, Tarleton M'Farland, John M. Sanford; from Paulding County was taken the south part of the present Defiance Township; and from Williams County came the townships of Hicksville, Milford, Farmer, Mark, Delaware, Washington, Tiffin and Noble.



FIRST DEFIANCE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

1845–1871; the second in the Village of Defiance. See *ante* page 534. Photographed in 1866.

The first term of Common Pleas Court for Defiance County was held April 2, 1845, in a small brick schoolhouse than standing at the present 506 Wayne Street, Defiance. During the years 1845-46 a new and rather pretentious Court House was built facing Clinton Street between Second and Court Streets, one square west of the first Court House—see engraving *ante* page 534. The cost of this second Court House was about $7500. It was razed in the year 1870 to give place to the present building. The first jail was built in 1825 at the site of the present jail on Wayne Street, and opposite the Court House built in 1826 by the Commissioners of Williams County. This jail was a log building sixteen feet square, one story high, and with a shake roof. In 1835 a new jail was built, after the plan then current, of squared logs, doubled in first story the inner course being upright. The second story was for the imprisonment of persons convicted for non-payment of debt. It was of single wall, and was entered by outside stairs. This building did service for Williams County for ten years, for Defiance County twenty-five years, and was replaced in 1870 by the present commodious and modern structure of jail and Sheriff's residence facing Second Street, corner of Wayne.



DEFIANCE, OHIO, IN THE YEAR 1846

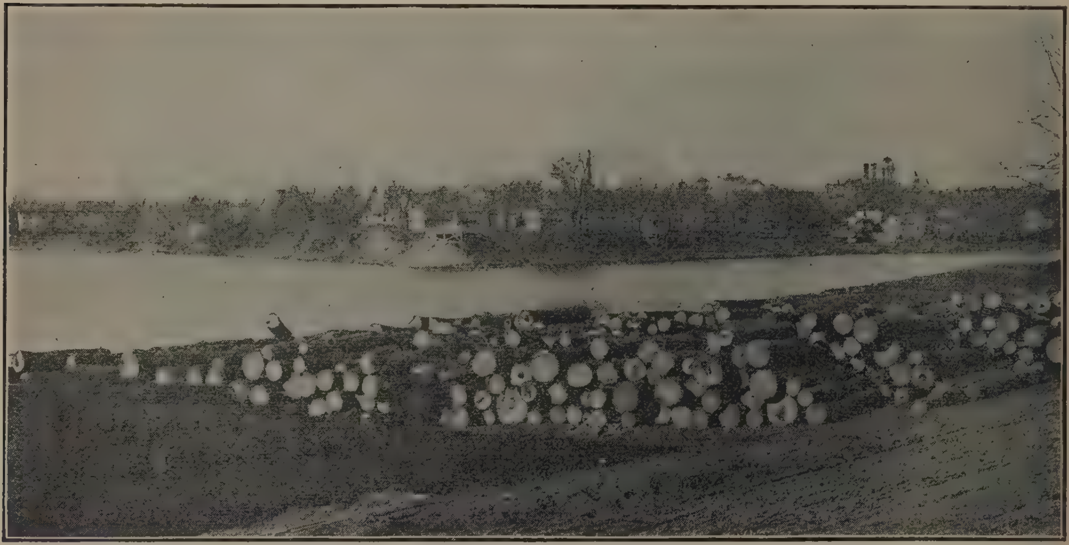
Sketched by Henry Howe. Lock Number One, entering the Miami and Erie Canal into the Maumee River on the right; Exchange Hotel with belfry beyond at corner of Clinton and Second Streets; Courthouse built in 1845-46 opposite to the left. Trading and Warehouses at south end of Clinton Street Bridge. Mouth of the Auglaise River and site of Fort Defiance by the flagpole on the left. Looking southeast. Defiance and vicinity had a population at this time of between four and five hundred people.

The era of great speculation and purchases of lands began in the central part of this Basin in the year 1834 when James Samuel Wadsworth of New York, from 1861-64 General in the war against the Southern Rebellion, and his brother, purchased many thousand acres of land along the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers. Much of these lands were managed in later years by John F. Deatrick of Defiance. The Hicks Land Company of New York City, and the American Land Company, purchased land in 1835-36, the former in the western part of the present Defiance County and the latter in Williams County, to the aggregate of over 100,000 acres. Parties from Columbus, and other parts of Ohio, also purchased largely of land in the Basin. Henry W. Hicks of the firm of Samuel Hicks and Sons shipping merchants, New York City, and Isaac S. Smith of the firm of Smith and Macy, Steamboat Owners and Commission Merchants of Buffalo, New York, composed the firm of the Hicks Land Company. John A. Bryan of Columbus, then Auditor for Ohio acted as agent in selecting lands for this company and Ephraim Burwell of Columbus was sent to the land to open a road, to choose site for a town and start the sale of lands. The site of the present Hicksville was chosen for the village. Its survey was completed 3rd September, 1836, and the present Hicksville and Antwerp road as far as the Maumee River was surveyed. Mr. Smith sold his interest in the land to Mr. Hicks who sent Alfred P. Edgerton a young bookkeeper in his business house to Hicksville to take charge of his interests. Mr. Edgerton arrived at this embryo town in the wilderness the 17th April 1837. He was a man of great energy and of good judgment. He remained agent for the American Land Company until the remainder of their land was divided among the members and the company dissolved. He also continued as agent for his first employer, Henry W. Hicks of the Hicks Land Company, until his death 24th September, 1867, and continued to act for his widow until her interest was purchased.* He also represented the present Counties of Defiance, Williams, Paulding, Van Wert, Mercer, Auglaise, Allen, Henry, Putnam, and part of Fulton, in the Ohio Senate in 1845; and in 1850 he was chosen Representative in Congress. In 1885 he was appointed United States Civil Service Commissioner. He died at Hicksville 14th May, 1897, aged eighty-four years, favorably known throughout the Basin.

The Legislature of Ohio in 1849 ordered the removal of the State Land Office at Lima to Defiance for the sale of United States Grant of alternate land Sections in aid of the Miami and Erie Canal, and of the Ohio section of the Wabash and Erie Canal. Hamilton Davison who had been elected Receiver at this office in Lima for four years, established the office in Defiance. The State Land Office that had for some length of time been open at Perrysburg by the lower Maumee, was also united with the Defiance Office by the same Legislative Act, and Mr. Davison had entire control. The former appraisement of these lands at price varying from $1.25 to $3.00 per acre, was now ordered at one-third discount to actual settlers in quantity not to exceed 160 acres; and this order brought many purchasers. The wood building in which this office was located, on the south bank of the Maumee River, northwest corner of Clinton and Front Streets, was destroyed by fire before daybreak of April 10, 1851. The second story was occupied jointly with the United States Land Office, the Registrar of which (Abner Root who usually slept in the office) was absent at the time of the fire, and most of the United States plats and papers were burned, necessitating the sending of duplicates from Washington. Receiver Davison succeeded in entering the office and pushing his little iron safe to and down the stairs, thus saving the plats of the State Lands and other papers which enabled him to immediately continue sales in the upper room of a store by the Canal Lock No. 1 near-by. After most of the State Lands were sold, the Legislature abolished the offices of Registrar and Receiver, and General Reuben H. Gilson was given charge of the remaining State Lands with the title of Land Agent. He kept the office in his bank at the southwest corner of Clinton and First Streets, Defiance. He was succeeded in 1854 by Levin Porter who nearly completed the sales by 1857 when all the papers of the office were sent to the Auditor of State, Columbus. Some of these lands by the Canal were sold for from eight to fourteen dollars per acre.

---

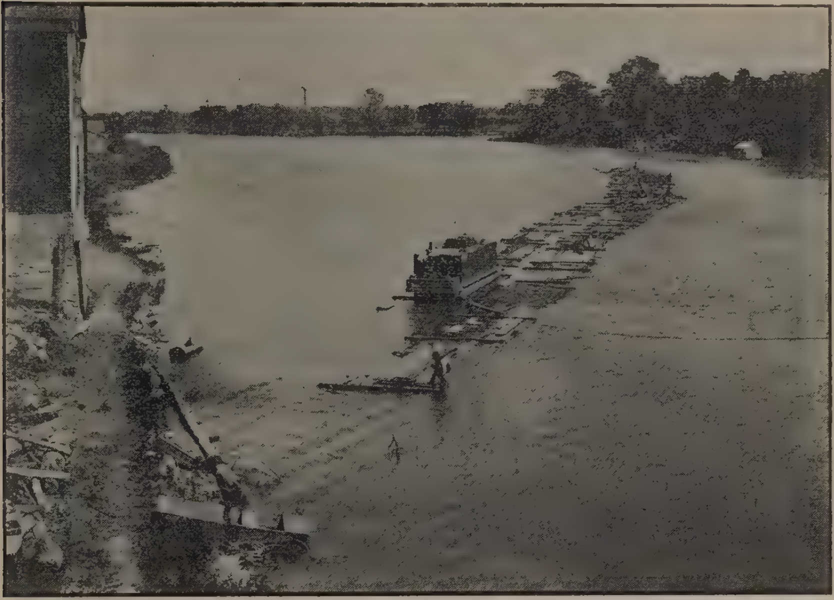
* These early land purchases did not prove very profitable. The first cost, taxes, assessments' expenses of agencies, the length of time required to sell the lands, with competing dealers, low prices and often long terms of payment, and interest on the investments, left little if any profit. It was only from quicker and fortunate disposal of timber or land, that profit resulted.



FORT DEFIANCE PARK, DEFIANCE, OHIO, AND FIRST CENTENNIAL BLOCKHOUSES

Looking southwest 10th April, 1900. Second Street Bridge Across Auglaise River on the left; St. Mary Roman Catholic Church beyond. Beyond the tree at the right Blockhouse is seen the spire of St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church. To the right is the smoke of the Erie Flouring Mill, and The Defiance Machine Works. The Court House tower and chimneys are further to the right, with the City Hall tower, and spire of St. John Roman Catholic Church to their right and beyond. The logs in the foreground are near the last of an unexcelled forest.

Early in the 1850's the British shipyards became acquainted with the superior qualities of size, solidity and toughness of the oak timber of this Basin, whereupon an increasing tide of foremen with companies of choppers, scorers and hewers, brawny and expert axmen, mostly French from Lower Canada, swept up the Maumee River each year to Defiance as their headquarters. They came not like their forebears of two centuries before, but with keen axes that during each winter continually sounded and echoed the destruction of the mighty forest, and betokened the advent of a numerous population of tillers of the soil. At first the timber was sold for two cents per cubic foot, the purchaser to cut wherever and whatever he desired, he also to do all the measuring, and to report as he desired. This at first related to the oak only. The large trees of softer woods required in the rafts as floats to keep the oak from sinking were not considered here of value worth mentioning although they were of value in Toledo where the rafts were separated and the oak loaded on vessels for Quebec there to be reshipped to Europe. As the largest, fairest of the trees near the



RAFT OF SHIPTIMBER (SQUARED OAK TIMBER) IN THE MAUMEE RIVER

At Defiance, Ohio, 4th June, 1902. This is a small but complete Raft, containing fourteen Canal Lockings and about 11,760 cubic feet — the last run of a great industry. The Shanty is the Cooking and Lodging House of the Rafters, and it carries the hay on its roof for the horses that draw the Raft through the River and the Miami and Erie Canal. Looking southeast from the Clinton Street Bridge, Fort Defiance Park and the Mouth of the Auglaise River beyond the raft—see *ante* page 525.

rivers and canals were cut, the axmen moved back into the forest. The lands were soon purchased by the increasing and competing timbermen, the price paid varying from five to ten dollars per acre; and these purchasers after cutting the timber as fully as they thought desirable would sell the land to others at a great advance, and the new purchaser would sell to others or would himself cut the largest trees left. This process has been repeated a number of times, first with the oak timber and later with the softer woods. This work continued actively for a third of a century, with twelve to fifteen years in the decline. Joel Dils was one of the active leaders in 1855; Sherrel Weaver from above Rochester, New York, in 1856; Séraphin Daoust from Coteau, Canada; Alonzo Chesbrough from Lockport, New York; Calvin and Breck from Kingston, Canada, with Alpheus A. Aldrich and Samuel Booth as helpers; Sylvester Neelon of St. Catharines, Canada; also Charles J. Chenevert of Quebec who came in 1868 to remain and whose son Charles Edward has gathered up the last of such trees in this Basin during the last few years. There were many others, business men with capital, contractors, and foremen, at work in this shiptimber cutting, squaring and rafting during the earlier years.

Formerly the staves for barrels, like shingles, were riven and shaven by hand from the smaller oak trees and from other timber that could be easily split. The heavy growths of elm were thought valueless, and in the clearings they, with noble growths of hickories, black walnut, ash, and maple that were in the way and could not readily be turned to better account than their ashes were cut down and, when dry were gathered promiscuously into 'log heaps' and burned with the brush. Demand soon came for the more valuable timber; and about the year 1863 it was determined that the elm trees, which had been looked upon as worthless cumberers of the ground, would make valuable staves for lighter barrels. The tenacious fibres of this wood, however, made its splitting impracticable, but here as in other affairs the ingenuity of man overcame the difficulty. A strong, sharp, horizontal blade was set in strong frame with downward motion to slice staves from short sections of logs or parts of the larger logs that had been boiled or steamed in compartments made for the purpose. This was the beginning of the final era for the conquering of the forest. These stave-making mills 'factories' multiplied in the succeeding years into hundreds along the canals, and along each succeeding railway.

The preparation of hoops for barrels also became a great industry. At first, and so long as sufficient supply lasted, the hickory saplings—the younger trees which were found in countless number—of proper size were cut, split, smoothed, and sent in straight bundles to the city markets. No machinery was required for this work and, in fair, mild weather, the work was done in the open air, and at other times in shanties. The money received for the right, the cutting, and the preparation of hoop-poles, was an important item in the paying for the land and in furnishing the food and supplies for many of the first settlers. This important branch of the timber industry was sometimes sneered at by residents of older and less fortunate parts of the State, and even to this time their former members of the Legislature in their reminiscent moods speak of the representatives from the Maumee region as 'of the Hoop-pole District.'

THE VILLAGE OF DEFIANCE IN 1866 LOOKING SOUTH

About the year 1880 hoops from elm tree bodies began to be made by slicing them from boiled plank that had been sawed to proper thickness for the hoop's width. This process was followed after a year or two by small saws to cut hoops of right thickness from planks without the boiling. About 1887 rotary veneer cutting machines were employed wherein the cutting blade is stationary and the rotating steam-boiled logs are sliced into continuous sheets for thickness, which are then divided into hoops of proper widths by the downward blade of another machine. Yet another machine rolls several of these hoops, from eight to twelve as desired, together into compact coil for convenience of counting and shipping.

These stave and hoop making mills became inciters of new villages the existence of many of which is now but a memory since the scarcity of timber caused removal of the machinery to other places; and the timber has become so scarce that only an occasional stave and hoop 'factory' can now be found in the Basin. They well fulfilled their mission as agencies for the final clearing of the land from which the oak and other more generally valuable trees had been taken. The prices of the later timber also increased with the competition until the elm that had been rejected for so many years by timber dealers, in later years netted the owners far more money than did the heavy oak removed in former years.

Many other manufactories were established in this Basin which used much of this large growth of timber of all kinds, among the principal ones being those for hubs, spokes, fellies, etc., for wagons and carriages; agricultural implements of various kinds, trucks, boxes, shipping crates, wheelbarrows, furniture, pails, handles of all kinds including knobs, and dimension lumber of all kinds.

THE GREAT APPLE TREE AT DEFIANCE

A man six feet in height standing by it.

There have been many trees of different species in this Basin that, even among the general very large growths, have been very notable for their size and grandeur. But few of these will here be mentioned in addition to those already named—see Diary of General Wayne's Campaign beginning *ante* page 195 where encampments are named from large trees. The Council Elm on the left bank of the Maumee River at the Grand Rapids was for generations a great landmark—see map *ante* page 309. So were the large apple tree and the Council Elm at Fort Wayne—see map *ante* page 97; and the Council Oak and the Great Apple Tree at Defiance—see map *ante* page 191. The pioneer settlers in the Maumee River region marveled at the large number and size of the appletrees found here at the time of their advent, particularly at Defiance and Fort Wayne. None could tell them of the age of these trees; but they were undoubtedly planted by the fruit-loving pioneer French, like the apple trees along the Detroit and St. Lawrence

Rivers.* General Wayne spared the great apple tree on the bank of the Maumee opposite his Fort Defiance in 1794. It was also spared by General Winchester and the other commanders who led their soldiers past it in the War of 1812. For many years after the permanent settlement began, this and other trees in the vicinity supplied every man, woman and child with all the apples they wanted, and very good apples they were as all the old residents of Defiance can yet testify. Records began to be made, and the tree on the north bank of the Maumee opposite the site of Fort Defiance became recorded as the largest apple tree in America. Benson J. Lossing visited Defiance in the year 1860 in interest of his *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, and he wrote of this 'aged and gigantic tree.' Decay had begun in it, however, at this time.†

There have been many other trees in this Basin that partook of the endurance, the magnitude, and the grandeur of the massive oaks surrounding them. About the middle of March, 1901, a black walnut tree *(Juglans nigra* L.*)* was cut in eastern Williams County, Ohio, that measured over eight feet in diameter, and over seventy feet to the first limb. This tree was valued at over $4000 but was sold to a Boston firm for $3300.‡ This kind of timber was used lavishly in the early frame buildings, and for fencing. A dwelling house taken down at Defiance in 1901 yielded valuable quantity and quality of heavy black walnut timber in its frame, and of like lumber in its heavy interior finish. A Button-wood or Plane-tree *(Platanus occidentalis* L.*)* commonly called sycamore, was cut 18th February, 1902, near Junction, Paulding County,

THE SECOND HOME

Deserted several years ago for a more modern structure, but yet (1904) standing near Sherwood.

---

* There were a large number of apple trees along the Detroit River in 1718. Compare Paris Document VII, *New York Colonial Documents* volume ix, page 886.

† According to writings by Joseph Ralston and Benjamin B. Woodcox, the latter living many years in the yard with the tree and a carpenter used to measurements, this venerable tree measured twenty-one feet and nine inches in circumference four feet above the ground; another record gives it twenty-seven feet. It was upwards of forty-five feet in height, and was over sixty feet in foliage diameter. About 1850 the branches began to split the trunk from its decay and their weight, and in 1855 the two larger, the east and west, branches were bolted together with an iron rod three-fourths inch in diameter and fourteen feet in length for their support. The south branch fell to the ground about the year 1875; and the last branch went down from the wind in 1887. 'In the year 1862 upwards of one hundred and twenty-five bushels of fair size tart apples were picked from this tree'—from printed leaflet now in the writer's possession. See *Addresses, Memorials and Sketches* by the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association 1901, page 54.

‡ *Toledo Daily Blade* 8th April, 1902.

for John Marshall and Son of Defiance, that measured seven feet and four inches in diameter, and that was estimated to cut 15,000 feet of lumber. Many elm trees previously bought by this firm, furnished eight good logs each over twelve feet in length.

FORT WAYNE AND NORTHEASTERN INDIANA.

The white people at Fort Wayne after the Treaty of Greenville in 1814, in addition to the Garrison, were: Benjamin F. Stickney Aborigine Agent and Perry B. Kircheval his clerk; George and John E. Hunt with a store of goods for the Aborigine trade; also John P. Hedges with a store, and Peter Oliver. Prominent among the settlers who arrived in 1815 were Doctors Turner and Samuel Smith from Lancaster, Ohio, and the French traders Louis Bourie and Charles and James Peltier with their families. Doctor Trevitt came in 1816.

This year a new United States building was erected, principally by the soldiers, on the site of the one burned by the savages in 1812 southwest of the Fort. This was for use of the Agent in paying annuities to and counselling with the Aborigines who, after the War of 1812 and the renewal of treaties, gathered around to be fed. The condition of these Aborigines at this time is mentioned on page *ante* 428.

Indiana was admitted to the Union as a State 19th April, 1816, the Act of Congress providing that latitude 41° 46′ should be the northern boundary, or about ten miles north of the territorial line. This line was not surveyed and marked until the spring of 1827. Northeastern Indiana was yet included in Knox County, with capitol at Vincennes. This County was represented in the Constitutional Convention held at Corydon by John Badolet, John Benefiel, John Johnson, Benjamin Parke, and William Polk, none of whom then lived in the northeastern part of the State. In the year 1818 Randolph County was organized to include all this part of the State, with Winchester as the seat of justice.

The withdrawal of the soldiers, and the abandonment of Fort Wayne in 1819 by the United States, was greatly lamented by the settlers thereabout, as they had been indebted to the garrison for nearly all their social stimulus and diversions. This loss was gradually compensated for, however, by the arrival of new settlers, prominent among whom were Samuel Hanna from Dayton, Ohio, and Captain James Riley who came the 24th November to survey the United States lands. There were then in the vicinity of the head of the Maumee River less than thirty dwelling houses, occupied by French and American families. Captain Riley was very favorably impressed with the country.

There was a rapid influx of people to Fort Wayne Village during the summer of 1820* as shown by Captain Riley's letter of November

---

* See *ante* page 407 for description of Fort Wayne at this time by Reverend Isaac MacCoy.

20th to Edward Tiffin Surveyor General. He also gave account of the unsavory business then conducted there. He estimated the number of white people there at this date as about one thousand, made up largely of traders from Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and New York. They were attracted thither with their stock for trade (which was mostly composed of spirituous liquors) for the annuity payments to the Aborigines. The competition of so many traders, stocked with so much of intoxicating beverages, among the several thousand Aborigines who gathered there to receive the United States bounty and who, from nature and habit, were unable to resist the temptations to drink with which they were surrounded, produced a bedlam of scenes that were shocking in the extreme to all but those whose consciences had become blunted and calloused by long association with the vices of unbridled sensuous indulgences. These abuses had been increasing in American territory, transferred from Canada since the War of 1812, from the rallying and competition of the worst characters among the French, British and American traders who, like the grog dealers of all times, generally eluded the attempts to curtail their iniquitous business. The remedy suggested by Captain Riley for these disgraceful scenes was the speedy survey and marketing of the land along the Maumee and Wabash, and encouragement for its occupancy by farmers.

The establishment of a Land Office at Fort Wayne for eastern Indiana, was approved 8th May, 1822. Joseph Holman of Wayne County was appointed Registrar and Captain Samuel C. Vance of Dearborn County was appointed Receiver. The lands were advertised for sale, to begin 23rd October, 1823, at the site of the Fort, to the highest bidder above $1.25 per acre the Government's minimum price. About forty acres around the site of the Fort were reserved by the United States. Congress gave authority May 31st, 1830, to the Associate Judges of the County of Allen to enter at the Land Office at minimum price, for the use and benefit of the County, so much of this Reservation of forty acres "including Fort Wayne and the reserve for the use of the Aborigine Agency established there, as may not fall to the State of Indiana under the Canal Act of 2nd March, 1827." * The remains of this Reservation were later set apart for the benefit of the Wabash and Erie Canal; and were sold to Cyrus Taber who platted it into forty building lots 15th April, 1835, and it has since been known as Taber's Addition to the City of Fort Wayne.

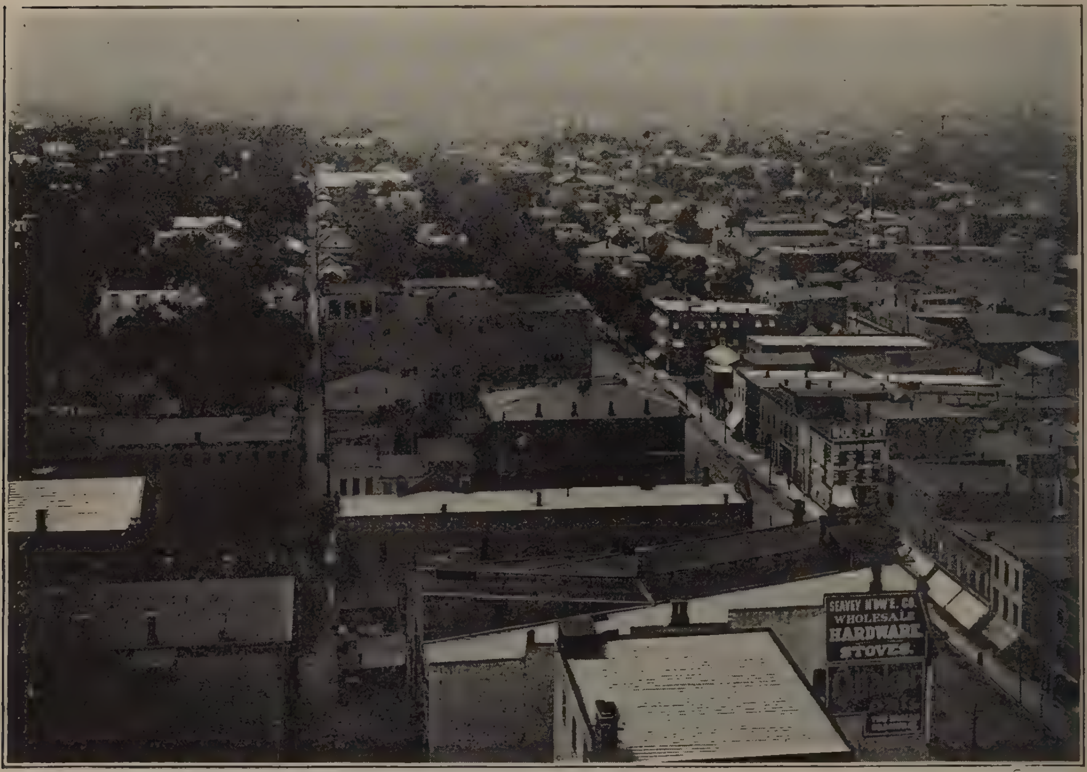
In 1821 Alexis Coquillard opened a store for the Aborigine trade at Fort Wayne. William G. and George W. Ewing also began trade there in 1822 and remained prominent dealers with the Aborigines for

---

* *Laws of the United States* volume viii, page 304.

many years, extending their trade among other tribes than the Miamis. Major Stephen H. Long, of and with the Corps of Topographical Engineers while on their way from the East in 1823, wrote in his *Expedition to the Sources of the River St. Peter* in Minnesota, regarding Fort Wayne as follows:

> At Fort Wayne we made a stay of three days, and to a person visiting the Aborigine country for the first time, this place offers many characteristic and singular features. The village is small—it has grown under the shelter of the fort, and contains a mixed and apparently very worthless population. The inhabitants are chiefly of Canadian origin, all more or less imbued with Aborigine blood. The confusion of languages, owing to the diversity of Aborigine tribes which generally collect near a fort, makes the traveler imagine himself in a real babel.



CITY OF FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

Looking south of west from the Tower of the Allen County Court House 14th July, 1902. The River St. Mary flows from left to right by the first trees on the right. The Portage Path to Little River met the St. Mary toward the left of the view near the French Post Miami built about 1680; and further on the left the view is down the middle of the ancient channel that drained the Maumee Glacial Lake before the Maumee River began to form. It is now a fertile country.

> The business of a town of this kind differs so materially from that carried on in our cities, that it is almost impossible to fancy ourselves within the same territorial limits, but the disgust which we entertain at the degraded condition in which the white man, the

descendant of the European, appears, is perhaps the strangest sensation which we experience. To see a being in whom from his complexion and features we should expect to find the same feelings which dwell in the bosom of every refined man, throwing off his civilized habits to assume the garb of a savage, has something which partakes of the rediculous as well as the disgusting. The awkward and constrained appearance of those Frenchmen who had exchanged their usual dress for the breech-cloth and blanket was as visible as that of the Aborigine who assumes the tight body-coat of the white man. The feelings which we experienced while beholding a little Canadian stooping down to pack up and weigh the hides which an Aborigine had brought for sale, while the latter stood in an erect and commanding posture, were of a mixed and certainly not of a favorable nature. At each unusual motion made by the white man, his dress, which he had not properly secured, was disturbed, and while engaged in restoring it to its proper place he was the butt of the jokes and jibes of a number of squaws and Aborigine boys who seemed already

CITY OF FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

Looking north from the Tower of the Allen County Court House 14th July, 1902. The River St. Mary is seen on the left. The trees in the middle distance mark the course of the River St. Joseph which joins the St. Mary near the left of the Columbia Street Bridge toward the right of the view. The trees to the right of the Bridge mark the course of the Maumee River which turns to the east in the distance. The white Flag Staff to the right of the Bridge is on the small triangular piece of ground — all that is left free to the public as a park — of the site of General Wayne's Fort Wayne, corner of Main and Canal Streets. Beyond is the site of the ancient Kekionga (blackberry patch) the main Village of the Miamis; and yet further up the east bank of the St. Joseph is the site of the second French Fort Miamis, built in 1749-50 and surrendered to the British in 1760. Westward from this Fort, on the opposite side of the St. Joseph, was another early prominent Miami Village.

to be aware of the vast difference which exists between them and the Canadian furdealers.

The village is exclusively supported by the fur trade, which has, however, gradually declined, owing to the diminution of the Aborigine population. The traders seldom leave the town but have a number of Canadians called *engagés* in their service who accompany the Aborigines in their summer hunts, supply them with goods in small quantities, and watch them that they shall not sell their goods [furs] to traders other than their employers. The furs brought in consist principally of deer and raccoon skins. Bear, otter and beaver have become very rare. The skins when brought in are loosely rolled or tied, but they are afterward made into packs which are three feet long and eighteen inches wide, after being subjected to a heavy pressure in a wedge press. Skins are worth : Deer (buck) $1.25; Deer (doe) $1.00; Raccoon $.50; Bear $3.00 to $5.00. The values are nominal, as the furs are paid for in goods which are passed off on the Aborigines for more than double the prime cost and transportation. The furs are usually sent down the Maumee to Lake Erie and thence to Detroit, where they are for the most part purchased by the American Fur Company.

The settlers for citizenship increased slowly. In 1823, after the division of Indiana into two Congressional districts, there were but fifty votes cast in the northern part of the State. Notwithstanding the sparse settlements, Allen County was organized 17th December, 1823, with jurisdiction over what is now Wells, Adams, and Huntington Counties and all other territory of northeastern Indiana. This year Allen Hamilton settled at Fort Wayne, and others followed who, like him, were an honor to the town and State, contributing to their material interests. Fort Wayne was chosen as the seat of government of Allen County by Legislature committee composed of W. M. Conner of Hamilton County, Abaithes Hathaway and James Ray of Indianapolis, early in 1824; and the last week in May the county election resulted in the choice of Anthony L. Davis for Clerk; Allen Hamilton Sheriff; Samuel Hanna and Benjamin Cushman Associate Judges; Joseph Holman Treasurer; H. B. MacKeen Assessor; Lambert Cushoois Constable of Wayne Township then embracing the entire County; W. T. Davis Overseer of the Poor; R. Hars Inspector of Elections; Israel Taylor, Joseph Troutner, and Moses Scott, Fence Viewers; Samuel Hanna Road Supervisor.*

The first Circuit Court held in Allen County, for all northeastern Indiana, was called at Fort Wayne 9th August, 1824. This court granted citizenship to Francis Aveline from Vincennes, father of Francis A. Aveline whose name is perpetuated in several ways at Fort Wayne. Indictments were reported for selling spirituous liquor without license, and the accused were each fined three dollars and costs. Another man was fined ten dollars for gambling. There was then no newspaper at Fort Wayne; and the nearest one at this time was the *Enquirer* printed at Richmond, Indiana, about one hundred miles south.

---

* Compare *History of Fort Wayne* by Wallace A. Brice, 8vo pages 324, 1868, page 297.

Fort Wayne was incorporated as a town in 1825; and the 14th November of this year the first Court of Probate was instituted, the Associate Judges having had charge of Probate business previous to this date. People came and went, the resident population increasing slowly for some years. In 1828 there were about 500 citizens; in 1830, 800; in 1840, 1200; in 1850, 4200; in 1900, 45,115 within the City of Fort Wayne.

HANCOCK COUNTY, OHIO,

Was formed 1st April, 1820, from Aborigine territory, and was attached to Wood County for its government. The Township of Waynesfield, now alone in Lucas County, was then extended to embrace Hancock County and other territory. At a special meeting of the Commissioners of Wood County, held at Perrysburg 19th March, 1823, among other business it was ordered that so much of the Township of Waynesfield as is included in the unorganized County of Hancock, be set off and organized into a Township by the name of Findlay, and that the election for Township officers be held on the first day of July, A. D. 1823, at the house of Wilson Vance in the said Township. Wilson

THE BLANCHARD RIVER AT FINDLAY, OHIO

Looking south of east, up stream, May 1, 1902, at low stage of water. The site of Fort Findlay is to the right of the Main Street Bridge seen in the distance. Pier and abutments for new bridge in middle distance.

Vance was chosen Justice of the Peace at this election and he qualified September 9, 1823, before Thomas R. M'Knight of Perrysburg. Robert M'Kinnis was also elected Justice and qualified before Wilson Vance 4th October.

In common with the sites of other forts of prominence, that of Fort Findlay became a station for travelers in quest of desirable places to settle after the War of 1812. One ——— Tharp remained at the Fort with other members of the garrison after the abandonment by the United States in the fall of 1814, and he traded with the Aborigines. Benjamin Cox removed his family from Greene County, Ohio, to Fort Findlay in 1815, this being probably the first family to settle there; and his daughter Lydia was born there in 1817, she being the first white child. An older daughter of Mr. Cox in after years wrote of their experiences as follows: My mother, my sister and myself gathered the stalks of nettles which grew on the river [Blanchard] bottoms below the town from which we stripped fiber enough, that on being dressed like flax, was spun and woven into linen to the amount of forty yards, and was made into clothing for the family.*

GEN. JAMES FINDLAY.

Born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, in 1770; removed to Ohio in 1795; died in Cincinnati in 1835.

Other families came and, not liking the level and then wet country, passed along the military road to the lower Maumee. Wilson Vance came in 1818, and his brother Joseph, afterward Governor of Ohio, obtained claims and, with the assistance of Elnathan Cory, set stakes for a village at Fort Findlay in 1821. In 1822 the settlement was increased by the arrival of John P. Hamilton or Hambleton; Robert M'Kinnis or M'Innis and family including sons Charles, Philip, James and John, and son-in-law, Jacob Poe; Squire Carlin, Nathan Frakes, William Moreland, Joseph Sleight, Matthew Riley, William Taylor, James B. Thomas and John Simpson. Others followed to the number of seventy-four electors the 7th April, 1828, when Hancock County was organized for independent government. Abraham Huff, Wilson

---

* *History of Hancock County, Ohio,* by D. B. Beardsley 8vo pages 472, 1881, page 20.

Vance, and Mordecai Hammond were the Judges of Election, with John C. Wickham and Edmund S. Jones, Clerks. In 1829 the Village of Fort Findlay was more fully surveyed, and buildings were located and constructed with more system.

The first record of the County Commissioners bears date 2nd March, 1829, John P. Hambleton, John Long, and Charles M'Kinnis comprising the Board. Don Alonzo Hamblin was Assessor, William Hackney Auditor, and William Taylor Surveyor. The first Court of Common Pleas was held in November, 1829, with only one case for trial. Ebenezer Lane was President, with Abraham Huff, Robert M'Kinnis, and Ebenezer Wilson, Associate Judges.

Henry County, Ohio,

Was formed from Aborigine territory April 1, 1820, and was named in honor of Patrick Henry the patriot statesman. It was attached to Wood County for government until the organization of Williams County in 1824 when its seat of government was moved from Perrysburg to Defiance. The first American settlers came to *Prairie du Masque* by the Maumee in the eastern part of the county soon after the close of the War of 1812. Their names were John Butler, David and William Delong, Charles Gunn, George Gilson, David Bucklin and Samuel Vance; and the taxpaying residents of the township in 1837 in addition to some of the before named were: Charles Bucklin, Paulina Bucklin, Levi Billings, David J. Cory, David Edwards, Samuel Frederick, Richard and Carver Gunn, John Goss, Samuel Seman, Edward Murphy, Jonas Pratt, Abram and U. N. Scribner, Daniel C. Smith, Andrew Storts and Ashbell Wilcox.

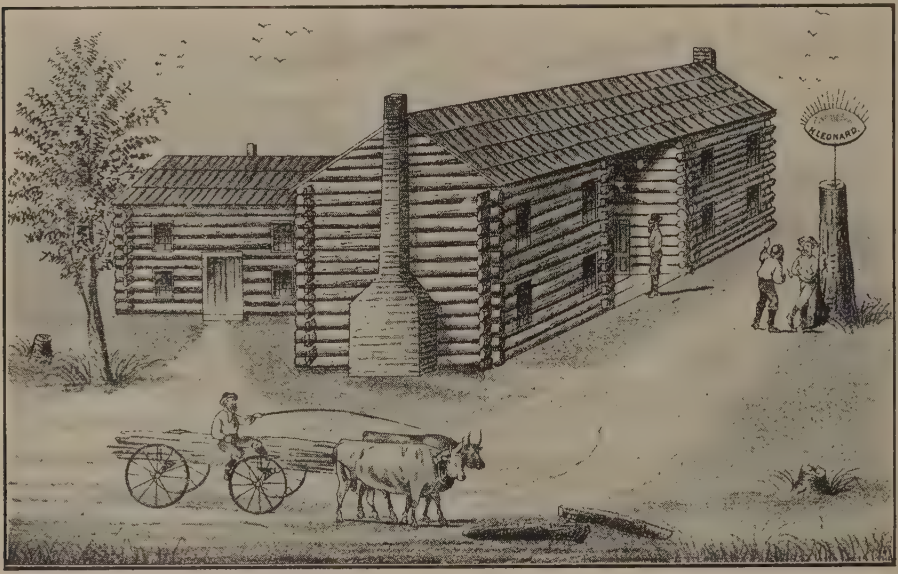
At the meeting of the Wood County Commissioners held in the Village of Maumee August 12, 1820, a petition was presented from sundry citizens of the settlement of Damascus[*] in the eastern part of Henry County, asking to be attached to the Township of Auglaise, which petition was granted. At the special meeting of the Commissioners March 19, 1823, it was ordered, on petition, that so much of the Township of Auglaise[†] as is contained in the unorganized County of Henry, be set off and organized into a Township by name of Damascus. This township embraced the entire County of Henry, then much larger than now, and the lister and appraiser of its property for taxation returned $208 and was allowed for this work only one dollar eighty-seven and a half cents by the Commissioners of Williams County, June 7, 1825.

---

[*] Here is an illustration of the remarkable change that a name often undergoes. The early French name for a camping station by the Maumee River a little above the Grand Rapids was *Prairie du Masque*, so named from a grass-covered bank or island resembling in outline an uncouth woman. This *Prairie du Masque*, like *Roche de Bout* and *Presqu'ile*, was a landmark to travelers; and the early American settlers transformed the name to Damascus.

[†] Auglaise Township, organized by the Wood County Commissioners early in 1820, embraced all of Henry County also Williams including the present Defiance, Paulding and Putnam Counties. It has been taken from until only one-half of a land township plus four square miles (twenty-two square miles in all) remain in northeastern Paulding County.

Another camping place by the Maumee River in the present Henry County with mongrel French-Aborigine lingerers, was given the name Snaketown (at the present Florida) previous to the campaign of General Wayne in 1794—see *ante* page 193; and the taxpaying settlers here and near in 1837 (then as now in Flat Rock Township) were: Lee Armstrong, Thomas Brown, William Bowen, James A. Brewer, William C. Brownell, William Chambers, Amos Cole, Joseph Heath, Richard Hughes, Jesse King, Washington, George and John Lowry, John B. Rundell, Christian and John Stout, Senior, Michael Shuman, Jacob Fronisman, William, Silas and Reuben Waite, and J. P. Whipple.



HENRY COUNTY'S FIRST COURT HOUSE

From 1835 to 1844. In rear of Tavern.

The Legislature enacted for the organization of Henry County in 1834; and in 1835 the embryo Village of Napoleon which was platted in 1832 was chosen as the seat of government and County officers were elected as follows: Commissioners Amos Cole, Isaac E. Braucher and Xenophon Meade; Auditor Hazel Strong; Treasurer Israel Waite; Sheriff E. Husted; Surveyor William Jackson; Clerk J. N. Evans whom the Associate Judges, David S. Cory, Reuben Waite and Pierce

Evans, also appointed to act as Recorder. The first Court of Common Pleas was held in 1835 in the log tavern of George Stout. David Higgins was Presiding Judge and Frederick Lord Prosecuting Attorney. During this year Henry Leonard under contract with the Commissioners built with logs a two-story Court House adjoining his tavern in the rear on the east side of Perry Street near the Maumee. The upper floor of this house was used for the Court sessions and the lower floor by the Commissioners, Juries, and other County officers. In 1844 a frame Court House of larger size was built on the site of the present building. This house of wood with most of the records was destroyed by fire in April, 1847. The business of the County was conducted in different buildings for several years following this fire. An endeavor to move the seat of government a few miles down the Maumee to the competing Village of Texas delayed a new building. In December, 1849, plans were obtained and in January, 1850, contract was made with James Durbin, Achilles Smith and William Russel to construct a Court House and Jail in one building of brick and a separate building to contain four fireproof offices; and December 28, 1852, the Commissioners accepted these buildings at a cost of eleven thousand dollars. These buildings were in use nearly thirty years when the Court House was destroyed by fire the first part of November, 1879; and the present commodious structures were built in 1880-82.

Mercer County, Ohio,

Was formed from Aborigine territory 1st April, 1820, and remained attached to Darke County for its government until 1824. St. Marys, then in this County, was chosen the seat of government, and the 17th April, 1824, the first Board of Commissioners convened, composed of Ansel Blossom, Thomas Scott, and Lucas Van Ansdall. At the June meeting of the Board John P. Hedges was appointed Treasurer. He executed a small bond and, desiring to go to Fort Wayne, he appointed as his deputy Samuel Hanson who agreed to collect all the taxes of both Mercer and Van Wert Counties for a compensation of five dollars. The valuation of Shanesville, platted by Anthony Shane 23rd June, 1820, (formerly and latterly called Shane's Crossing from the French-Shawnee half-breed Antoine Chesne, and since the building of the Cincinnati Northern Railroad called Rockford) was $20.87; Dublin Township valuation was $48.66; and St. Marys, $76.70 the lots being one dollar and the tax five mills on each lot. At the session in June, 1825, Ansel Blossom, Solomon Carr, and Isaiah Duncan, Commissioners, orders were issued as follows: to John P. Hedges for $2.91 being his legal per centage on $72.75 received and paid over as Treasurer; an order for $2.00 to William B. Hedges, Auditor, for paper and one day's services; and $2.25 to each of the Commissioners for services during the session. John Manning was appointed Treasurer, and required to give bond for $500.

The first Common Pleas Court was first held in Mercer County in February, 1825, with Joseph Crane Presiding Judge and Joseph Greer, Thomas Scott and James Walcott Associates. A case of Samuel Duncan against Edmund Gilbert in chancery was disposed of. The second term was held in April 1827; and the third term in April, 1829, with George B. Holt President, and Joseph Greer, William B. Hedges and John Manning Associates. There was not a state case for several years. Most of the cases were of probate, with a few in chancery.

The Village of Celina was platted by James Watson Riley son of Captain James Riley 8th September, 1834, for the joint proprietors of the land, viz: Peter Aughenbaugh, Robert Linzee 2nd, James W. Riley and Rufus W. Stearns. This plat was named from the Village of Salina, New York, with change of first syllable to Ce to prevent confusion. In the year 1840 it became the seat of government though possessing but a small collection of log houses.

The first newspapers published in the present county limits were started in 1848 namely, *The Mercer County Advocate* Whig in politics, and the *Western Standard* Democratic. The latter is continued with the name *Mercer County Standard.*

VAN WERT COUNTY, OHIO,

Is of the number formed April 1, 1820. It was named from Isaac Van Wert one of the captors of Major André; was attached to Darke County for its government until the organization of Mercer County in 1824, when its government was transferred thither.

The first settler in Van Wert County was Ansel Blossom in 1819; the second was a former mariner Captain James Riley who, while engaged in the survey of the Public Lands for the United States, made choice of land on both sides of the River St. Mary at the rapids near the Indiana State line. He removed his family to this place in January, 1821, built a log house, began clearing land for cultivation, and making preparation of timber for a dam across the river, and for flouring and sawing mills which were built. In 1822 he surveyed a village plat on the west bank of the river opposite the mills and he named the prospective village Willshire in honor of an Englishman of that name who redeemed him from Arab captivity after a shipwreck on the coast of Africa. Captain Riley was a man of sterling qualities and his influence was exerted for good among many pioneer settlers. In 1823 he was elected to the Ohio Legislature as the sole representative of what is now the Counties of Allen, Darke, Defiance, Henry, Lucas, Mercer, Miami, Paulding, Preble, Putnam, Shelby, Van Wert, Williams, and Wood. He strongly favored building the Miami and Erie Canal and fostered other useful legislation including the providing of a permanent fund for common schools. His health, which was impaired by his African experiences, became yet more impaired by the malaria of the new country. He was taken by boat to Fort Wayne for medical treatment in the spring of 1828. Recovering somewhat, he was transported on bed down the Maumee, across Lake Erie and through the New York and Erie Canal and Hudson River to New York where he recovered sufficiently to make several voyages abroad and transact considerable business. He died 13th March, 1840, and was buried at sea three days out from New York. His children remained in Van Wert and Mercer Counties.*

At the Presidential election of 1836 only fifteen votes were cast in the Township of Willshire. Van Wert County was organized in 1836, the first meeting of the Commissioners being held 29th April at Willshire. The first court was also held there 3rd October, 1837, by Associate Judges Benjamin Griffin, Oliver Stacey, and Joshua Watkins.

The Village of Van Wert was platted 30th March, 1835, by the proprietors, Peter Aughenbaugh, George Marsh, and James Watson Riley a worthy son of Captain James Riley, and the first public sale of lots was held 17th June, 1837. Settlers came slowly. In 1837 there were but two families—those of Daniel Cook and John F. Dodds—at the site of the present thriving City of Van Wert which has for many years been the seat of government.

Paulding County, Ohio,

Is one of the fourteen counties formed 1st April, 1820, from former Aborigine territory. It was named in honor of John Paulding one of the three patriot captors in 1780 of Major John André the British spy. It was attached to Wood County for government until the organization of Williams County in 1824, from which time Defiance was its seat of government until the year 1839 when Paulding County was organized. It was a part of the great Auglaise Township (see *ante* page 528) until June 6th, 1825, when it was included with Putnam County in Perry Township (see Putnam County).

New Rochester, situated on the right bank of the Maumee River about one mile north of the present Village of Cecil, was then the only village in the County and the seat of government was located there. New Rochester was platted in 1835 by Doctor John Evans of Defiance, Robert Clemmer and Reverends Joseph Miller and Nathaniel Ladd Thomas. Isaac Savage built the second house soon after the first one built by Reverend Thomas who has been described as 'a tavern-keeper, merchant, banker, postmaster, and preacher' a good man withal for a wilderness settlement. The population of New Rochester in 1839 numbered thirty-five families. There were three taverns, three general stores each dealing in spirituous liquors according to the custom of the times, two blacksmithing and two tailoring shops. All the buildings were small and built of logs. The making of the Wabash and Erie Canal two and a half miles south of New Rochester in the years 1839 to 1842 caused a decline in this village, and the last vestige of it disappeared from its site several years previous to this writing.

---

* See Reminiscences of W. Willshire Riley in *Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio.*

A BEGINNER'S HOME

in the Stove Era. Yet (1904) in use in Paulding County.

At the organization of Paulding County in 1839 Nathan Eaton, John Hudson and Gilman C. Mudgett were appointed Associate Judges of Common Pleas.* They met in the fall of 1839 and appointed Horatio N. Curtis Clerk, and Andrew J. Smith Sheriff. The first Court of Common Pleas was held in the spring of 1840, Judge Emery D. Potter presiding.

In 1841 the seat of government was removed to Charloe on the left bank of the Auglaise River near the eastern side of the County and by the Miami and Erie Canal then being made—see engraving *ante* page 503. Charloe was platted this year by Benjamin F. Hollister at the former village of the Ottawa Chief Occonoxee, and it was given the name of the less savage Ottawa Chief Peter Charloe. Here a small Court House was built of brick. These towns were near the center of the Ottawa Aborigine Reserve of four miles square, the lines of which conflict with those of the later and regular Land Survey. August 10, 1850, Ezra J. Smith County Surveyor platted the Village of Paulding near the center of the County, for the proprietors George Marsh and James Watson Riley. By a special Act of the Legislature the seat of government was removed in 1851 to this embryo village in the wilderness.

The Presiding Elder of the Lima District in the Delaware Conference, the name of which was changed in 1860 to the Central Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, reported in 1857 that there were then two workers in the Paulding Mission Field, viz: Enoch

---

* The three Associate Judges for each County, appointed from the more or less prominent citizens who were without special knowledge of law, were discontinued by the new State Constitution of the year 1851.

G. Longworth who lived at Charloe and John Priddy who lived on a farm in Van Wert County. They had twenty-three appointments with one hundred and sixty-two members, and six Sunday schools with about one hundred scholars. Their appointments were filled every four weeks which required two hundred and fifty miles travel with week-day meetings and pastoral visitings. There were no church buildings, and meetings were held in the woods, in dwellings or in schoolhouses.*

Allen County, Ohio.

The first settlers in the present Allen County, Ohio, were Peter Diltz, William Van Ansdall and Andrew Russell, in and about the year 1817, and by the Auglaise River at and near the site of Fort Amanda. Here the first white child was born to the latter, a daughter who became the wife of Charles C. Marshall and who resided later in Delphos where she died in 1871. Samuel M'Clure settled by Hog Creek (the present Ottawa River) five miles northeast of the present Lima in November, 1825, and he was followed in March, 1826, by Joseph Ward (brother of General John Ward) and Joseph Walton. About the same time Christopher Wood, a Kentucky scout against the savages, Joseph Wood, Morgan Lippincott, Samuel Jacobs and Samuel Purdy, settled by Sugar Creek, the first named perhaps in 1824.

LIMA, OHIO, AND THE OTTAWA RIVER
As sketched by Henry Howe in 1846.

Allen County was organized in June, 1831, with James Daniels, John G. Wood, and Samuel Stewart as the first Commissioners. They purchased a quarter section of land (160 acres) at $1.25 per acre, and decided upon the site of the present City of Lima for the seat of government. The village was platted this year by W. L. Henderson of Findlay, and lots were then offered at public sale, but purchasers and buildings came slowly. The first white settler at Lima was Absalom Brown whose daughter Marian Mitchell Brown was the first white child there born. In the year 1834 there were living in or near the Village of Lima, Colonel James Cunningham, Doctor William Cunningham, General John Ward, Doctor Samuel Black, Doctor William Henry who came this year, John F. Mitchell, Daniel D. Tompkins, Charles Baker, James Anderson, David Tracey, Hudson Watt, Miles Cowan, Crane Valentine, John Bashore, John Mark, Abraham Aldridge, Alexander Beatty, William Scott, Thurston Moshier, David Reese, Daniel Musser, Martin Musser, Daniel Musser Junior, Elisha Jolly, Abraham S. Nicholas, Reverend George Shelden, Presbyterian, Elder William Chaffee, Baptist, John Jackson, Hamilton Davison who removed to Defiance in 1848 where he died December 9, 1889, about eighty-four years of age, Amos Clutter, Robert Terry, F. H. Binkley, and Abraham Bowers. Reverends John Alexander and James B. Finley were Methodist Episcopal Ministers on the circuits of this vicinity in 1834.*

---

* Compare *Crumbs from my Saddle Bags*, by Reverend Elnathan C. Gavitt, page 264.

CITY OF LIMA, OHIO

Looking southeast 30th April, 1902, from an upper window of the Hotel Norval corner of Main and North Streets, across Valley of the Ottawa River to the St. Mary Moraine.

The first Court of Common Pleas for Allen County was held in May, 1833, in the log cabin residence of James Daniels near the crossing of the river at the east end of Market Street. George B. Holt of

---

* Compare the address before the Pioneer Association at Lima 22nd September, 1871, by T. E. Cunningham, Esq., as copied in Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley*.

Dayton was the Presiding Judge, and Christopher Wood, James Crozier, and William Watt, Associates. John Ward served as Clerk, Henry Lippincott Sheriff, and Patrick G. Goode of Montgomery County served as Prosecuting Attorney by appointment of the Court.

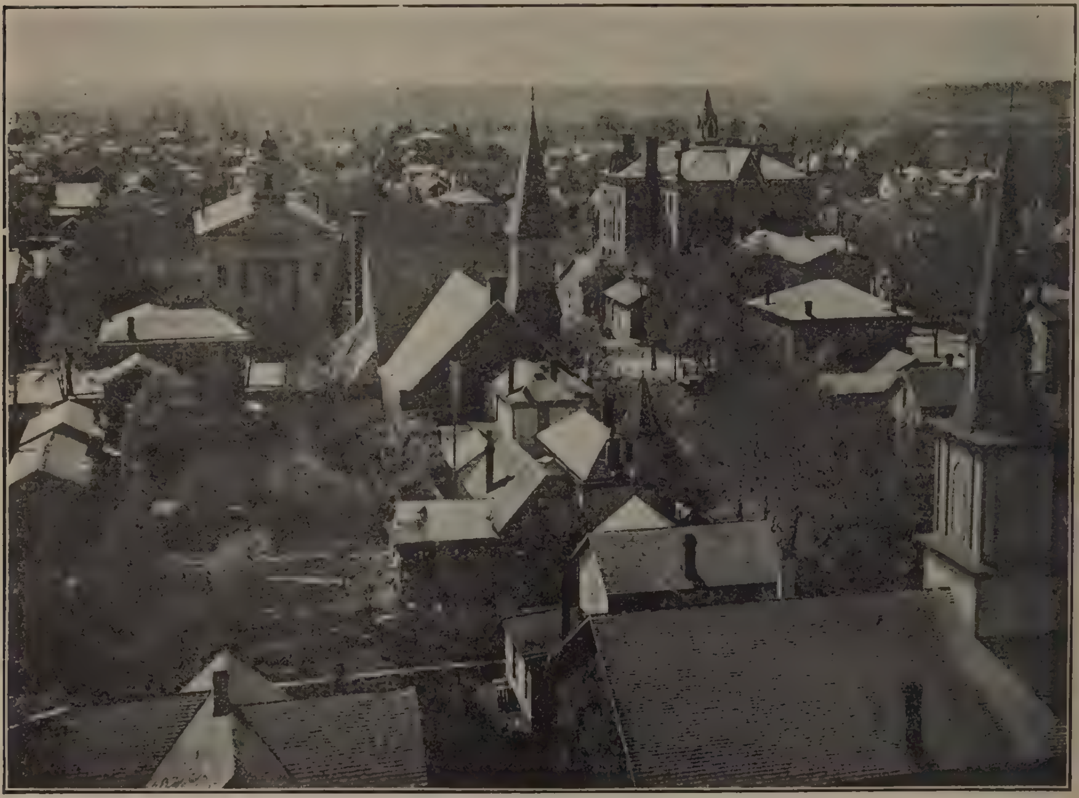
PUTNAM COUNTY, OHIO,

Is one of the original fourteen counties formed 1st April, 1820, after the more general extinction of the Aborigine claims. It was four years attached to Wood County for government, and then ten years to Williams County with seat of government at Defiance, it being organized for self-government in 1834. Frederick F. Stevens removed from Putnam County to Defiance in 1826, where he died over sixty years later. He remembered the residents of Putnam in 1825 as follows: Andrew Craig who claimed to be the first settler lived at the mouth of the Blanchard River, and John Ridenour lived one mile above. These were the only families then on the Blanchard in the County. Sebastian Schrauf lived by the Auglaise River one mile above the Blanchard, and William Bowen a mile and a half above Myers Mill; and yet further up were Elias Wallace, James J. Martin, Daniel Sullivan, David Murphy who also claimed to be the first white settler in the County, and a Mr. Harris whose family was the only one at Fort Jennings. Above the site of this fort were Mr. Hill, Joseph Sutton, William Cochran, Josiah Closson, John Welch, Daniel and William Sunderland, Thomas and William Berryman, and Samuel Washburn,

THE FIRST PROMINENT HOUSE IN PUTNAM COUNTY

Built by Sebastian Schrauf on the left bank of the Auglaise River in Section Twenty-one, Perry Township. This sketch was made by Henry Howe in June, 1846, when the house was an Inn kept by Samuel Holden a United Brethren clergyman. 'A charming place.' See Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Centennial Edition, volume ii page 465 *et seq.*

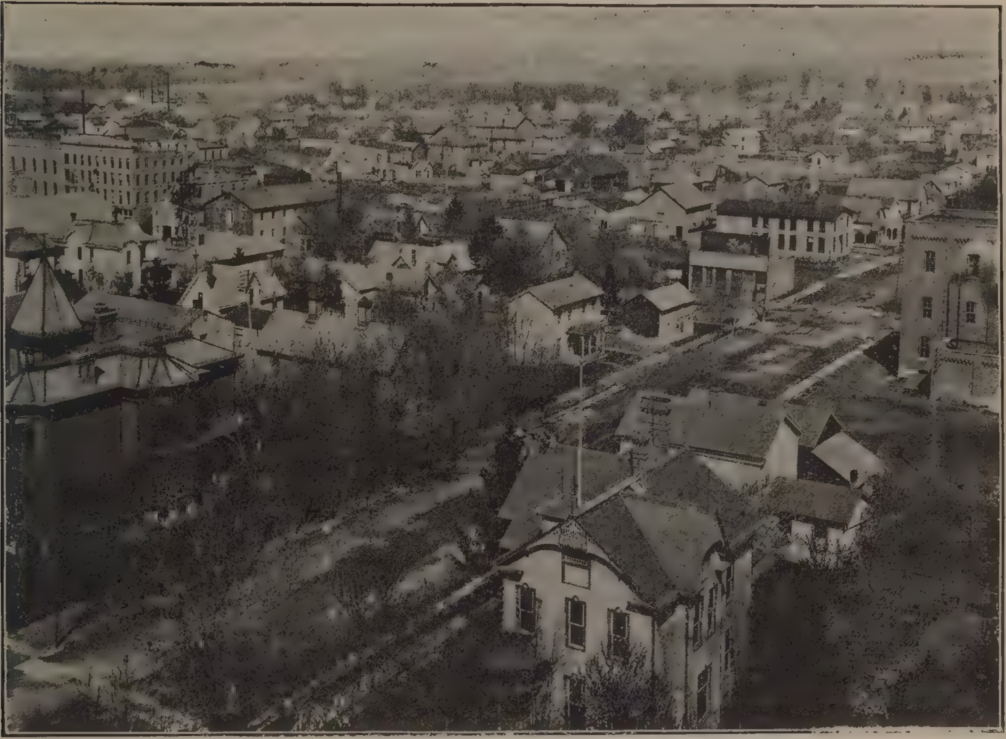
The Commissioners of Williams County organized Perry Township from the former Auglaise Township (see *ante* page 528) with boundaries 'to include the whole County of Putnam and as much of the County of Paulding as lies west of the County of Putnam.' Jennings Township was organized June 6, 1826.



VILLAGE OF WAPAKONETA, OHIO

Looking north of west 30th April, 1902, from Tower of the Auglaise County Court House. The trees in the distance toward the left, mark the course of the Auglaise River as it here turns northward through the Water Gap in the Wabash Moraine first cut by drainage southward of the Maumee Glacial Lake, then on the subsidence of these waters and the origin of the Auglaise River, the flow was reversed. The Auglaise River is glimpsed flowing from right to left beyond the town, in low stage of water.

The first seat of government was at Kalida (from the Greek *Kallidinus*, suggested by the then beautifully whirling or gyratory current of the Ottawa River here) which village was platted in 1834. Judge George Skinner, who moved to Kalida in 1839, was authority for the statement that the first Court of Common Pleas was held in the dwelling house of Christian Sarber half a mile south of Kalida, Judge William Helfenstein presiding. The family table used for meals (there was but one table in the house) also served as Judge's and Clerk's desk, bar table, etc. The room was small, and the table was necessarily near the family bed which the Judge utilized as a seat — in fact made it his judicial bench. The jury went into the near-by woods for their private consultations. A Court House was built at Kalida in due time. In the year 1866 this house was destroyed by fire, whereupon the question of moving the seat of government was discussed and, upon being submitted to ballot, the electors of the County gave a majority of 455 in favor of the Village of Ottawa, where it has since remained.



VILLAGE OF WAPAKONETA, OHIO

Looking north of east 30th April, 1902, from Tower of Auglaise County's beautiful new Court House up the Valley of the Auglaise River. The Wabash Moraine is seen in the distance, and the northern slope of the Salamonie Moraine on the right — see *ante* page 28.

AUGLAISE COUNTY, OHIO,

Was formed and organized in the year 1848 from portions of Allen, Van Wert, Mercer, Darke, Shelby, and Logan Counties. The first term of Common Pleas Court was held in May with Patrick G. Goode Presiding Judge, and George W. Holbrook, David Simpson and John M'Lean, Associates. Wapakoneta was chosen as the seat of justice. This town was platted in 1833 by its proprietors Robert J. Skinner, Thomas B. Van Horne, Joseph Barnett, Jonathan K. Wilds and Peter Augenbaugh. At the first public sale eighty-four lots were sold at prices ranging from $20 to $140. Lot No. 13 by Auglaise Street, on which stood the Aborigine trading house, brought $120. Wapakoneta is built on the site of a Shawnee Aborigine town and the name is that of a Shawnee Chief who was somewhat club-footed, but whether the name had any reference to this deformity or not is not known. Wap-agh-ko-netta, Waugh-paugh-kon-net-ta, and other long forms of spelling have been used to express this name, but the United States Geographer has eliminated all superfluous letters. The old Shawnee Council House, about 25x35x8 feet in size, roughly built of small logs or saplings blocked, was on Lot No. 3, Auglaise Street, about the center of the town as now platted, and it was in a fair state of preservation when razed in 1859 to give place to a brick business building.

The first election for county officers was held 10th October, 1848, resulting in the choice of S. M. Dreese, Shadrack Montgomery and Hugh T. Rinehart as Commissioners; Marmaduke Smith Auditor; John Elliott Sheriff; John J. Rickley Treasurer; Simon Dresher Recorder; George W. Andrews Prosecuting Attorney; Amos S. Bennett Coroner, and Dominicus Fleitz Surveyor.

Lucas County, Ohio,

Organized from Wood County in June, 1835, was named in honor of Robert Lucas then Governor of Ohio, who was active in the settlement of the serious Ohio-Michigan boundary contention that disturbed the peace of the northwestern part of Ohio for several years, and threatened the loss to Ohio of Toledo, the best port of the Great Lakes, and a strip of otherwise valuable territory.

The history of Lucas County is coincident with that of its mother County, Wood — see *ante* page 519. In the year 1816 Doctor Horatio Conant and Almon Gibbs opened a store on the left bank of the Maumee River nearly opposite Fort Meigs. John Elliott Hunt also soon became a trader there. In 1817 the Village of Waynesfield was platted at this place. Major William Oliver was one of the proprietors of the plat of Waynesfield Village which later, for many years was called Maumee City, then was changed to the name South Toledo and, after several years, was changed to its present name, Maumee. For several years after the surveys, however, this region on both sides of the Maumee River was called Fort Meigs by people at a distance.

The first Township in the Basin was organized in 1816 to embrace the two United States Reservations at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, of twelve and six miles square. This Township was named Waynesfield in honor of General Wayne and, after the extinction of the Aborigine claims at the Treaty at the foot of the Maumee Rapids in 1817, the jurisdiction of this Township was extended over the territory thus acquired. At the organization of other townships, beginning 19th March, 1823, Waynesfield Township was divided from time to time to its present limited area in Lucas County, yet embracing the Village of Maumee.

In February, 1817, a company from Cincinnati, with Micajah T. Williams, William Oliver, and Martin Baum, as the more active members, purchased of the United States two tracts of land amounting to four hundred acres. One tract embraced the mouth of Swan Creek and for this tract the price was $76.06 per acre. The terms of payment were one-fourth the price at the time of purchase with agreement to pay the remainder in three equal annual amounts. This company platted into village lots the land between the left banks of the Maumee River and Swan Creek, and named the plat Port Lawrence. A number of these lots were sold at auction the next September, 1817, Major Benjamin F. Stickney the United States Agent to the Aborigines, stationed here or at Miami above, being the leading purchaser. A revulsion in financial affairs was experienced within the year and, the purchasers being unable to comply with the terms of second payment, Congress passed a Relief Act by which the Port Lawrence tract reverted to the United States in payment for other parts of the tract purchased.

Early in the 19th century Congress endowed 'a seminary of learning' (which afterward became the University of Michigan) with two townships of land with privilege of locating the same wherever desired. The trustees, by resolution of May 27, 1827, authorized the committee 'to locate such tracts at the mouth of Swan Creek by the Maumee River in this [Michigan] Territory as shall seem to them expedient.' This committee selected River Tracts numbers one, two, seven, eight, nine and ten, including the former Port Lawrence plat; and a letter from the General Land Office declares these River Tracts reserved and appropriated as University Lands. Small parts of these lands were sold, and later Major William Oliver effected an exchange with the trustees of the remaining 401½ acres of Tracts one and two for Tracts three and four containing 777 acres. Subsequently Major Oliver purchased for his company these Tracts three and four of the University of Michigan trustees for $5000. Some of these Tracts of land embrace a large part of the most valuable business district of the present Toledo. The other University Tracts were sold in 1844 and 1850 at an average price of $19 per acre. The entire receipts to the University did not exceed $17,000.

In September, 1820, Maumee was 'a considerable village' with two good taverns, one kept by Peter G. Oliver brother of Major William Oliver; two or three stores, and buildings equal to the convenience, comfort, and business of a frontier town. In addition to the men named above, there were then here as residents Judge Robert A. Forsythe, Judge Ambrose Rice, John Hollister, and two or three of his brothers. These and others constituted a society at Maumee which would be acceptable anywhere on account of the intelligence and enterprise of its members. Settled also along the Maumee in various places from Swan Creek to *Roche de Bout* were the Keelers, Hubbells, Hulls, Spaffords, Wilkinsons, Prays, Pratts and Nearings.

The map of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River used by Congress for the Ordinance of 1787, and at the outlining of the Territory of Ohio, was not correct; the relative position of Lake Michigan was shown too far north, but this was not then known. The north line of the Territory of Ohio was then named as a line extending due east from the most southerly end of Lake Michigan. It was then supposed that this line would touch the Detroit River about midway between the City of Detroit and the river's mouth.* To avoid all later misunderstandings, however, the framers of the Constitution of 1802 for the State of Ohio defined the northern boundary of the State to be

> An east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, running east, after intersecting the due north line aforesaid from the mouth of the Great Miami, until it shall intersect Lake Erie or the territorial line, and thence with the same, through Lake Erie to the Pennsylvania line aforesaid; provided always, and it is hereby fully understood and declared by this Convention, that if the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie, or if it should intersect the said Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami River of the Lake [the Maumee River] then and in that case with the assent of the Congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this State shall be established by and be extended to, a direct line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly Cape of the Miami [Maumee] Bay, after intersecting the due north line from the mouth of the Great Miami River [the line between Ohio and Indiana] as aforesaid, and thence northeast to the territorial line, and by the said territorial [Canada] line to the Pennsylvania line.

The United States Congress accepted this Constitution without any provisions and the State of Ohio rested in the belief that the question was permanently settled. The Legislature of the Territory of Michigan, however, adhered to the line extending due east from the south shore of Lake Michigan, and persisted in extending its legislation to it. The first official inquiry addressed to Return J. Meigs, Governor of Ohio, was the following letter:

---

* This error in map making was repeated for many years. The map made by Shelton and Kensett in 1816 was a copy of this early map.

MIAMI [MAUMEE] RAPIDS, January 23, 1812.

SIR: It appears to be the general wish of the people in this settlement (which consists of about 50 families) to have the laws of the State of Ohio extended over them, as we consider ourselves clearly within the limits of said State. The few who object are those who hold offices under the Governor of Michigan and are determined to enforce their laws. This is considered by a great majority of the inhabitants as usurpation of power which they are under no obligation to adhere to. If no adjustment should take place, I fear the contention will ere long become serious. Sir, will you have the goodness to inform the people here whether there has been any understanding between the State of Ohio and the Governor of Michigan on the subject of jurisdiction, together with your advice.

I am, sir, with high esteem, your most obedient servant,

AMOS SPAFFORD, Collector of Port Miami.

The war with Great Britain, which began in June, 1812, overshadowed the boundary question. The surveying of the United States Reservations along the lower Maumee River and Bay in 1816 led to the suggestion of the survey of the boundary line. The United States Agent to the Aborigines, Benjamin F. Stickney, was directed to obtain consent to this survey from the Aborigines through whose territory the work would be done; and the Surveyor William Harris was directed to make the survey. The line thus surveyed in 1817 extended to North Cape in Maumee Bay; and it not being so far south as the people of Monroe County, Michigan desired, they reported to Governor Lewis Cass who, upon investigation, found that the Surveyors had been furnished a copy of the Constitution of Ohio as their guide instead of the Ordinance of 1787 as he desired. He thereupon made such vigorous complaint and protest that President James Monroe directed John A. Fulton to make another survey; and Governor Cass was careful to note that he made it along the due east line.

Thus the lines of dispute were definitely drawn — the Harris Line, claimed by the State of Ohio, extending from the most southern part of Lake Michigan to the point of North Cape in Maumee Bay; and the Fulton Line, claimed by the Territory of Michigan, extending from the same point of beginning due east, it being the present dividing line between Lucas and Wood County east of the Maumee River. The distance between these lines at the northwestern corner of Ohio is about five and a half miles, and the strip of intervening land gradually widens to the eastward to a width of about eight miles south of North Cape, the intervening space embracing about five hundred square miles — see maps at pages 1 and 309. For several years no definite action was taken to settle this boundary question and, meantime, Michigan exercised principal jurisdiction; and some of the enactments were very wholesome, as witnesses the following:

Be it enacted by the General Legislature of the Territory: That any Justice of the Peace, on conviction, may sentence any vagrant, lewd, idle or disorderly persons, stubborn servants, common drunkards, common night-walkers, pilferers, or any other persons wanton or licentious in speech, indecent behavior, common raiders or brawlers, such as neglect their calling or employment, misspend what they earn, and do not provide for themselves or their families, to be whipped not exceeding ten stripes, or to be delivered over to the Constable to be employed in labor not exceeding three months, by such Constable to be hired out for the best wages that can be procured, the proceeds of which to be applied to the use of the poor of the County.

Made, adopted and published at Detroit, the 27th day of July, 1818.

LEWIS CASS, Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

In the spring of 1821 Major Benjamin F. Stickney was a ruling spirit at the mouth of Swan Creek and continued such thereabout for many years. There was then but a small settlement in the vicinity, including Major Keeler who lived on his farm and a few Frenchmen. Major Stickney procured the recommendation of these people with which he proceeded to Detroit, and returned after a few days with a commission from Governor Lewis Cass appointing him Justice of the Peace in and for the Territory of Michigan; and from this time he claimed this region as part of Michigan. Thereafter the Ohio officials were opposed in all their efforts in the region around the lower Maumee.* The question was further complicated by the United States engineers surveying the public lands to the southern (Fulton) line claimed by Michigan, from the Base Line of that Territory. The influence of Major Stickney was exerted in Congress, and became manifest to his up-the-river neighbors as evidenced by the following letter, viz:

FORT MEIGS [MAUMEE CITY] 9th February, 1822.

DEAR SIR: Feeling considerably interested in the measures proposed in Congress relative to this section of country, and not doubting your willingness to attend to any representations that might be communicated, I take the liberty of addressing a few lines to you on these subjects.

I understand it is in contemplation to so alter the route of the great eastern mail to Detroit that it shall not pass this place, but go by Port Lawrence nine miles below on the Maumee River. Also to establish a land office at the River Raisin in Michigan for the sale of lands in this vicinity. Also to remove the Port of Entry to Port Lawrence. And also, I presume, from a motion of Mr. Sibley to open a road under the provisions of the Brownstown Treaty *not* from Sandusky to *Fort Meigs* according to the terms of said Treaty, but from Sandusky to Port Lawrence.

I have been astonished at the fact that one delegate from Michigan [Mr. Sibley] should be able to have the brain not only of a majority of Congress, but even of a considerable part of the Ohio Representatives; but from the success attending his motions I am obliged to admit the fact is true.

Port Lawrence has no claims to notice by Congress much less to be honored by the proposed sacrifices. The River Raisin has no claim in any shape superior to Fort Meigs; and in point of situation for a Land Office, or any other business, is far inferior. It is within little more than thirty miles of the Land Office at Detroit. Fort Meigs is not within one hundred miles of any office except that at Detroit, and is seventy miles from that.

---

* See Reminiscences of Thomas W. Powell in the newspaper *Defiance Democrat* 2nd May, 1868.

Respecting Port Lawrence [the first settlement on the site of the business part of Toledo] there is not, nor has there been for years, nor is there likely to be, more than three English [speaking] families including all within three miles of the place ; and whatever public business is done there must be done by one man who is already Aborigine Agent and Justice of the Peace for Michigan. The distance proposed to be saved by altering the route of the mail, ought not to come in competition with the increased risk in crossing the Maumee River which in that place is very wide and open to the unbroken surges of Lake Erie. The same objection will lie with increased weight against opening a military road to cross the river there. It might as well cross the mouth of the [Maumee] Bay, or any other part of Lake Erie. If there was any business done at the place, or was likely to be done there, I should not so much object to the Customs Collector's office being removed there ; but at present I should esteem it ridiculous to entertain the idea.

I did not suppose it entirely necessary to make all the above statements to you, sir ; but it is difficult to say less, and say anything. You must pardon the apparent haste and carelessness with which this is written, as I have just returned from a week's absence, and the mail is on the point of being closed.

Yours very respectfully,

Hon. Ethan A. Brown, Senator in Congress. HORATIO CONANT.

This year additional settlers came to Port Lawrence. One of the most enterprising was Joseph Prentice who was the most active in building. He built for his use the first frame house near this part of the Maumee. It was situated near the present Perry Street, Toledo, between the alley and St. Clair Street. In this house his son Frederick Prentice was born December 6, 1822. He was the first white child born within the limits of the present Toledo, and he was yet living in 1903 in New York City. Marquis Baldwin came to Port Lawrence in 1823 to establish a store. There were then, in addition to the Joseph Prentice house, a log warehouse, a frame warehouse which later served as the first Custom House, a log cabin near the site of the present police station, and a small hewn log house near the corner of the present Summit and Jefferson Streets. Several other log dwellings were scattered within the present Toledo limits, and near : those of Major Coleman I. Keeler and Noah A. Whitney near Adams and Collingwood ; Major Benjamin F. Stickney at Summit and Brush ; F. Loveway (Lovering?) below the present Manhattan Mills, and Leo Guire at the mouth of the Maumee. Eli Hubbard also had dwelling north of Ottawa River (Ten-Mile Creek) near the present crossing of Lagrange Street. This vicinity soon became prominent from the store of Calvin Tremain by the Postroad and the establishment there of the first postoffice for the present Toledo district—see subchapter on United States Mail on later page.

In the autumn of 1825 Reverends John A. Baughman and Solomon Manier formed the first Methodist Episcopal Church Class at Tremainville for the present Toledo region. It was then composed of twelve members, some living at Port Lawrence, as follows : Frances Maria Whitney, Catherine Martin, Eleanor Wallworth, Sarah Wallworth, Sophronia Horton, Hannah Horton, Elizabeth Martin, Lydia Martin, Elizabeth Holmes, Mary Keeler, Mary Mills, and Margaret Miller. Mrs. Whitney, wife of Noah Ashley Whitney, was appointed leader. This was then in the newly organized Detroit District or Circuit of the Ohio Conference. The first sermon preached within the present limits of Toledo was by the Reverend Elnathan C. Gavitt* late in October, 1832 in the store of Lewis Goddard on the bank of the Maumee in Vistula. The audience consisted of twelve persons 'most of whom were women.' The meetings were generally held in the dwelling of Eli Hubbard until the building of the first schoolhouse which was of logs. This was then in the Monroe, Michigan, Circuit. The first Methodist Class was organized in the Village of Maumee by Reverend E. C. Gavitt in the autumn of 1832 in the dwelling of James Jackson the Agent to the Aborigines. Continued meetings followed with accession of forty-two members to the Church, including Sophia, wife of General John E. Hunt. The Maumee District was constituted in 1834.

Increase in the number of settlers, the agitation of the Miami and Erie Canal, the platting of new towns and their competition in the sale of lots and for the increasing business, gave the Ohio-Michigan boundary question new significance and greater importance. The 27th May, 1827, Port Lawrence Township was organized as part of Monroe County, Michigan, and its jurisdiction was sought to be exercised over about one half of the present County of Lucas. At the election twenty-seven votes were cast, electing the following officers: Assessors Noah A. Whitney, John G. Forbes, and Daniel Murray; J. V. D. Sutphen Clerk; John T. Baldwin Supervisor; Tibbals Baldwin Collector; John Walworth and Coleman I. Keeler Overseers of the Poor; Eli Baldwin, and William Wilson Collector of the Port of Entry, Commissioners of Highways; John Root and Tibbals Baldwin Constables; and Benjamin F. Stickney Pound Master.

The Village of Vistula was platted in January, 1832, a little below (north of) Port Lawrence by Benjamin F. Stickney and Captain Samuel Allen of Lockport, assisted by Giles Bryan Slocum who afterward made a fortune along Detroit River and in Michigan land and timber. Mr. Slocum's letter to his father at Saratoga Springs, New York, dated 9th January, 1832, states that public land near Port Lawrence was then being bought at $1.25 per acre; that efforts were being made to induce the Buffalo steamboats to stop at Port Lawrence that spring, the passenger boats having previously gone direct to Detroit—see *ante* page 480; that a flouring and sawing mill were being built by Swan Creek about three miles from Port Lawrence; that bog iron ore was found near, and that the building of an iron furnace was being discussed; that wheat was sold at from ten to twelve shillings ($1.25 to $1.50) per bushel; that a great many hogs had been driven from Ohio to Detroit for market where many were killed and sold into Canada, and that wild hogs, turkeys, and deer were killed daily about Port Lawrence. Mr. Slocum was then associated in charge of a stock of goods, valued at three thousand dollars, belonging to Lewis Godard of Detroit, and he wrote that business was good; that the clearing of land, surveying, getting of timber, building of wharves, and the arrangement with the builders of other towns near whereby orders were to be paid at the store 'made it to the interest of all to turn off as many goods as possible.'* Sanford L. Collins, who came to Port Lawrence in December, 1831, wrote in later years as follows:

---

* *Grumbs from my Saddle Bags or Reminiscenses of Pioneer Life by* Elnathan C. Gavitt, 1884.

> Vistula was laid off and platted in 1832, and the clearing of the plat of brush and timber commenced; also the putting in of a long line of docking [wharves of the quay form] in front of the property at the foot of Lagrange Street, extending down toward Elm Street some forty rods, or thereabouts. This line of docking [quay] was built upon the ice and, notwithstanding its great weight, it being some nine feet high, it did not break through until the ice began to give way in the spring; and of course while kept up by the ice it presented a very formidable appearance, so much so that it attracted the attention of our enterprising neighbors of Perrysburg who came down upon the ice with a large party to pay their respects to the new proprietors and witness the new mode of building docks [quays] without piling. After examining carefully they said it looked very well, but they thought it would disappear with the ice in the spring, and perhaps the same might be the case with many of the new inhabitants in the coming months of July and August with fevers and agues which they most assuredly would have. The spring came and, contrary to the predictions of our Perrysburg neighbors, the dock [quay] did not disappear, but it became greatly displaced; and so it was with the new settlers, they did not disappear, but had a great amount of shaking.†

In the autumn of 1831 and spring of 1832 Captains Hiram Brown, John Baldwin and Tibbals Baldwin, constructed a large siene with which large quantities of fish were caught from the Maumee opposite Port Lawrence. Other prominent men at this place in January, 1832, were Otis Hathaway, William Loudon Favour, and H. S. Platt. A number of others arrived that spring and summer from Lockport, New York, including the brothers Daniel O. and Stephen B. Comstock,

---

* See *Chronography of Notable Events in the History of the Northwest Territory and Wayne County*, by Fred Carlisle, 8vo Detroit, 1890.

† Compare *History of the Maumee Valley* by H. S. Knapp, page 617.

In the summer of 1899 while fishing in the Maumee C. E. Haynes and E. C. Crosby discovered the submerged remains of these first wharves at Toledo. They kept the discovery to themselves and, in 1903 after the purchase of rights by the railway companies, they secured the privilege of taking out the logs; and with the aid of five men and a donkey engine the work began in June with much promise. It is estimated that there are here 5,000,000 feet of white oak, walnut, and hickory timber of the best quality preserved and improved by its long submergence, and probably worth $150,000. One black walnut log taken out was sold to a Massachusetts firm for $75—see *Toledo Blade* 6th June, 1903.

Munson H. Daniels, Daniel Washburn, C. G. Shaw and family, Oliver Stevens and family, James Maddocks, Philander Wales, Doctor Fassett (the last named four settling on the east side of the Maumee) Richard Greenwood, Oliver Spaulding, and Edward Bissell who became the most active builder at Vistula. Port Lawrence Township also possessed other active residents, as William Riley, Hiram Bartlett, Doctor J. V. D. Sutphen, Michael T. Whitney, James M. Whitney, Harmon Crane, Noah A. Whitney, Peter Berthoff and a few others.

ONE OF THE THREE PETROLEUM REFINERIES IN TOLEDO IN 1904

In the year 1833 the plats of Port Lawrence and Vistula were united under the name Toledo. The honor of suggesting this name has been attributed by different elderly people to Willard J. Daniels, Pierre M. Irving, and Two Stickney second son of Major Benjamin F. Stickney who named his sons numerically in the order of their birth.

The Toledo Herald, the second newspaper published in the Maumee River Basin, was started in weekly publication about the middle of August, 1834; and about October 1st *The Toledo Gazette* appeared. These newspapers were soon united under the name *Gazette and Herald* with James Irvine Brown as editor and agent for the proprietors who lived at Easton, Pennsylvania. The location of the northern terminus of the Miami and Erie Canal was becoming a live question at this time and the association of Mr. Brown with Doctor Jacob Clark, merchant, J. Baron Davis, J. W. Fellows, and other enterprising men many of whom also came to Toledo in 1834, led to a revival and active discussion of the Ohio-Michigan State boundary question, the climax of which was soon thereafter attained. A public meeting was held in Toledo in November, 1834, and the majority of the sentiment then expressed was in favor of Ohio asserting and maintaining jurisdiction over the disputed region. Petition for such action was signed and forwarded to Governor Lucas who recommended this movement to the Legislature which, in turn, passed an Act February 23, 1835, asserting the claim of Ohio to all territory south of the Harris Line. Under this Act three commissioners were appointed to re-survey and mark this Harris Line as the boundary, the survey to begin April 1, 1835.

President Andrew Jackson having been appealed to, sent Richard Rush of Pennsylvania and Colonel Howard of Maryland as Commissioners to confer with Governors Lucas and Mason regarding the boundary. This conference was held 7th April, 1835, the Commissioners agreeing with Governor Lucas, that the Harris Line be resurveyed and marked; 2nd, that insomuch as both Ohio and Michigan civil officers had been elected for the disputed territory (those for Ohio were elected April 6th) that the people residing there be left to their individual choice as to which of these officers should be accepted as authority in government until the next session of Congress, with the provision that Michigan discontinue the arrest and prosecution, already begun, of persons claiming citizenship in Ohio. Governor Mason would not sign this agreement for Michigan.

The Legislative Council of Michigan had, meantime, been alert and active. An Act had been passed making it a criminal offense punishable with a fine of $1000 and five years imprisonment for any person other than United States or Michigan officials to exercise or attempt to exercise any official authority in the disputed tract. For the full enforcement of this unwise Act Governor Mason directed 19th February, 1835, Brigadier General J. W. Brown Commander of the Third Division of Michigan Militia to prevent Ohio officers exercising any authority, and to use the Militia if necessary to preserve the rights of Michigan north of the Fulton Line; also to report the names of all Michigan civil and military officers therein favorable to Ohio, and by visitation ascertain proper persons to be appointed in their places.

Public sentiment was aroused and meetings were held. Upon learning of the Ohio election of local officers at Toledo, the Sheriff of Monroe County, Michigan, proceeded with a *posse comitatus* to Toledo April 8th and arrested Messrs. Goodsell and M'Kay, who were, however, later released on bail. A few days later the Sheriff with a posse numbering about two hundred persons again visited Toledo but made no arrests. The 26th April the party re-surveying and marking the Harris Line by authority of the Ohio Commissioners, was fired upon about twelve miles southwest of Adrian by Michigan Militia and the surveyors with most of their assistants were captured by the assailants led by the Deputy Sheriff of Lenawee County.

Governor Lucas arrived at the Village of Maumee April 27th with two hundred Ohio Militia (one account reads that he was there March 21st with six hundred soldiers under command of General John Bell) but pacific counsels prevailed and he sent the soldiers home the 2nd

May. Four days later Major Stickney went to Monroe on the Detroit-bound steamboat on which President Jackson's Commissioners Rush and Howard were passengers. He was there arrested and imprisoned for acting as a judge at the Ohio election of local officers in Toledo the 6th April. Mr. Stickney had, like others, undergone a change of mind and a transformation from a Justice of the Peace for Michigan to an officer favorable to Ohio. He was considered an important prisoner, and many gibes were made regarding him. The military spirit was rife and one of the popular sayings at Monroe during his imprisonment was the one started at Toledo which referred to their despoiling his garden there, it being in the form of the toast 'Here's to Major Stickney's potatoes and onions — we drafted their tops and their bottoms volunteered.' Governor Lucas called a special session of the Legislature for June 8th, 1835. In his message he wrote regarding this contention as follows:

> The honor and faith of the State is pledged in the most solemn manner to protect these people [of Toledo] in their rights, and to defend them against all outrages. They claim to be citizens of Ohio. The Legislature by a solemn act has declared them to be such, and has required them to obey the laws of Ohio which as good citizens they have done ; and for which they have been persecuted, prosecuted, assaulted, arrested, abducted and imprisoned. Some of them have been driven from their homes in dread and terror, while others are menaced by the authorities of Michigan. These things have been all done within the constitutional boundaries of the State of Ohio, where our laws have been directed to be enforced. Are we not under as great obligation to command respect and obedience to our laws adjoining our northern boundaries as in any other part of the State? Are not the inhabitants of Port Lawrence [Toledo] by the Maumee as much entitled to our protection as the citizens of Cincinnati by the Ohio River? . . .

An Act to further protect the citizens of Ohio was then passed for the counteraction of the enactments of Michigan. Arrangements were also completed for the organization of Lucas County, to include the northern part and all west of the Maumee River of the former Wood County. A Common Pleas Court was also ordered for session September 7th in Toledo the provisional seat of justice; all of which was duly proclaimed by Governor Lucas.

The Sheriff of Monroe County, Michigan, again visited Toledo in the evening of 18th July with a posse of about two hundred and fifty armed men and made seven or eight arrests chiefly for individual grievances. This Michigan posse committed several overt acts, among them being damage to the *Gazette and Herald* newspaper office. Public sentiment in Michigan was kept as belligerent as possible; and it was determined to prevent the holding of the proclaimed Ohio Court. For this purpose the Detroit Militia arrived at Monroe the evening of September 5th, and with volunteers from Monroe and Lenawee Counties they rendezvoused near Toledo whence they marched into Toledo on the 6th in number variously estimated at from eight to twelve hundred, led by Governor Mason and General Brown. The President Judge and his Associates had assembled at the Village of Maumee ten miles distant with Colonel Van Fleet and one hundred soldiers sent by Governor Lucas for their protection; but wise peace counsels prevailed, and Ohio won the victory without shedding a drop of valiant Michigan blood. At one o'clock in the night the officers accompanied by the Colonel and twenty soldiers, started on horseback down the Maumee and went quietly to the schoolhouse by Washington Street where, about three o'clock, the Judges opened the Court, appointed a Clerk, three Commissioners for the new County of Lucas, transacted the other necessary business, and adjourned in due form. The Clerk's minutes, hastily written on loose sheets of paper, were deposited in his hat according to the custom of men in those days, and all present hastily started through the woods up the Maumee. In their haste the Clerk's hat was knocked from his head by coming in contact with the limb of a tree, and not a little apprehension was experienced until the scattered papers containing the invaluable minutes of the Court were found. All arrived safely at Maumee City, clearly outside the disputed territory but yet within Lucas County, where Michigan civil officers or troops dare not pursue. Here the first victory was quietly enjoyed, and plans matured for complete discomfiture of the enemy.

While addressing his soldiers, and such citizens of Toledo as desired to hear him, that day an order from Washington was handed to Governor Mason removing him from the office of chief executive of the Territory of Michigan. The Secretary, John S. Horner, became acting Governor. The time now came to the citizens of Michigan for second thought, which showed them the absurdity of their action. Like true Americans they took a wise view of the matter, and turned from the belligerent to the humorous treatment of the question as did the victors. The troops returned to Detroit on the steamboat *General Brady* the 10th September, 1835, the 22nd anniversary of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and they turned the day into as good a celebration of that event as possible, with witty references to their campaign.*

---

* Here are two stanzas that have been preserved of a 'war song' of the period that was afterward much enjoyed by both parties:

Old Lucas gave his order all for to hold a Court,
And Stevens Thomas Mason, he thought he'd have some sport.
He called upon the Wolverines, and asked them for to go
To meet this rebel Lucas, his Court to overthrow.

Our independent companies were ordered for the march,
Our officers were ready, all stiffened up with starch;
On nimble-footed coursers our officers did ride,
With each a pair of pistols and sword hung by his side.

The representative men of Michigan desired statehood for their Territory, and they were prone to believe that Ohio would defeat the admission unless there was reconciliation. All those in custody of Michigan authorities were released by order of Acting Governor Horner; he officially stating under date of 5th October, 1835, that 'In consequence of an anticipated change of Territorial to State Government on the first Monday of December next, the Executive lost all legal control over the ministerial and executive officers, the District Attorney James Q. Adams absolutely refusing to enter a *Nolle Prosequi* . . . The country was in a great state of excitement, and the officers of insubordination. *Salus populi suprema lex.*' . . The Ohio officials acted in like spirit, and the Grand Jury of Wood County reported no indictment when charges were adduced against Governor Mason and his officers. The survey and marking of the Harris Line was completed in November without opposition.

CITY OF TOLEDO, OHIO

Looking northwest 13th November, 1902, from Tower of the Nasby Building. Lucas County Court House in middle view. Young Men's Christian Association's unfinished Building at the left; and Masonic Temple now (1904) being built at trees this side of the Y. M. C. A. Building.

The United States Congress considered the boundary question early in the session of 1835-36, and there was some warm discussion regarding it. Governor Lucas, who was present, charged Louis Cass then Secretary of War with using his official influence in favor of Michigan, which Cass denied. The Senate Committee reported favorably to Ohio for the reason "That Congress had in the most solemn manner accepted her State Constitution, recognized it as made pursuant of lawful authority to make it conferred by an Act which reserved the right to annex to Ohio at any future period a country embracing the whole territory in dispute, and has by these means assented to the terms of the proviso, which is one of the essential features of the Constitution."

CITY OF TOLEDO, OHIO

Looking east 13th November, 1902, from Tower of the Nasby Building, down Madison Street. The flags in middle view are over the United States Custom House and Postoffice. First Congregational Church toward right. Glimpse of the Maumee River, and of the city beyond.

The records of Port Lawrence Township which had been kept by Michigan officials of Monroe County, were given over to the Ohio officials of Lucas County 11th July, 1836, in compliance with the decision of Congress. The proposition for Michigan to accept the Upper Peninsula in exchange for the strip of land between the Fulton and Harris Lines, was rejected in Michigan Convention in September, 1836. The politicians finally triumphed, however, in Convention held in Ann Arbor December 6, 1836; the Upper Peninsula was accepted, and without opposition Michigan was admitted to the Union as a State 26th January, 1837; and her Legislature appropriated $13,658.76 to pay the expenses incurred in the unwise and unsuccessful efforts to wrest from Ohio the triangular strip of territory between the Fulton and Harris Lines—see map *ante* page 309. The last events relating to this dispute were enacted in 1846 when the Ohio Legislature in February appropriated $300 for the payment of Major Benjamin F. Stickney for the damage his property sustained in Toledo, and for the time he passed in prison at Monroe; also an appropriation by the Michigan Legislature of fifty dollars and interest from 1836 to Lewis E. Bailey for a horse lost while in the service of the Territory with the militia at the time of the boundary dispute.

The great newspaper, the *Toledo Weekly Blade,* was founded in the year 1836. Toledo was incorporated as a City by the Legislature of Ohio in the winter of 1836; and at the election held 20th March, 1837, John Berden was chosen Mayor and George H. Rich City Clerk. The members of the City Council were: Northeast Ward, Junius Flagg, James S. Way, Elijah Porter; Southeast Ward, George B. Way, Stephen B. Comstock, Samuel R. Bradley. Treasurer J. Baron Davis; Attorney D. O. Morton; Fire Engineer Charles MacLean; Street Commissioner A. G. Hibbard; Marshall Calvin Comstock; Assessors Munson H. Daniels and Samuel Eddy.

The seat of government for Lucas County was removed from Maumee to Toledo in the year 1852. The population of this County has increased from 9382 in 1840 to 153,559 in 1900, notwithstanding the loss of territory for the organization of Fulton County. The greatest ratio of increase has been during the later years and in the City of Toledo—see *ante* page 5.

FULTON COUNTY, OHIO,

The last County organized in this Basin was formed 28th February, 1850, from Lucas, Henry, and Williams Counties. Its seat of justice, Wauseon, was platted in 1854. In 1860 it had a population of 378, and to 1870 it had increased to 1474. This village was named from an Ottawa chief who with his band often roamed along the creeks and over the beaches of the Glacial Lakes Whittlesey and Warren which are prominent in this County. The name Wauseon in the Ottawa speech signifies far off. The chief known by this name was a large and fair specimen of physical manhood, and quite intelligent withal. His three reputed half-brothers were also prominent in this County and along the Maumee River a few miles to the southeast. The name of the older one, Ottokee, is also perpetuated in the name of a village three miles north of Wauseon. He was six feet in height with weight of about two hundred pounds, and was called eloquent in speech according to the standard of some people of the present time, of the plane of these Aborigines, who think a speaker not worthy a hearing who is not very vehement in voice and gesture regardless of what is said. No-tin-no (the calm) and Wauseonka were the names of the other reputed half brothers of Wauseon. The last named was at one time the head chief of the Maumee Ottawas but on account of his later habits of dissipation he became worse than useless. The last of these Ottawas were removed to the Osage River in Kansas in the spring of

1838.* The first Common Pleas Court for Fulton County was held early in 1850 in the dwelling house of Robert A. Howard in Pike Township. The hamlet of Ottokee was soon thereafter chosen as the seat of government, and in 1851 a two-story frame Court House was built there. This house was used by the county officials until July 16, 1864, when it was destroyed by fire with most of the records. The Commissioners had a new Court House constructed of brick one story high, on the site of the house burned, with offices in a separate building. The Air Line division of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway having been put in operation meantime through Wauseon this village became a competitor for the seat of government. By legislative enactment an election was held in October, 1869, resulting in favor of Wauseon which village in January, 1870, paid to the Commissioners the required sum of $5000 which had been subscribed for use in the construction of county buildings. The present brick Court House was contracted for, and was completed early in 1872 at a cost of near $46,000. The jail at Ottokee continued to be used until the completion in Wauseon of the present jail and Sheriff's residence.

The area of Fulton County embraces about four hundred and twenty square miles, no part of which is 'waste land.'

CHAPTER XV.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION — PUBLIC LANDS — SCHOOLS — LIBRARIES.

The first regular United States Mail route to the Maumee River Basin, other than by military couriers, was by way of Cleveland in 1802, Horace Gunn being the carrier. Mails had been carried before this date through the Basin to its military posts and to Detroit, but not regularly, nor did regularity long continue from this time. In the year 1809 Benoni Adams was the mail carrier. The water courses gave him much trouble, he generally being obliged to make a raft on which to cross them. Much of the journey was often made afoot, tediously picking his lonely way through the swampy forest. Fortunately for him the mail was not heavy. His route extended from Lower Sandusky (now Fremont) to Monroe, and two weeks time was generally required to make the journey and return. The Collector of the Port of Miami of the Maumee River, Amos Spafford, was the first acting Postmaster so far as determined; his commission as 'Deputy Post Master of Miami in

---

* See mention of prehistoric mounds in Pike Township *ante*, page 60. Also Colonel Dresden W. H. Howard's communication to Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, vol. ii, page 664.

Erie District State of Ohio' bearing date 9th June, 1810, was signed by Gideon Granger Post Master General. Previous to these dates, and later during the wars and the hostilities of the savages, the mails were carried with the army dispatches when carried at all.

In the year 1816 Almon Gibbs was in charge of the Miami Postoffice the receipts at which in that year amounted to $14.28. The military postoffice at Fort Meigs was discontinued after the removal of the garrison to Detroit in May, 1815, and letters afterward directed to settlers at Fort Meigs were delivered at the Miami office until a postoffice was established at Perrysburg 28th January, 1823, with Thomas R. M'Knight master. An office was opened at Maumee in February, 1824.

The influx of settlers that incited the division of the Basin into Counties in 1820, also stimulated the general Government to organize additional mail facilities. In 1821-22 a route was established from the Village of Maumee through Defiance to Fort Wayne, and thence by St. Marys to Piqua. The carrier, Thomas Driver, made the round journey every two weeks on horseback with a small mail bag, which was sometimes empty.

Fort Defiance was the name of the postoffice at the junction of the Auglaise River with the Maumee until 10th March, 1824, when the word Fort was dropped. Timothy S. Smith was the first postmaster here; and his residence on the north bank of the Maumee served for the office until a postoffice building of logs, 10x12 feet ground size and one story high, was completed in the autumn of 1822 on the south side of the Maumee by the Jefferson Street Ford and Ferry.

The first postmaster at Fort Wayne was Judge Samuel Hanna who kept the office in his store by Columbia Street. The Chicago mail was often sent this way, a Mr. Bird of Fort Wayne for a time carrying it afoot. The route along the Maumee River soon developed to daily service. One William Daggett, son of William King Daggett of Middlebury, Vermont, came to Ohio in 1834 and was one of the mail carriers on this route in 1836, then driving four horses hitched to a large wagon bearing two cross planks as seats for passengers.

September 29, 1838, the first postoffice was established at Hicksville, the first off the main line in the middle part of the Basin, and Alfred P. Edgerton served as its first postmaster. The mail was carried thither by David Landis from the Cranesville Postoffice on the main line at the embryo Village of New Rochester, Paulding County, one mile north of the present Cecil.

The first regular mail along the Hull Road was carried by Joseph Gordon, beginning 7th February, 1823, from Perrysburg on the main eastern line to Bellefontaine, Logan County, eighty-one miles. Fort

Findlay was then the only intervening postoffice. The word Fort was dropped from the name of this office about the year 1824. At first this mail was carried once every three weeks. The period was later shortened to a weekly mail and, 1st January, 1840, to semi-weekly.

Vehicles for carrying the mails, and passengers, began to be used through Ohio to Detroit in 1827. Late in 1830 provisions were made for a daily line of stage coaches between Buffalo and Detroit. The first coach crossed the Maumee River near Perrysburg the 2nd January, 1831, and passed the postoffices at Maumee, Miami, and the settlement of Calvin Tremain a storekeeper from Vermont. Tremain was postmaster at this point, which was called Tremainville. It was within the northwestern limits of the present City of Toledo, and the postoffice at the embryo Toledo (Port Lawrence) was served three times a week by Tremain until the road along the left bank of the Maumee River was opened, or until 3rd March, 1835, when the mail route was changed to the river road through Toledo, which office then supplied the Tremainville office, and through Manhattan the site of which is now within the northern part of the City of Toledo.

With the completion of the Miami and Erie and Wabash and Erie Canals, and the establishment of lines of Packet Boats in 1843-44, the use of Stage Coaches along these lines ceased, the mails as well as passengers being transported by boats. The development from canal packets to steam cars was welcomed but a few years later.

In the year 1836 it required thirteen days and nights to transmit mail from Perrysburg to New York City. In 1843 the time was reduced to eight days and nights. At this writing the time is less than twenty-four hours.

The postage rates have been as follows: February 20, 1792, for thirty miles or less six cents; thirty to sixty miles 8 cents; 60 to 100 miles 10 cents; 100 to 150, 12½; 150 to 200, 15; 200 to 250, 17; 250 to 350, 20; 350 to 450, 21; over 450 miles 25 cents. March 2, 1799, to 40 miles 8 cents; 40 to 90, 10; 90 to 150, 12½; 150 to 300, 17; 350 to 500, 25. April 9, 1816, to 30 miles 6 cents; 30 to 80, 10; 80 to 150, 12½; 150 to 400, 18¾; over 400 miles 25 cents. March 3, 1845, to 300 miles 5 cents; over 300 miles 10 cents. March 3, 1851, to any distance in the United States under 3000 miles three cents. October 1, 1883, the postage on ordinary letters was reduced to two cents.

Envelopes for letters were first used in 1839, but they did not come into general use for fifteen to twenty years later; the letter or large sheet being folded, tucked in, and sealed with wax. Postage Stamps soon followed the law for their use of 3rd March, 1847. Those of five and ten cents were the first denominations; and they served quite general use also as fractional currency.

The Registering of mail matter went into operation 3rd March, 1855; and Domestic Postal Money Orders were first issued in 1864. The Foreign Orders followed, first on Switzerland in 1869; England 1871; Germany 1872; Canada 1875; Italy 1877. Postal Cards were first used in the spring of 1873.

The contract for the first Telegraph Line through this Basin, to connect Buffalo and Milwaukee across the lower Maumee, was let in the fall of 1846, and the Line was used in part the next year. The Telephone followed in the year 1878.

The early Postoffices in the Maumee River Basin, with the net amount of their receipts in the years 1827, 1828, and 1830, have been gathered from the *American State Papers* Volume XV, as follows:

Name, and Present County.	1827	1828	1830
Adrian, Lenawee County, Michigan,			$ 58.57
Amanda, Auglaise County, Ohio,		$ .73	
Defiance, Defiance Couuty, Ohio,	$ 28.54	32.83	40.76
Findlay, Hancock County, Ohio,	5.03	8.14	25.84
Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana,	123.43	158.26	166.55
Maumee, Lucas County, Ohio,	50.78	51.69	58.91
Miami, Lucas County, Ohio,	19.11	18.21	23.88
Perrysburg, Wood County, Ohio,	46.99	57.95	60.00
Port Lawrence, Lucas County, Ohio,	18.06	15.84	20.26
St. Marys, Auglaise County, Ohio,	12.38		
Shane Crossing, Mercer County, Ohio,	10.63	12.83	13.92
Wapakoneta, Auglaise County, Ohio,			6.35
Waterville, Lucas County, Ohio,			5.76
Waterloo, DeKalb County, Indiana,	5.05	6.23	8.87
Willshire, Van Wert County, Ohio,	2.64	4.38	1.16

The Toledo Postoffice, the successor of Port Lawrence, received during the year ending 31st March, 1903, the sum of $459,368.98 it being over twenty-one per cent increase of the receipts of 1902. During February 1904 the receipts were $38,418 being an increase of $2220 over February, 1903.

United States Custom Houses.

The first United States Port for the collection of Import and Export Duties in this Basin was at Miami, the northeasterly part of the present Village of Maumee, Lucas County. The Act of Congress to establish the Customs District of Miami was passed March 3, 1805, but some length of time elapsed before the office was opened here, the office at Sandusky, the original port in Ohio as a subdivision of the District of Erie, continuing to make what few collections were necessary and possible.

Amos Spafford was Collector of the Port of Miami in 1810. His report to the Government for the three months ending 30th June, 1810, shows the exports to have been of but two classes of articles, named and valued as follows: Skins and Furs $5,610.85; 20 Gallons Bears' Oil $30. He was obliged to leave the Port to the British and savages at the time of the departure of the other Americans after the surrender of Detroit by General Hull. He returned, however, after the building of Fort Meigs, or near the close of the War of 1812, as his report shows that his salary for 1814 was $2.50; office rent $10; fuel and stationery $15.75. No affidavit was affixed to this report, but the following explanatory statement instead, viz: 'There being no officer legally authorized to administer oaths nearer than sixty or seventy miles, I have not been able to attend to that part of the duty as the law requires.' The writer has been unable to determine the date of the discontinuance of this office at Miami.

There was a Custom House at Port Lawrence, within the present Toledo City limits, in the year 1832 and possibly before, William Wilson being then the Collector of this Port. The collections at the Port of Toledo have since increased to large amounts, particularly since the change of the law permitting the receipt of goods in bond from the Atlantic and other seaports.

The Development of Public Roads.

Good Roads are developed by two great forces—civilization and wealth. The first settlers in the Maumee River Basin possessed the full average for their class and time of the former requisite, but their means for the expensive work of making good roads through this 'Black Swamp' region were very limited. The beginnings and the development of this important work is a good part of the story of the remarkable development of this Basin.

The States, the General Government, and the early settlers, each and all gave early consideration to the necessity of connecting settlements and markets by public highways. The Enabling Act providing for the admission of Indiana into the Union, granted to the State three per centum of the net proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands to 'be reserved for making public roads and canals' under the direction of the Legislature.* All parts of this western country received the like governmental benefaction. The receipts were very small for the needs, and much delay and misdirection of effort attended all movements.

The General Assembly of Ohio resolved February 22, 1820, that the Ohio Senators and Representatives in the United States Congress be requested to use their influence to have expended for its proposed use the sum of six thousand dollars which sum was appropriated by Congress 12th December, 1811, for defraying the expenses of exploring, surveying, and opening the road provided for in the Treaty of Brownstown 25th November, 1808 (see *ante* page 256) from the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake (the Maumee) to the western line of the Connecticut Reserve, and south from Lower Sandusky to the Treaty Boundary Line. Upon investigation it was found that this fund had been expended during the War of 1812 for other purposes.

---

* *Acts of Congress,* Section VI Clause 3, April 19, 1816.

At the May, 1820, meeting of the Commissioners of Wood County, Ohio, Seneca Allen Auditor was allowed one dollar for publishing in *The Columbus Gazette* the rates of tax on land for road purposes. June 30, 1820, James Carlin, Ephraim L. Leaming and Norman L. Freeman were appointed by the Commisioners Viewers of a State Road from Fort Meigs by Fort Findlay to Bellefontaine, a section of which now forms the Main Street in Bowling Green. In February, 1821, the Commissioners viewed personally the State and other roads, declared the contracts for their making completed, and settled with all persons, Thomas M'Ilrath, Francis Charter and Isaac Richardson being the principal contractors. A Legislative Act of February 2, 1821, provided for a State Road from Fort Meigs to Wapakoneta, and the 21st November John Johnson of Miami County and Samuel Marshall of Shelby submitted the Plat and Field Notes. Such plats and notes were copied into a blank book which is yet kept subject to the inspection of every citizen. The lines of these first surveys often varied that the road might be made along the most convenient or practicable way, in crossing streams and marshy places particularly. In later years they have been much straightened other than in the occasional places where not practicable to place the road along Land Section lines. October 28, 1822, there were certified to the Commissioners the Field Notes and Plat of a State Road from the Village of Maumee up the north side of the Maumee River, along the Military Road to Defiance, thence across the Maumee at Wayne Street to Second Street and 'up the west side of the Auglaise River eight miles, thence up the north bank of Crooked Creek [Flat Rock] to the Indiana State Line in the direction of Fort Wayne'—distance seventy-seven miles and sixty-three chains. At their meeting in June, 1823, James H. Slawson presented a petition asking the appointment of viewers to examine and lay out a County Road commencing at the River in front of Tract No. 28 of the United States Reserve of twelve miles square at the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake [Maumee River] in said County; thence on as direct line as the nature of the ground would admit to the sawing mill of Leaming and Stewart on Swan Creek.

Meantime the State of Ohio was authorized by Congress, 28th

February, 1823, to lay out, open, and construct a road from the Lower Rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie [Maumee River] to the western boundary of the Connecticut Western Reserve, in such manner as the Legislature of said State may by law provide with the approbation of the President of the United States, said road to forever remain a public highway. To aid the State in this work the one hundred and twenty feet wide for roadway and one mile in width on each side adjoining according to the Treaty of Brownstown, were given to the State with power to sell and convey all land not needed for the road at not less than $1.25 per acre. The proceeds were to be applied to making the road and if in excess it was to be applied to keeping the road in repair. This land was to be bounded by Section lines as run by the United States Surveyors. The road was to be made within four years of the passage of the Act, from the ford near the foot of the lowest rapids of the Maumee east to Fremont and to the Western Reserve. Congress also authorized the President 26th May, 1824, to appoint three commissioners to explore, survey, and mark 'in the most eligible course' a road to connect the last named road with Detroit. The President 'was authorized to employ the troops of the United States to make or assist in making said road' and the Act also appropriated $20,000 for the work. May 19, 1828, Congress further appropriated $5900 to complete the Maumee-Detroit Road.

Among the first acts of the Commissioners of other counties beside Wood as before mentioned, were those relating to roads, viz: In Allen County, Indiana, 22nd October, 1824, notice of the location of a State Road from Vernon in Jennings County, by way of Greensburg, Rushville, and New Castle, to Fort Wayne; those of Williams County, Ohio, 6th December, 1824, authorized the opening of a County Road on the north side of the Maumee River from the Ford at Jefferson Street, Defiance, to the east line of Henry County, or the Grand Rapids. This, however, appears to be along the line of the proposed State Road of 1822. They also ordered opened 7th March, 1825, a County Road from the east line of Henry County up the south side of the Maumee River to Defiance; also 19th June, 1827, a County Road from Defiance along the General Wayne Military Road up the north side of the Maumee to the Indiana State Line. The Commissioners of Williams County, then governing the present Counties of Defiance, Henry, Paulding and Putnam, ordered June 6, 1826, that the three per centum fund on net receipts for the sales of United States Land, allowed by Congress for road improvement, be applied to the building of bridges and crossings in Williams and the other Counties attached to it. The Commissioners of Hancock County provided September 16, 1829, for what is now called the Findlay and Vanlue Road.

About the year 1827 a State Road was surveyed and opened from Upper Sandusky to Findlay, and by way of the north side of the Blanchard River to the present Ottawa, Putnam County, thence straightening the Aborigine Trail to form the present Defiance-Ottawa Road, a total distance of seventy-seven miles.

In 1827 the first road was laid out by Michigan authorities in Port Lawrence Township, which then included the present Toledo and about half of the present Lucas County. The last official act of the Michigan officers of Port Lawrence Township, before surrendering to the Ohio officials in 1835, was the laying out of a road from Tremainville to Toledo, three miles and twenty-three chains in length, which road has developed into the present Cherry Street, Toledo. This road connected with the road then recently opened along the river from Vistula and Port Lawrence to Fort Miami, and which was about this time extended from Vistula to the Village of Manhattan at the mouth of the Maumee River, by whose citizens it was continued northward to the Harris Line, there connecting with the National Road to Detroit before noted.

The 5th December, 1831, the Survey and Plat were certified to of a State Road from Bellefontaine, Logan County, through Lima, Allen County, the present Kalida, Putnam County, crossing the Auglaise River above the mouth of the Blanchard and thence down the west side of the Auglaise to Defiance; thence across the Maumee and in a northwesterly direction across the Tiffin River at the present Brunersburg, and on through Ney and crossing the River St. Joseph three miles above Edgerton, Williams County, and on the same course to the Indiana State Line, a distance of one hundred and eighteen miles. This road was later extended through Steuben County, Indiana, to Pleasant Lake.

A County Road was certified in June, 1832, from Defiance up the Tiffin River to the Michigan State Line, a distance of twenty-seven miles and thirty-nine chains. In November, 1832, a State Road Survey was certified, extending from Defiance eastward along the south side of the Maumee River a few miles and then across country to the present Fremont, Sandusky County, sixty-six miles. Also, 15th January, 1834, a State Road from Defiance southeast, through the present Ayresville and along the Defiance Moraine (South Ridge) through the northeast part of Putnam County and the northwest part of Hancock to Tiffin, sixty-six miles. This road is in line, diagonally across the Townships, with the Bellefontaine Road northwest of Defiance, and it has erroneously been called the Bellefontaine Road.

All of these roads remain most important thoroughfares. They have been varied somewhat from their original courses, but they were generally wisely located; and the numerous later roads that have been made intersecting and connecting with them, have but added to their importance.

The streams were forded at the most convenient shallow places. On the more prominent lines of travel primitive ferry boats were in use, particularly in high stages of water. The first licensed ferry boat at Defiance was in use in April, 1824, across the Maumee and Auglaise Rivers, see *ante* page 528. The first bridge across the Auglaise here was built at Hopkins Street in 1853, and the ferry continued in use at this point until this date. The first bridge across the Maumee at Defiance was a toll bridge built in 1836 at Clinton Street by Sidney S. Sprague and other enterprising citizens. The piers and abutments were of timber insecurely anchored, and they were carried away by the high water after two or three years. Other succeeding bridges at the same place were destroyed in the same way, as was a toll bridge across the Tiffin River at Brunersburg, built between the years 1838, 1840 by Samuel A. Sargent and Gilman C. Mudgett.

In particularly marshy places in these public roads, teams and wagons were kept from miring by sections of small trees laid across the roadway, often several layers deep. Such corduroy construction, though at best hard to travel over, was the only means at hand until the opening of ditches and the procuring of a smoother hard surface, which required many years of labor in preparation.

The first toll road in the middle Maumee region was made by Alfred P. Edgerton for the Hicks Land Company by Act of the Ohio Legislature of 15th January, 1845, to connect Hicksville, Defiance County, with the Wabash and Erie Canal at the present Antwerp, Paulding County, the Maumee River being forded in low stages of water and ferried in higher stages. This road was transferred to the Commissioners of these counties by Mr. Edgerton in 1864 with the only condition that they keep it in repair.

The era of Turnpike Roads began also in Wood County about the year 1845. March 10th the Commissioners effected the purchase from the Perrysburg, Findlay and Kenton Turnpike Company, recently organized, of the part of their line in Wood County for the sum of $252 expended for engineering and other payments, and their acceptance of the contracts made. These turnpikes were made by turning and throwing the mud from the sides into the middle of the road. The ditches thus formed on each side were generally too shallow to drain the road and it continued impassable much of the time in wet seasons. February 3, 1849, the Perrysburg and Findlay Plank Road Company was chartered by W. H. Hopkins, Collister Haskins, Schuyler N. Beach, E. D. Peck, George Powers, Joseph Sargent, Willard V. Way and others. Perrysburg Township subscribed $5000 and Plain Township voted $2000. Two steam sawing mills were built between Perrysburg and Bowling Green, and about the year 1853 the laying of plank was completed along the roadway between these villages, and tollgates established.

Sidewalks were not provided for by town enactment until the year 1840 at Defiance; and on account of the plenitude of forest products, they were rough wood affairs which but few of the towns have yet outgrown. Nothing was done in the central part of the Basin to place a hard, smooth covering on a public road until the years 1849, 1850, when there was formed at Defiance and the two-mile distant competing town of Brunersburg, a company composed principally of Brice Hilton, William D. Haymaker, Edwin Phelps, H. R. Major, John Tuttle, and probably a few others, who placed oak plank, cut at the Hilton sawing mill in Brunersburg, along the Bellefontaine Road from the Maumee River at Defiance northwest for a distance of about five miles. Two tollgates, with cottages for the keepers' families, were built by this road, one at one mile and the other at four miles from Defiance. This road was also extended southeast five miles to Ayresville with one tollgate. The demand for tolls became very unpopular, particularly after the first wet season when the plank became displaced and were not well looked after. Tolls were insisted upon, however, until the debts of the Company were paid and then after a few years the company abandoned the road, losing all the efforts and money invested; and leaving the way in worse condition than it was before the plank were laid. The company efforts with Plank Roads in other parts of the Basin resulted similarly. The most extensive of these efforts centered at Fort Wayne, being stimulated, as at Defiance, by the increasing amount of farm products hauled thither for canal shipment. The longest of these early road improvements, with plank laid over the worst parts, led from Sturgis, Michigan, to Fort Wayne, a distance of about sixty miles.

Beginning with the years 1872-73, the writer, who was driving, and on horseback, through the country in all directions, contributed a series of articles to the *Defiance Express* newspaper on the best methods for permanent road improvement, the advantages to be derived therefrom, and the convenient locations of gravel and stone for such improvement. He then obtained the signatures of the property owners along the business part of Clinton Street, Defiance, petitioning the Common Council to improve this very miry thoroughfare; but such proposition was then considered chimerical by this body the members of which made little use of the roads, and no favorable action was taken. The agitation bore fruit, however, and after the election of other men the street was macadamized, being completed early in December, 1877. Ferry Street was macadamized in part in the year 1878. The County

Commissioners now acted under improved road laws and in 1880 six roads radiating from the Court House of Defiance County, were being thus improved. The era of road improvement by gravel then began; and the improvement throughout the County by both gravel and stone has since been encouraging in degree; and such is now the case in many parts of the Basin.

THE UNITED STATES LANDS.

The extinction of nearly all the claims of the Aborigines to lands in this Basin by the United States Treaties and purchase, given in Chapter XII, was followed by the survey and marking of these lands into Townships and Sections. This system of survey is the perfection of the plan of Thomas Hutchins Geographer of the United States who began the more eastern survey in 1786. It deserves consideration as the simplest and best system of land survey for record yet devised. The necessary starting points are a Base Line and a Principal Meridian. Three each of these lines are in principal use in this Basin.

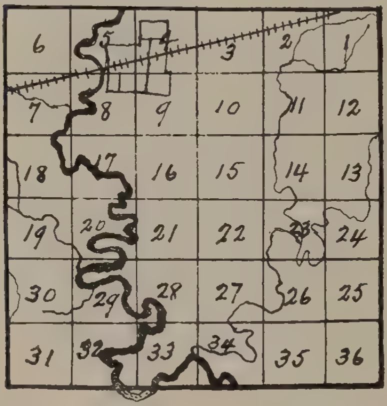
ROCK QUARRY AND CRUSHER FOR ROAD IMPROVEMENT

Of Corniferous Limestone in the Northwest Quarter of Section Nine, Defiance Township. Looking northeast 21st November, 1902. Auglaise River at the left.

In the Ohio Survey the 41st Parallel of Latitude, the line dividing Paulding and Van Wert Counties, was surveyed as the Base Line in May, 1819, by Sylvanus Bourne. The Land Townships are numbered north and south of this line, every six miles forming a full Township. The west boundary line of the State of Ohio was taken as the Principal Meridian and the Ranges number east from this line, every six miles of Land Sections forming a Range. An irregularity occurs along the lower Maumee River on account of the want of line accord with the previous Survey (in 1816) of the Greenville Treaty Reservations of 1795; and in central southernmost part of the Basin with want of accord with the Virginia Military Survey.

For Michigan the Base Line is about Latitude 42° 20′; and the Principal Meridian about Longitude 7° 19′ west from Washington it being the dividing line between Hillsdale County and Lenawee, making the Ranges in the former West, and in the latter East; the Townships in both these Counties being south of the Base Line. The Michigan Survey did not stop at the Ohio boundary line, the Harris Line(see *ante* pages 567-8) but extended about five and one half miles south of it at the northwestern corner of Ohio, and thence along the Fulton Line due east, it being about eight miles south of North Cape in Maumee Bay the location of the north Ohio State Line.

Indiana and Illinois have the same Base Line, well toward the southern part of these States, near Bellevue. All of the Indiana Land Townships in this Basin are, consequently, North, the most northern one being number Thirty-eight. The Indiana Principal Meridian is west of the central part of the State near Labanon or 9° 30′ west of Washington; hence all the Indiana Ranges in this Basin are East—see Township Map.



Springfield Civil Township, and Land Township No. Six North, Range No. Four East, Williams County, Ohio. Showing the system of numbering the Land Sections, each one mile square; and the Meander of the Tiffin River and its tributaries.

The Base and Meridian Lines here were surveyed in the years 1819-20; and several following years were necessaryto survey and mark the Township and Section Lines. Each complete Land Township is as near six miles square as the converging meridians admit, and such square is surveyed into thirty-six Sections beginning at the northeast corner and numbering from right to left, then numbering the next lower tier of Sections continuously from left to right, and continuing this forth and back numbering to Section Thirty-six which is the southeast Section of the Township—see accompanying plat. Sections are divided into quarters of one hundred and sixty acres each, which quarters are readily subdivided with simple description into any fraction desired.

While many Land and Civil Townships correspond in size, there are several reasons why all do not. The irregular size and form of some Counties often deform the Civil Townships; the irregularity of many of the United States and Aborigine Reservations that extended along rivers deform some Land Townships; and abutting surveys making fractional Sections necessary; these in the Indiana Survey at the Ohio State Line and the Michigan Survey at the Ohio and Fulton Lines which could not come even, are the principal causes for variance. Lucas County, Ohio, exhibits the greatest irregularity.

The United States established several offices for the sale of the Public Lands as soon as their survey was sufficiently advanced. The first office for northwestern Ohio was established at Piqua in 1819 or 1820. Then followed one at Fort Wayne for northern Indiana; and one at Monroe in 1823 for Michigan. An office was later established at Wapakoneta; and this was moved to Lima in the winter of 1834-35. In the year 1848 this office was removed to Defiance where it remained for several years until the United States Lands were sold, when it was removed to Chillicothe.*

February 2, 1821, it was estimated that there were 13,824,000 acres of Public (United States) Land in the State of Ohio of which 12,642,000 acres were surveyed; and in Indiana 21,565,440 acres of which 9,926,020 acres were surveyed. These estimates were 'from calculations from printed maps, and cannot be relied on for accuracy' was the report of the General Land Office at Washington.

The early laws provided that Section Sixteen in every Land Township should be set aside for the benefit of Public Schools according to the Ordinance of 1787. Congress passed an Act February 1, 1826, enabling Ohio to sell School Lands, with consent of the people resident in the Township, and with the receipts to establish a permanent fund the interest of which could be applied to school use.

THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The Ordinance of the United States Congress 13th July, 1787—the Magna Charta of the five States formed from the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, which everyone should read—proclaims in Article III that religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The Constitution adopted 29th November, 1802, for the organization of Ohio, provided in Article VIII, Section 25, that no law shall be passed to prevent the poor in the several Counties and Townships within this State from an equal participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and universities within this State which are endowed, in whole or in part, from the revenue arising from donations made by the United States for the support of schools and colleges. These provisions are repeated, and fortified, in the Constitution as amended 10th March, 1851.

---

* For account of Land Offices for the sale of Ohio State Lands, see *ante* page 539.

There being no public school fund, a private school was maintained by the settlers at Miami, about two miles below the foot of the lowest rapids of the Maumee, previous to the War of 1812. Soon after the close of this war there was opened a private school in the vicinity of Fort Meigs. And wherever a settlement was started, a school teacher soon appeared.

The General Assembly of Ohio enacted a law 22nd January, 1821, requiring the favorable vote of the majority of the electors of a Township for the organization of a school, and that the district wherein the school was organized must contain at least twelve householders. It is doubtful if any settlement in the central part of the Maumee River Basin at this date could have organized a school under this law. Schools were maintained, however, and in a few instances schoolhouses were built, by private contributions of labor and money.

The first school at Defiance was organized in 1824 in a house that was typically primitive in every respect. By union effort a building about 20x28 feet in size was built of logs on the fractional lot at the northwest corner of Perry and First Streets, facing eastward. As in the Early Home in the Wilderness pictured on page 513, oiled paper was used in the windows instead of glass. The fire was kept against a large backlog in an enormous chimney fireplace. The seats were first of puncheons, and later some of slabs cut by the Brunersburg sawing mill which were thought superior to those hewn with an axe. They were supported on the rough puncheon floor by four spreading legs stuck into augur holes on their under surface. The feet of the smaller children could not touch the floor when they were seated, and there were no backs to the seats. Planks declining from the side walls above the benches were used for writing exercises by the larger pupils. William Semans was the first teacher. For several years only a private school could be had. The tuition fees were generally named at two dollars for each pupil per quarter, the teacher being obliged to gather the pupils as best he could, and also to act as collector of tuition fees.

The first public school house in Fort Wayne was a one-story brick building constructed in 1825, which building also served, like all early schoolhouses and many later ones, for meetings political, masonic, town, and religious. John P. Hedges was the first teacher; and he had the room plastered in the winter of 1826 at his individual expense, Findlay's first schoolhouse was as primitive in material and construction, and somewhat smaller than the one at Defiance. The first teacher there was John C. Wickham. The above named are types.

The changes in material surroundings since this meager beginning, through a series of three or four successive buildings to the present new, commodious, and elegantly appointed structures which generally abound, have been great. Many improvements have been made, also, in the school law, and in some places in the modes of imparting instruction. There is yet, however, lamentable want of a State supervising body to bring all the teaching bodies to definite and uniform requirements; to put a stop to bickerings, and to get them away from the present easy discipline or want of discipline, and from the general deference to the intolerant spirit of anything savoring of reverence and of tasks. In comparison with the former eastern school in the higher grades some of the present school days—in which the minds of the pupils are full of the affairs of the sporting field, of night parties and receptions, and of everything but discipline through required tasks by wholesome application; when schools of some towns are generally dismissed for the day whenever a circus or anything of an exciting or sporting character comes to town—appear elusive, delusive, and damaging; even defeating the true object of education or the forming of sterling character by teaching the young to overcome obstacles, to see aright, to observe, and to develop wholesome thought; to endure all things, to feel more dispassionately and reverently, and to act wisely in all things.

The number of academies, seminaries, schools of music, bookkeeping, etc., that have been opened, and closed, in this Basin has been large. Every smaller county has had one or more, and the more populous centers have had, and yet have, several of varying aims and grades. And yet many of the young people desiring advanced studies have been sent to older parts of the State, or eastward.

The Fort Wayne Female College was advertised in the *Defiance Democrat* September 23, 1847, by Samuel Brenton, Secretary. A. C. Huestes, A. M., was Acting President, assisted in teaching by Misses Abigail Kies and Elizabeth F. Irving. There were Juvenile, Preparatory, and Collegiate, Departments, giving instruction in languages and 'Music on the Piano or Seraphim, Drawing and Painting, Wax Flowers, Plain and Ornamental Needle Work.' This school was under the patronage of the North Indiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its plan was changed a few years later to include pupils of both sexes and the name changed to that of Fort Wayne College; but not meeting with the desired success it was removed to Upland, Indiana, some years ago as the nucleus of Taylor University.

In the early history of Mercer County, Ohio, there was a combination of efforts to found a colony of and an educational institution for colored people. These efforts were attended with apparent success for some length of time to be finally defeated in pathetic manner. Augustus Wattles, a native of Connecticut who was a prime mover in this work, wrote to Henry Howe as follows:*

> My early education as you well know would naturally lead me to look upon learning and good morals as of infinite importance in a land of liberty. In the winter of 1833-34 I providentially became acquainted with the colored population of Cincinnati, and found about 4000 totally ignorant of everything calculated to make good citizens. Most of them had been slaves, shut out from every avenue of moral and mental improvement. I started a school for them and kept it up with two hundred pupils for two years. I then proposed to the colored people to move into the country and purchase land, and remove from these contaminating influences which had so long crushed them in our cities and villages. They promised to do so provided I would accompany them and teach school. I travelled through Canada, Michigan and Indiana, looking for a suitable location, and finally settled here [in the present Marion Township, Mercer County, Ohio] thinking this place contained more natural advantages than any other unoccupied country within my knowledge. In 1835 I made the first purchase for colored people in this County. In about three years they owned not far from 30.000 acres. I had travelled into almost every neighborhood of colored people in the State and laid before them the benefits of a permanent home for themselves and of education for their children. In my first journey through the State I established, by the assistance and coöperation of abolitionists, twenty-five schools for colored children. I collected from the colored people such money as they had to spare and entered land for them. Many who had no money then, succeeded in raising some and brought it to me. With this I bought land for them.
>
> I purchased for myself one hundred and ninety acres of land to establish a manual labor school for colored boys. I had sustained a school on it at my own expense till the 11th November, 1842. While in Philadelphia the winter before, I became acquainted with the trustees of the late Samuel Emlen of New Jersey, a Friend [Quaker]. He left by his will $20,000 for the 'support and education in school learning and the mechanic arts and agriculture such colored boys, of African and Aborigine descent, whose parents would give them up to the Institute.' We united our means, and they purchased my farm and appointed me the superintendent of the establishment, which they called the Emlen Institute. . .

A large two-story brick house was built as a nucleus for the home and school for these boys. In 1846 Judge Leigh of Virginia purchased five sections of land, 3200 acres, in this settlement for the freed slaves of John Randolph of Roanoke. They arrived in Mercer County in the summer of 1846 to the number of about four hundred, and were by many of the white settlers of the County forcibly prevented from making settlement. Hostilities were commenced and continued against those already settled there, with many threats of violence if they did not abandon their homes and lands. While this opposition did not drive away all of the negroes it, and the death of the promoters, destroyed Emlen Institute. A letter to the writer from Thomas J. Godfrey an

---

* *Historical Collections of Ohio* Centennial Edition, volume ii page 241.

LIST OF THE MORE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS NOW EXISTING IN AND ADJACENT TO THE MAUMEE RIVER BASIN OTHER THAN THE PUBLIC AND THE COMMON PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

	LOCATION	NAME	FOUNDED	CONTROL	VOLUMES IN LIBRARY	BRANCHES TAUGHT	DEGREES CONFERRED	SEX OF PUPILS	
1	Ada, Ohio	Ohio Northern University*	1871	M. E. Church	6,000	Business, Art, Music, Oratory, Chemistry, Pharmacy, Civil and Electrical Engineering, Pedagogy, Preparatory, College, Law	Phar. C., Phar. G., B. Pd., B. L., B. Ph., B. S., B. A., LL. B.	Both	1
2	Adrian, Michigan	Adrian College	1859	Meth. P. Ch.	6,000	Bus., Art, Ped'y, Prep., College, Theological	B. Pd., B. L., B. Ph., B. S., B. A.	Both	2
3	Angola, Indiana	Tri-State Normal College	1884	Individual	Ref'nce	Bus., Art, Music, Oratory, Chemistry, Phar., Engineering, Ped'y, Prep., College, Law.	Phar. G., B. Pd., B. Ph., B. L., B. S., B. A., LL. B.	Both	3
4	Carthagena, Ohio	St. Charles Seminary	1863	Rom. Cath.	Ref'nce	Preparatory and Theological	......	Male	4
5	CrawfisCollege, Ohio	Crawfis College (*ante* page 595)	1889	Tp. Trustees	Ref'nce	Common and Secondary	......	Both	5
6	Defiance, Ohio	Defiance College	1885	Chr'n Church	1,000	Bus. Art, Music, Ped'y, Prep., Col., Theolog'l	B. Pd., B. L., B. Ph., B. S., B. A.	Both	6
7	Fayette, Ohio	Fayette Normal University	1887	Individual	500	Business, Art, Music, Pedagogy, Prep., College	B. Pd., B. L., B. Ph., B. S., B. A.	Both	7
8	Findlay, Ohio	Findlay College	1886	Church of God	1,000	Bus., Art, Music, Ped'y, Prep., Col., Theolog'l	B. Pd., B. L., B. Ph., B. S., B. A.	Both	8
9	Fort Wayne, Indiana	Concordia College	1839	Lutheran	5,000	Preparatory and College	B. A.	Male	9
10	Fort Wayne, Indiana	St. Augustine Academy	....	Rom. Cath.	800	Common and Secondary	......	Both	10
11	Fort Wayne, Indiana	Fort Wayne College of Medicine†	1879	Individual	200	Medical and Surgical, four years	M. D.	Both	11
12	Fort Wayne, Indiana	Hope Hospital Training School for Nurses	1897	Medical	......	Nursing Sick and Injured, three years' course	......	Female	12
13	Hillsdale, Michigan	Hillsdale College	1875	Free Baptist	10,000	Bus., Art, Music, Ped'y, Prep., Col., Theolog'l	B. Pd., B. L., B. Ph., B. S., B. A.	Both	13
14	Lima, Ohio	Lima College‡	1893	Lutheran	1,000	Business, Art, Music, Preparatory, College	B. Pd., B. L., B. S., B. A.	Both	14
15	Toledo, Ohio	Manual Training School§	1875	Trustees	......	Secondary and Manual Training	......	Both	15
16	Toledo, Ohio	Toledo Normal School	1893	B'd of Educ'n	......	Pedagogy, two years' course from High School	......	Both	16
17	Toledo, Ohio	Ursuline Academy	....	Rom. Cath.	5,000	Elementary, Secondary, Art, Music	......	Female	17
18	Toledo, Ohio	The Smead School	1884	Individual	Ref'nce	English, College Preparatory	......	Both	18
19	Toledo, Ohio	St. John's College	1898	Rom. Cath.	Ref'nce	Preparatory and College	B. A.	Male	19
20	Toledo, Ohio	Toledo Medical College¶	1880	Individual	3,000	Medical and Surgical, four years	M. D.	Both	20
21	Toledo, Ohio	St.Vincent Hosp'l Training School for Nurses ‖	....	Medical	......	Nursing Sick and Injured	......	Female	21
22	Toledo, Ohio	Toledo Hospital Training School for Nurses	1893	Medical	......	Nursing Sick and Injured,	......	Female	22
23	Toledo, Ohio	Notre Dame Academy	1904	Rom. Cath.	......	Primary, Preparatory, Business, Science	......	Female	23

* The Trustees of this School 28th July, 1903, changed its former name of Ohio Normal University to Ohio Northern University.

† Became a nominal department of Ohio Northern University in the year 1903.

‡ The grounds and good will of this school were sold in the autumn of 1904 to private individuals to be opened for the winter term as an undenominational school.

§ See *ante* page 595 for further description of this school.

¶ Became a nominal department of the 'Toledo University' in the summer of 1904.

‖ A Training School for Nurses, with two years course, was also established at the Lucas County Infirmary, Toledo, in February, 1905.

old settler at Celina, dated 16th May, 1903, reads practically as follows: In 1856 the Emlen Institute was a thing of the past. The farm was then owned by a German as private property. It changed ownership a few times, and the Roman Catholics bought it and have a college there now, at Carthagena. The old building is remembered by only the old citizens. Negroes here are not so numerous as formerly and they are yet located in and near Carthagena. The condition of some is fairly prosperous, but that of the majority is not prosperous.

Two other donations from individuals for educational purposes within the Basin have been attended with some success, viz: October 23, 1872, Jesup Wakeman Scott (born Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 25, 1799; came to Perrysburg, Ohio, in May, 1833, by way of Norwalk, from residence in South Carolina, and a few years later removed to Toledo) and Susan his wife executed a deed for 160 acres of land in trust to eleven 'Trustees of the Toledo University of Arts and Trades' for buildings and for maintenance from the leases to be granted on the parts of the land not wanted for the school's use. No school building has been constructed on this farm, and the entire tract of land (situated three miles westward of the Toledo Postoffice and lying west of Faraday Street and between Nebraska Avenue on the north and Hill Avenue on the south) has been leased for agricultural purposes, the rentals netting the trustees about $600 per annum. Meantime a school for secondary grades and for manual training (later called Polytechnic School, and Toledo University) has been maintained in a building on lot of Toledo Central High School. Considerable friction, however, has been engendered between the pupils of these schools and also between the City Board of Education and the Trustees, arising at times to a degree inimical to the dignity of the latter and to the educational welfare of the former. Under the State's new Municipal Code, of 1903, the Trustees have attempted to organize a combination of nine colleges to be termed The Toledo University; but want of funds and court proceedings involving questions of their legal status, prevents the realization of these aspirations.

The other corporate beneficiary is Blanchard Township, Putnam County, Ohio, which received $25,000 in 1880 from the estate of John Crawfis by will. Mr. Crawfis was born in Berne, Fairfield County, Ohio, in 1809, and in 1833 settled in Blanchard Township where he lived an honorable life and accumulated a good estate. The object of his bequest was the organization of a Township High School. In 1888 the trustees of this fund constructed on a plat of four acres of ground in the southeastern part of Land Section Twenty, Blanchard Township, a creditable brick building to accommodate about five hundred pupils; and in 1889 two dormitories were built near-by. School has been maintained in these buildings, which have borne the name Crawfis College; and such is the name of the postoffice established in the hamlet of M'Culloughville which has formed adjoining the school lot.

Church and private schools have increased in number, in variety of subjects taught, and efficiency. Private schools for the teaching of bookkeeping and business usages, and of telegraphy, abound in the larger towns with competition sharp between them. Also private schools of kindergarten work for the children, with the different grades for the youth of separate and both sexes, including evening schools for those working by day, also schools for music and for various specialties. Many persons of different ages have latterly also entered upon more or less of a course of study in 'Correspondence School.' Some of the larger towns have maintained lectures in the courses of University Extension work. All these with numerous clubs of somewhat literary character abounding in every town, have had elevating effects and presage general improvement in the future. Some of the church and more formal schools are fairly well equipped and have been doing fairly good work; but their requirements for degrees are yet moderate. They supplement the public schools, and often take the work of them by assuming the early and the last short educational training of many pupils. Many young people at these schools, however, obtain a business or pedagogic training who would not, or could not, go to distant and more fully endowed institutions. The influence of these schools has also been wholesome and elevating in the main to the entire communities surrounding them. The number of pupils in attendance vary from a few score in some to over three thousand at Ada during the school year. The tuition fees must needs be very low to compete with the public schools of the neighborhood, and the State Universities.

THE MIAMI AND ERIE AND THE WABASH AND ERIE CANALS.

The subject of canals to connect the headwaters of adjacent rivers, including those of the Maumee and Wabash and the St. Mary and Miami, was advanced by Washington* at different times beginning with those in the East as early as the year 1773 or before. Other persons also early recognized the utility of such waterways. Generals Wayne and Harrison in their campaigns noted the feasibility of a Maumee-Wabash canal, as did officers in the army of the latter.†

---

* *The Writings of George Washington* edited by Jared Sparks, volume IX pages 30, 59, 80, 115, *et passim*. The canals thereafter built in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York are yet in use; and in 1903, the State of New York voted to again enlarge the New York and Erie Canal, this time sufficiently to accommodate large barges.

† The Maumee is navigable for boats from this place [Fort Wayne] to the Lake [Erie]; and the portage to the nearest navigable branch [Little River tributary] of the Wabash is but seven or eight miles through a level marshy prairie from which the water runs both to the Wabash [through Little River] and

The most persistently active and practical promulgator of a general system of canals, however, was De Witt Clinton of New York who began to agitate the subject in the latter part of the eighteenth century.* He conducted correspondence on this subject with the Governors of several States while he was yet Mayor of New York City; and he so impressed the Governor and Legislature of Ohio in favor of the New York and Erie Canal that, the 7th January, 1812, the Legislature passed a resolution declaring that the expense of the canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie ought to be provided for by the United States Congress. Governor Return J. Meigs communicated this resolution to the United States House of Representatives 3rd February, 1813.

The War of 1812 and the depleted condition of the United States Treasury made impracticable the undertaking by the general Government of any extensive public works other than those for defense. But Mr. Clinton was indefatigable in his labors, and while the war delayed it could not defeat the favorable result of his plans. His labors and influence committed New York to the great work. Major Benjamin F. Stickney Agent to the Aborigines at Fort Wayne in 1812, and later at Miami by the lower Maumee communicated to Governor Clinton in 1818 his ideas of a canal to connect the Maumee and Wabash Rivers which so pleased him that he replied . . I have found a way to get into Lake Erie and you have shown me how to get out of it. . . You have extended my project six hundred miles.† . .

The New York and Erie Canal was begun 4th July, 1817, and completed 16th October, 1825. Governor Clinton had the proud satisfaction at the consummation of this great work of heading a remarkable marine procession which ended outside the lower New York Bay by his pouring into the Atlantic Ocean a bottle of water brought from Lake Erie to signalize the closer union of the Great Lakes and the Sea.

During the years of his assuring of this great thoroughfare, he wrote to the Governors of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, urging that the work be carried forward to the connection of the Great Lakes with the Mississippi River Basin. In this great work Governor Clinton continued his interest and aid to its consummation. In one of his later letters 8th November, 1823, to Micajah T. Williams one of the Ohio Canal Commissioners, he wrote that

> The State of Ohio from the fertility of its soil, the benignity of its climate, and its geographical position, must always contain a dense population, and the productions and

---

to the St. Mary [and thence into the Maumee near-by]. A canal at some future day will unite these rivers. —*History of the Late War* [of 1812] *in the Western Country* page 127. by Captain Robert M'Afee, Lexington, Kentucky, 1816.

* See *Life of De Witt Clinton* by James Renwick, LL. D., page 153 *et sequentia.*

† *Early History of the Maumee Valley* by H. L. Hosmer, page 23.

consumptions of its inhabitants must forever form a lucrative and extensive inland trade, exciting the powers of productive industry, and communicating aliment and energy to external commerce. But when we consider that this canal will open a way to the great rivers that fall into the Mississippi; that it will be felt, not only in the immense valley of that river but as far west as the Rocky Mountains and the borders of Mexico; and that it will communicate with our great inland seas, and their tributary rivers; with the ocean in various routes, and with the most productive regions of America, there can be no question respecting the blessings that it [the Canal] will produce, the riches it will create, and the energies it will call into activity.

The first public movement in Ohio toward a canal across the State was a resolution in the Legislature in January, 1817, on the recommendation of Governor Thomas Worthington. No definite action, however, was then taken. In 1819 Governor Ethan Allen Brown, also at the request of Governor Clinton, recommended action, and the next year a resolution was passed providing for three Canal Commissioners with authority to employ an engineer and assistants to make a survey, providing that Congress would donate United States' lands along and near the line of the canal to aid in its construction. Action rested here for about two years.

Meanwhile renewed attention was being given to the desirability of a canal across the portage to connect the Maumee with the Little River. The ease with which such canal could be made was apparent at a glance to all persons passing along the ancient Glacial Drainage Channel southwest of Fort Wayne, who had been reading about canals in general or about the construction of the New York and Erie Canal in particular. Captain James Riley, then a surveyor, reported to Edward Tiffin Surveyor General, that on the 19th November, 1820, he went southwest of Fort Wayne about one and one-half miles up the River St. Mary, crossed that stream and measured the distance to Little River a tributary of the Wabash 'and navigable in times of high water without improvement' the distance being a little less than seven miles. From the summit level in this course back to the River St. Mary he reported a decline of about twenty feet, for which two locks would be sufficient. A canal to connect these rivers he estimated 'would not be beyond the means of a few individuals of enterprise and ordinary capital.'

The 21st January, 1822, by a joint resolution of the Ohio Legislature a Canal Board composed of Alfred Kelly, Benjamin Tappan, Thomas Worthington, Isaac Menor, Jeremiah Morrow, and Ethan A. Brown, was appointed to have surveys made for the improvement of the falls of the Ohio River, and to examine four routes for a canal or canals from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. For these purposes $6000 was appropriated. Nothing was done by the Canal Board, however, toward the survey of the Falls of the Ohio, as that work belonged to the United States.

The preliminary surveys for canals were along the water courses: up the Maumee and Auglaise and down the Loramie and larger Miami; up the Scioto and down the Sandusky; up the Cuyahoga and down the Tuscarawas and Muskingum; and up the Mahoning and down the Grand, or these courses reversed. James Geddes of Syracuse, New York, who had been employed on the New York and Erie Canal, was chosen chief surveyor and Isaac Jerome assistant. Only one surveying instrument could be obtained, but during the summer of 1822 a preliminary survey was made of over eight hundred miles of prospective canal routes.

The Board reported in favor of the route up the Cuyahoga River from Cleveland, probably on account of the largest population being along this route. This report caused a serious protest, particularly from the friends of the Sandusky route, and in February, 1824, the Maumee and Sandusky routes were resurveyed, with a decision in favor of the Maumee route for the second canal. January 25, 1825, the Commissioners reported the distance from the foot of the Maumee Rapids to the Ohio River as 265½ miles, and the length of the necessary canal feeders 25¼ miles. The altitude of the summit above Lake Erie was given as 378 feet; and this summit above the Ohio River as $511\frac{4}{10}$ feet. The estimated cost of the Ohio Canal by the Cuyahoga River was a little more than that by way of the Maumee.

The Legislature authorized the Commissioners 4th February, 1825, to begin work on the Miami-Maumee route between the Mad River at Dayton and Cincinnati; and the 20th July contracts were let for the first twenty miles, work beginning the next day. Work on the Ohio Canal was previously in good progress between Cleveland and Portsmouth. The section of the Miami and Erie Canal from Cincinnati to Dayton was completed in January, 1829, but the locks connecting it with the Ohio River were built later.

The 24th May, 1828, Congress granted to the State of Ohio to aid in extending the Miami Canal to Lake Erie by the Maumee River "a quantity of land equal to one-half of five Sections in width on each side of said canal between Dayton and the Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaise [Defiance] so far as the same shall be located through the public land, and reserving each alternate Section, of land unsold, to the United States to be selected by the Commissioner of the General Land Office under the direction of the President of the United States; and which land so reserved to the United States shall not be sold for less than $2.50 per acre." This Act, like all others for canals, required that the canal should always remain a public highway, free to the United States from tolls or other charges. Work was to begin within five years, and the canal was to be completed within twenty years from the date of the Act. At this same date Congress further granted to Ohio 500,000 acres of land to pay the debts of and to complete the canals—those commenced to be completed within seven years. The Ohio Legislature did not act for the extension of the Miami Canal until February, 1830, when the Commissioners were authorized to examine into the practicability of such canal. Their report was rendered favorably in January, 1831, and work was begun at Dayton in 1832. The 2nd March, 1833, Congress extended the time for its completion another five years.

Owing in part to the difficulties attending the Toledo War (*ante* page 572) against the claims of Michigan to her territory and the strife between Toledo and the villages of Perrysburg and Maumee for the ending of the Canal at the Lake level, contracts were not let on the northern end until May, 1837. The citizens of Perrysburg and Maumee desired the Canal to end there, at the foot of the rapids. Toledo made urgent claim to the terminus; and residents of Manhattan near the Maumee Bay desired that to be the place where connection with the river was made. Meantime the claim of Ohio to the Harris Line as the northern boundary of the State was sustained by Congress. The 22nd August, 1836, the Canal Commissioners met at Perrysburg, and there the rival parties gathered the next day in great numbers and asserted their different claims with such warmth that each place was granted canal connection with the Maumee. This decision was confirmed by Governor Lucas at his visit to the several places the 11th November, 1836.

Representative Jennings of Indiana reported a bill 23rd January, 1823, from the Committee on Public Lands favorable to a canal, but it was not until May 26, 1824, that Congress authorized the State of Indiana to survey and mark through the Public Lands of the United States the route of a canal by which to connect the navigation of the rivers Wabash and the Miami of Lake Erie (Maumee); and ninety feet of land on each side of said canal was to be reserved from sale on the part of the United States, and the use thereof forever be vested in the State aforesaid for a canal, and for no other purpose whatever. The Act further provided that if not surveyed and map furnished within three years, and the canal not completed within twelve years, or if said land shall cease to be used and occupied for the purpose of constructing and keeping in repair a canal suitable for navigation, the grant shall be void. The right of way being also granted by the Miami Aborigines by treaty in 1826 (see treaty *ante*) a Board of Canal Commissioners was appointed in the winter of 1826-27, composed of David Burr of Jackson County, Indiana, Robert John of Franklin, and Samuel Hanna of Fort Wayne who became one of the most active and efficient members.[*] Mr. Hanna made a journey to New York by way of the Maumee and Detroit, Lake Erie and the New York and Erie Canal, for the purpose of purchasing a surveying instrument; and he returned in quick time for such modes of travel. The Indiana Legislature also appropriated $500 to enable these Commissioners to determine the practicability of an Erie and Wabash Canal.

March 2nd, 1827, Congress granted each alternate Section of land, and in quantity equal to one-half of five Sections in width on each side of said Canal to the State of Indiana to aid in constructing the Canal. This was the year previous to the grant to Ohio; and it is believed to be the first large grant for the promotion of a public work, also the first grant of alternate Sections.[†]

The magnitude of the work kept constantly unfolding and increasing to its promulgators. It soon became evident to the engineer that a short canal to connect the head of the Maumee with Little River, as first contemplated, would not suffice; that for an efficient canal with stable depth of water, it was necessary to extend an independent canal to and well down the Wabash, also northeastward to the Miami and Erie Canal near Defiance, not relying upon the Maumee River at all above Defiance. The place of connection with the Miami and Erie Canal being determined at a point named Junction, in Paulding County, Ohio, May 24, 1828, Congress authorized Indiana to sell and relinquish her land grants northeast of her State Line to Ohio. The east end of the Wabash Canal now becoming a joint work of the two States, W. Talmage was appointed Commissioner for Ohio and Jeremiah Sullivan for Indiana; but it was not until February 1, 1834, that Ohio—with her own different canal projects on hand, and the Michigan dispute complicating the northern terminus of the Miami and Erie Canal—fully decided on the conditions for giving the Wabash and Erie Canal, as a competitor, a connection with Lake Erie.[‡]

Indiana was indemnified by other lands for those of the former grants disposed of by the United States in individual grants to Aborigines by treaties before their survey or determination. The Indiana Legislature organized a Board of Canal Fund Commissioners 31st

---

[*] See *Life and Character of Samuel Hanna* by G. W. Wood. Also Brice's *History of Fort Wayne.*

[†] Peter Buel Porter of Western New York advocated Congressional aid for this and other similar improvements. He introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives providing for a committee to examine into the expediency of appropriating a part of the Public Lands, or the proceeds thereof, to the purpose of opening and constructing such roads and canals as may be most conducive to the general interest of the Union.—*Annals of Congress* 1809, 1810, page 1401. See, also, report for 1808 of Albert Gallatin Secretary of the United States Treasury; and Donaldson's *Public Domain,* pages 257, 258.

[‡] See *House Journal* of the 13th Session, No. 13 page 14; *Session Laws* of 1829, 1830; *Laws of Ohio* 1840, 1841.

January, 1832, and after examination they reported the State Canal Fund as $28,651.00.*

Jesse L. Williams of Fort Wayne was appointed Chief Engineer, and ground was formally broken February 22, 1832; and in the spring of 1834 the Feeder of the Wabash Canal was completed, extending from Fort Wayne to the Feeder Dam across the River St. Joseph, a distance of about six miles. This Feeder was necessary to carry the boats over the summit a little southwest of Fort Wayne at an altitude of one hundred and ninety-seven feet above the mouth of the Maumee River and, also, to feed eastward to the Six Mile Reservoir in Paulding County, Ohio. The 4th July, 1834 'the entire population' of Fort Wayne went to this Dam on a hastily built boat for the purpose, and there a grand celebration of the day and Canal was held. During the next year the Canal was completed to Huntington and the Fort Wayne people celebrated the event by a grand excursion to that place. In 1837 this Canal was completed to Logansport; and four years later to Lafayette. The division between Fort Wayne and the Ohio State Line was given to the contractors in the summer of 1837.

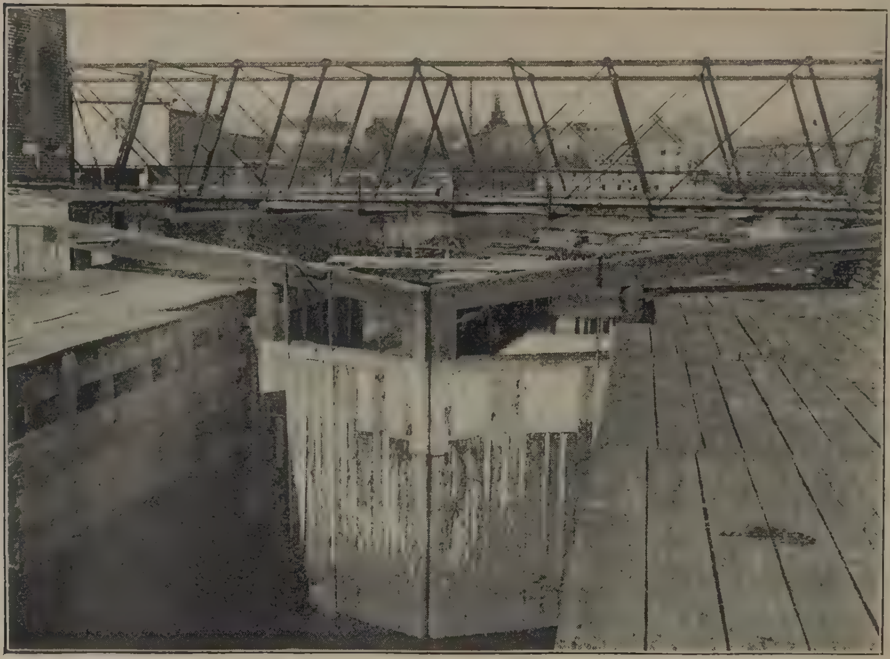
The (former) Wabash Canal Feeder Dam Across the River St. Joseph six miles above Fort Wayne. This is the Highest Dam in the Maumee River Basin, the water here shown in lower stage falling fifteen feet upon the Apron. Looking north of east 14th July, 1902. The former Feeder Canal, beginning just above this view, is now used by the Fort Wayne Electric Light and Power Company for water power.

On account of the sparse settlements in northwestern Ohio, and the scarcity of money, the Legislature of Ohio did not urge the completion of the northern part of the Miami and Erie Canal as did Indiana that of the Wabash. Becoming impatient the Legislature of Indiana enacted, 22nd January, 1840, a joint resolution "that it shall be the duty of the Chief Engineer to proceed immediately to the seat of government of the State of Ohio, and in a respectful manner to urge upon the consideration of the members of the Legislature of that State the necessity of speedy completion of the Wabash and Erie Canal from the Indiana State line to the Maumee Bay, in compliance with the compacts heretofore made between the two States in relation thereto." This joint resolution, with a letter of the Indiana Chief Engineer setting forth the urgent reasons for the early completion of this Canal, were duly transmitted to the Ohio Legislature January 31st, 1840.

---

* This Canal Fund was to be gained from various sources, viz: From sale of the lands donated by the United States; from donations, grants, or other sums set apart for this purpose; from loans procured under authority of the State and predicated on the amount likely to be obtained from the sale of Canal Lands; and from Canal Tolls, and Rents received for the use of all privileges created by the construction. See *Session Laws of Indiana*, 1831, 1832, Chapter I, Sections 2 and 4; Chapter CVIII, page 113.

Contracts for the making of this Canal had been awarded by the Ohio authorities as follows: from the mouth of the Maumee River at Manhattan to the Grand Rapids, at the Village of Maumee in the spring of 1837; and at Defiance 25th October, 1837, from the Grand Rapids to the Indiana State Line. The contractors gathered about two thousand laborers and began their payment in Michigan 'Wild Cat' bills that they had borrowed. Then came the financial panic of 1837. In May, 1838, the contractors had trouble with the laborers on account of non-payment of them for five months. The difficulty was compromised, however, in many cases by orders on stores and due-bills; and full payment of these obligations in good money was made in June. These contractors from the commencement labored under difficulties to an extent that no other work in the State has been subjected, reads the *Annual Report of the Board of Public Works* December 30th, 1839. The high price of provisions which were necessarily brought from long distances; the consequent high price of labor, and severe sickness which drove the men out of the valley during the summers, were the reasons assigned. The report of January 12, 1841, states that the prospect of obtaining money for completing the work was so doubtful that contractors were advised of the fact at the close of 1839, and were recommended to use their own discretion and consult their own convenience in prosecuting the jobs; consequently not much work was performed during the first three months of 1840. After the 1st April, however, work progressed better than in 1839 on account of there being less sickness. From Defiance to the State Line, the want of proper material (stone) rendered it necessary to build the locks of wood. The locks north of the summit to the Wabash and Erie Canal were also built of wood. South of the Summit Level and below Defiance the locks were all built of cut stone. In June, 1842, the Canal was opened for traffic from Toledo to the Grand Rapids. The *Annual Report of the Board of Public Works* January 2, 1843, reads that the whole of this work is now so far completed as to admit the water when the proper season for using the same shall arrive, and nothing but unforeseen accidents will from this time forward prevent, at all proper seasons of the year, an uninterrupted navigation. For the last fifteen months there has not been paid one dollar in money to the contractors on this Canal, and the amount now due is equal to $500,000. Almost the whole resources and credit of that portion of the State in the vicinity of this work have been used up and invested in the construction of the same.' Indiana was in the same condition, but not to such degree as Ohio. Various promises to pay, both public and private, were in general circulation with depreciated values; and many had to be renewed from wear before their redemption occurred.* Some of these were finally replaced by the semblance of bank notes issued from certificates of the Chief Engineer and in smaller denominations for convenience of circulation.



INTERIOR VIEW OF EMPTY CANAL LOCK NO. 2, DEFIANCE, OHIO

The Levers of Lock No. 1, and the Maumee River, show under the First Street Bridge. Looking north 19th November, 1902.

The Canals were opened to traffic from Toledo through Fort Wayne May 8, 1843. The first boat to pass to Lafayette was the *Albert S. White*, Captain Cyrus Belden, of Toledo. She was greeted along the way with great joy, the larger towns giving the Captain and crew public receptions. The first packet or lighter boat fitted for passengers, soon followed under Captain William Dale.

---

* A white-paper scrip issued by the State and based on the Canal Lands east of Lafayette became generally and jocularly known as White Dog; and colored scrip issued on the Canal Lands west of Lafayette were called Blue Dog; while fractional currency issued on this foundation was known as Blue Pup.

Fort Wayne advertised a grand Canal-opening Celebration for the 4th July, 1843; and representatives were present from Toledo, Lafayette, Detroit, Cleveland, and intervening places. General Lewis Cass delivered the principal address to this the largest civil meeting held at Fort Wayne up to that date.

There was delay in the construction of the Miami and Erie Canal through the dense forest south of Junction, Paulding County, Ohio, ten and a half miles west of south of Defiance, and the point where the Wabash and Erie Canal connected with the Miami and Erie; and the first boat from Cincinnati did not arrive at Toledo until June 27, 1845. This year the United States Government made first use of this Canal in the transportation of soldiers from Toledo and ports southward to Cincinnati on their way to the Mexican War. The soldiers from Detroit, southern Michigan, and northwestern Ohio, were taken this way, the commissioned officers being carried on packets and the non-commissioned officers and privates on freight boats. Until the year 1856 these Canals were recognized as part of the great national military highway between New York City and New Orleans.*

These Canals now came into full use as the cheapest, easiest and safest mode of communication and transportation devised up to this date. They soon developed into great thoroughfares which exceeded the fondest hopes of their promulgators, not only for freight† of all kinds to and from the rapidly developing country for many miles on each side of their lines, but for passengers—business men eastward bound to purchase goods, and immigrants of all classes from farmers to clear homes in the wilderness to men and women learned in the schools of the East for teachers and the professions. New faces, new activities, and new developments of all kinds were seen in every direction. Many of the laborers who were attracted in thousands from the older States by the good wages paid during the making of the Canals, remained along the lines or bought lands on which they settled with

---

* See *Executive Document* 1st Session 28th Congress, vol. iv, No. 134.

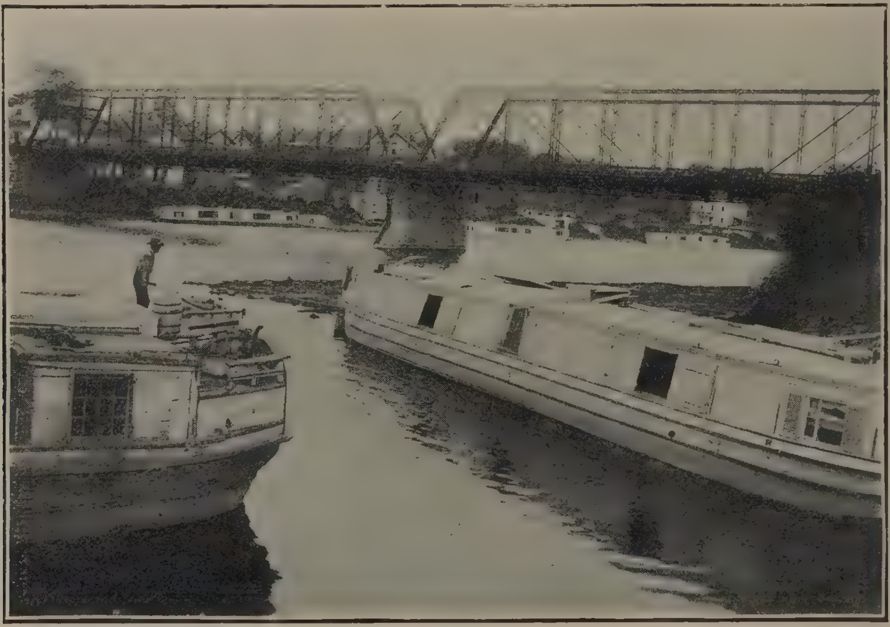
† The value of the produce transported to Toledo by the Canal during the season of 1846 exceeded $3,000,000; and the value of the cargoes sent from Toledo during this season was estimated at $5,000,000. The relative receipts of grain at Toledo for three years before the completion of the Canal, and two years afterward, are shown as follows:

YEAR	WHEAT, BUSHELS	FLOUR, BARRELS	CORN, BUSHELS
1840	85,000	51,000	--------
1841	127,898	45,781	--------
1842	116,730	37,280	--------
1846	810,963	164,689	1,159,315
1851	1,639,744	242,677	2,775,149

Andrews' *Report on Colonial and Lake Trade*, page 56 *et sequentia*.

their families to add to the general thrift. Children and grandchildren of many of these people are yet among the prosperous citizens of every important town along the lines and in the country adjacent.

The flow of water from boats passing through the locks afforded power at lower levels to numerous sawing, flouring, and other mills which were necessary factors to the subsistence of the increasing population, the clearing of the forest, and to the revenues of the States from water rentals and general taxes.



SIX CANAL BOATS AND LARGE RAFT OF LOGS IN THE MAUMEE RIVER, DEFIANCE, OHIO

Awaiting lockage southward, the boat in the right foreground entering the first lock. Looking northeast under Clinton Street Bridge in August, 1900.

Packet boats became quite numerous, some of which came from the New York and Erie Canal. The better class of them were well fitted for the convenience of passengers. The sleeping berths for the first class passengers were ranged on each side of the upper cabin generally in two rows one above the other but occasionally in three rows, and some were made to shut up or swing out of way by day. Hammocks and cots were provided for the overplus passengers, and many would sleep on the deck. The dining room was below, generally midboat but sometimes forward, and the food was generally good. These boats carried express freight, and some of them carried the United States Mail. They were drawn by two to six horses according to the size of the boat and the load; and they were generally kept on a trot by the driver who rode the saddle (left rear) horse, attaining a pace of from six to eight miles an hour. Relays of horses were sometimes carried in a narrow stable in the central part of the packet as on freight boats; but generally the packet relays were stationed at convenient ports. These boats were considered a rapid and comfortable mode of traveling. The journey from Toledo to Lafayette, about 242 miles, was advertised to be made in fifty-six hours.* June 28, 1847, the packet *Empire* Captain Wiggin, left Dayton and arrived at Toledo the morning of the 30th, the distance being 180 miles. Among the passengers were Governor William Bebb, ex-Governor Thomas Corwin, Robert C. Schenck, John G. Lowe, H. G. Phillips, J. Wilson Williams, Edmund Smith, Edward W. Davis, and A. H. Dunlevy, who expressed in a card published in the *Toledo Blade* great appreciation of the comforts and accommodations furnished to them on the boat. The rate of fare was generally three cents a mile on the packets, and two and a half cents on the freight boats which also accommodated many passengers. For the longer distances meals and lodgings were included in these rates. Thirty-five to forty passengers were considered a good load, but double these numbers would not be turned away. There was competition between all the boats for speed; and in the meeting and passing of boats of all kinds, the rules for position of horses, towlines, and of precedence of packets over freighters, must needs be closely observed or a strife of words, and sometimes of blows, resulted. The greatest stress occurred at the wharves, and at the locks particularly, where the slightest unnecessary detention was quickly resented. The writer has been many times called by messenger from a lock in Defiance, to meet a boat as it approached another lock, to examine and prescribe for a sick member of the crew while the boat was being raised, or lowered, in the lock; and he always received courteous treatment from the boatmen — he being always alert not to unnecessarily detain the boat.

The time required between Toledo and Cincinnati was reduced to four days and five nights. This was considered good time. It included the numerous stops for passengers and freight, the latter often requiring considerable time to load and unload, and the time passed at the numerous locks which averaged one about every hour and ten minutes, with frequent delays on account of the precedence of other boats. The average speeds on the navigable waters were then estimated as follows: On the lake six miles an hour; on the canals four miles; on river or other slackwater, six; on the Ohio River, upstream five miles and downstream seven miles an hour. Time consumed in lockage one minute per foot depth of water.

**Fort Wayne Times and People's Press* October 21, 1847.

The largest boat on the Canals for a long time was the *Harry of the West* which was brought through Lake Erie from the New York and Erie Canal in 1844 by Captain Edwin Avery. The first steam canal boat, the *Niagara*, was built in 1845 at a cost of about $10,000 for Samuel Doyle, but could not successfully compete with those of horse power. Another steamer, the *Scarecrow*, was more successful. She made her first run from Toledo in November, 1859, with a load of lumber for Franklin. She had a small portable engine with fly-wheel carrying a belt to a pulley on the propeller wheel shaft. Steam was used for propelling a few other boats, but objections were raised to their use on account of the commotion of the water to the detriment of the canal banks, and to other boats. May 25th, 1862, the Canal Propeller *Union*, Captain William Sabin, arrived at Toledo from Lafayette containing a cargo of 1750 bushels of wheat, and having in tow a boat containing 2050 bushels of grain, 20 barrels pork, and two casks of hams, the total being 115 tons weight. The distance of 204 miles was run in 5 days 3½ hours.

It was not unusual at this time for the boats to accumulate in Toledo to the number of fifty to sixty, unloading and reloading at the wharves and grain elevators, or awaiting their turn. Corn was at first carried for eight cents per bushel medium distance, and a little more was charged for wheat. These prices were profitable to the boatmen; but later prices varied according to the quantity of freight and the competition, and but few owners of boats made constant large or even good profits. The Miami and Erie Canal and that part of the Wabash and Erie from Junction to Fort Wayne, were in better favor with boatmen than that along the Wabash River on account of the larger size of the former and the want of a uniformly good depth of water along the Wabash.

The completion of the Canals marked the beginning of the active era of clearing the forest and in developing the great agricultural wealth of the Maumee River Basin. Logs, shiptimber (see *ante* page 541) lumber cut by power from canal-water, and firewood, were taken to market on the Canal by rafts as well as in boats. Between the years 1861-64 Graft, Bennett and Company (or Evans, Rogers and Company?) of Pittsburg, established on the north bank of the Wabash and Erie Canal in Crane Township, Paulding County, Ohio, one mile and a half south of the present Cecil, a Catalan Bloomery and Forge for the reduction of iron ore by the direct process. Cobb, Bradley and Company of Cleveland also established a like furnace in 1862-63, eight miles further west and adjoining the Village of Antwerp on the east. These furnaces were near the center of the comparatively unbroken forest. Land was very cheap, and the timber was yet looked upon as a detriment to be gotten rid of as easily as possible by the settlers. Six acres of land were donated by George M'Cormick to the first named company which proceeded to construct thereon from twenty-three to thirty beehive-shaped charcoal kilns of brick, plastered without, each fifteen feet in diameter and the same in height. Each of these kilns was capable of furnishing forty-five to fifty bushels of charcoal from every cord of wood after four days burning. A furnace of seven fires and a forge were built close to the Canal. The charcoal kilns at Antwerp were not so numerous nor the furnace so large. These industries were instrumental in clearing many farms and in distributing much money for wood and labor. The Cecil furnace employed as many as 250 choppers and sawyers at one time. As many as 120 cords of long wood were used per day in making 45 tons of iron.* The great trip-hammer of this furnace gave out a sound that reverberated through the forest for many miles. The iron ore was brought from Lake Superior mines by lake vessels to Toledo and there given to the canal-boats. The reduced iron was taken by boats part to Cleveland by way of Toledo, and part to Pittsburg by way of Cincinnati and the Ohio River.

THE CHARCOAL BURNERS AND IRON FURNACE

By the Wabash and Erie Canal near the present Cecil, Paulding County, Ohio. From photograph sketched in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Copyright 1888 by Henry Howe.

The Antwerp furnace declined in the early 1880's with the Antwerp section of the Wabash and Erie Canal. The company owning, or operating, the furnace near Cecil favored the building of the Cincinnati, Van Wert and Michigan Railroad, now called the Cincinnati Northern, which passed by the furnace, as an additional help for the supply of wood which was becoming scarce in the vicinity of the furnace. After the destruction of the Six Mile Reservoir (see the following few pages) just above in 1888, and their being necessitated thereby to the use of the railroad only for all shipments, they dismantled the plant and abandoned the region.

---

* Some estimates give the requirement of three tons of iron ore and two and a half to three tons of charcoal to produce one ton of bar iron. The wood for trip-hammer power is included in this estimate.

The locks connecting the Miami and Erie Canal with the Ohio River at Cincinnati for the distance of .62 of a mile were abandoned by Act of the Legislature 24th March, 1863. The two locks connecting with the mouth of the Maumee River at Manhattan were abandoned by Act of 26th March, 1864; and this Manhattan extension in Toledo with the aqueduct over Swan Creek amounting to 3.75 miles was abandoned by Act 31st January, 1871. On or about the 26th March, 1864, the locks to the Maumee River at the Village of Maumee were also abandoned; thus, since this date the only canal connection with the lower Maumee River has been through Swan Creek at Toledo.

The Legislature of Indiana abandoned the Wabash and Erie Canal southwest of Fort Wayne previous to the year 1870. A dam was made across the canal prism in the City of Fort Wayne and boats continued to run from this city to and through the Miami and Erie Canal for six or eight years, when the State of Indiana wholly abandoned the Canal. The dam across the River St. Joseph and the Feeder Canal from it were sold to the Fort Wayne Power Company which now uses the water for electric lighting and other power. The State of Ohio built a dam across the canal prism near the Indiana line and continued the use of the Canal with water supplied by the Six-Mile Reservoir (see map *ante* page 450) of 2000 or more acres situated just east of Antwerp. This Reservoir received its name from it occupying the valley of, and receiving its supply from, Six Mile Creek which has its source in Indiana and debouches into the Auglaise River six miles from its mouth at Defiance, hence the name of the creek. The dam, dikes and bulkhead of this Reservoir, like all the wood locks above Junction, were neglected and the waters remained low. The farmers around the Reservoir united their influence with those who desired the land under the water, and an effort was made to induce the Legislature to enact its abandonment. The friends of the canals rallied, and the bill was defeated. Conspiracy and malicious destruction of State property followed. About two hundred men, residents of the vicinity of the Reservoir and their friends, assembled in the night of April 25th, 1888, captured the guards who had been kept on duty since a malicious attempt to drain the Reservoir a few weeks before, and with dynamite destroyed the two nearest locks and the bulkhead, then cut the dikes, thus completely disabling the remaining part of the Wabash and Erie Canal to the lock within a mile of the Miami and Erie Canal at Junction. Governor Foraker at once issued a proclamation ordering all disorderly persons to disperse; and ordered General Axline to at once proceed to the scene of destruction with several companies of the Ohio National Guard to protect the State property. Prompt response was made and the amateur soldiers, a Toledo company among the number, were soon on guard. Of course neither enemy nor disorderly person could be found and, after a few days of guard service, the soldiers were ordered to their homes. By Legislative Acts of 12th April, 1888, and 3rd March, 1891, the Ohio Section of the Wabash and Erie Canal from the State Line to the first lock about one mile above Junction, seventeen miles in extent, was declared abandoned, together with the Six Mile Reservoir. This, with different side cuts, made a total of 39.12 miles abandoned, leaving, as exists at present, 262.82 miles of Miami and Erie Canal in operation.

With the increase and competition of railroads, the business of the canals declined, first in grain and other of the more valuable freight. Opposition to the canals increased, it being led by their competitors or those who desired their right of way for individual or company uses. These factors were so strong in 1861 as to induce the Legislature to lease the canals for seventeen years to private companies. During this period their business still further declined, and as little attention was given to repairs as possible to avoid. When returned to the State in 1878 their 'condition was deplorable' and they have since been repaired, maintained and operated, at an annual expense to the State of from $5,000 to $40,000. Yet parts of the Canal system has continued to pay very good tolls notwithstanding their poor management and condition.*

The enemies of the canals have been for fifty years, and yet are, active in their opposition; but there have been, and yet are, friends to these internal waterways who have thus far defeated the many attempts to abandon the main lines of the Miami and Erie and the Ohio Canal systems. The friends have done more. They have secured two surveys of these lines, and of the suggested Sandusky-Scioto route, by United States Engineers for their prospective enlargement to barge canals.* In this connection more details of the Miami and Erie Canal through this Basin will be here given with a few items of the prospective enlargement in comparison:

---

*The Collector reported the business done by the Miami and Erie Canal at the Port of Defiance during the summer of 1899, as follows: Received, 813 barrels Lime and Cement; 1043 barrels Salt: 700 bushels Coke; 101,201 pounds Baggage and Furniture; 3,020 pounds Crockery; 725,921 pounds Iron; 971,428 pounds Merchandise; 3,796 empty Barrels; 6,491 Hoop Poles; 733,948 Lath; 9,947 Railway Ties; 47,300 Shingles; 5,423,000 feet Lumber; 4,021 perches Stone; 7,240 cords Bolt Timber; 9,328 cords Firewood. Shipped, 532,418 pounds Merchandise; 248,923 bushels Building Sand; 794,000 Brick; 3,328 Hoop Poles; 4,100 Lath: 70,000 Staves and Heading; 8,546,748 feet Lumber; 697,423 feet Timber; 5,127 cords Firewood; 1,603 barrels Ale and Beer; 209 bushels Potatoes; 1,631 bushels Corn; 921 bushels Flaxseed; 48,000 bushels Oats; 1,000 bushels Rye; 39,000 bushels Wheat; 873,947 pounds Iron.

From the lower miter-sill of the outlet lock at Manhattanville, mouth of the Maumee River, to the head of the Toledo side-cut into Swan Creek a distance of five miles, there was an elevation of fifteen feet which was overcome by two locks near the river. This Manhattan extension was declared abandoned by the State by Acts of 26th March, 1864, and 31st January, 1871, as before mentioned. The course of this abandoned canal is now occupied in its northern part by the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railway to Cherry Street, Toledo, thence the course turns nearly south, crossing Oak Street at Allen, crossing Adams between Ontario and Michigan, Madison at Ontario, Jefferson a little nearer Ontario than Erie, Monroe nearer Erie, Washington at Erie, thence turning westward to cross Lafayette at Ontario, thence southward crossing Nebraska Avenue just west of Thirteenth Street, and Swan Creek just east of Wyandot Street.

Since the abandonment of the Manhattan extension, the connection with the lower Maumee has been through the Toledo side-cut which drops fifteen feet into Swan Creek by two locks. From the head of the Toledo side-cut, one mile from its entrance into Swan Creek, the Canal ascends forty-eight feet, to the Village of Maumee a distance of eight and five-sixths miles, by six locks to No. 9 of the present list. Here there was formerly a side cut to the Maumee River with fall of sixty-three feet by six locks. This side-cut was abandoned about forty years ago. The size of these locks is ninety feet in length and fifteen feet in width. The dimensions of the Canal are various. Between Toledo and Junction, ten and one half miles southwest of Defiance and sixty-nine miles in all, the prism is sixty feet wide at the water's surface, forty-six feet wide at the bottom, and six feet deep, being the largest on account of the greatest traffic. The Section from Junction to Dayton is 50 x 36 x 5 feet in size, and that from Dayton to Cincinnati 40 x 26 x 4 feet which last named dimension is the same as that of the Ohio Canal. All sections embrace expansions at the ports and necessary intermediate points for turning the boats when desired.

The surveys for the prospective enlargement provide for the Canal's northern beginning eight and seven-tenths miles above the mouth of the Maumee River, at the debouching of Delaware Creek, by twin locks two hundred feet long by twenty-six feet wide, and for water in the Canal ten feet deep.

---

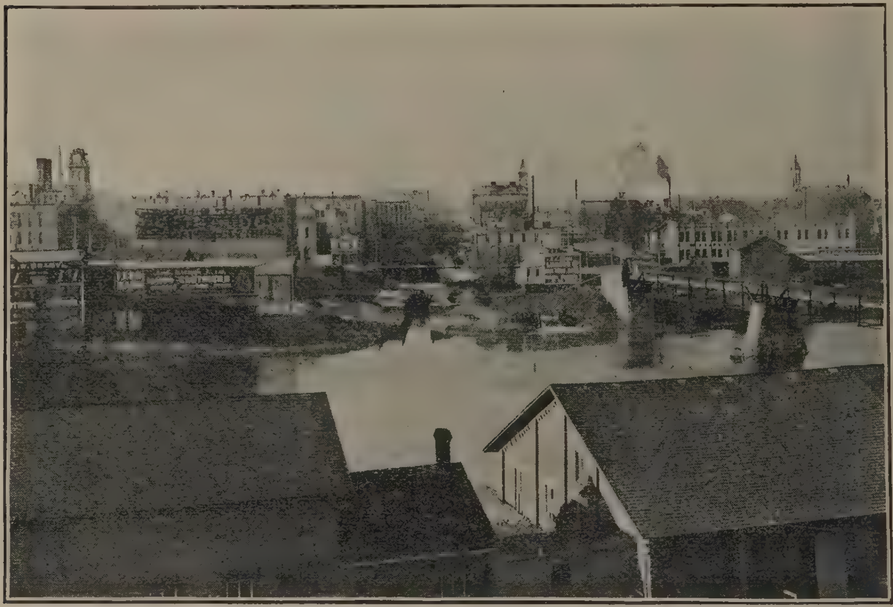
* See *U. S. Senate Executive Document* No. 55, 46th Congress, 3rd Session, 25th February, 1881. Also *House of Representatives Document* No. 278, 54th Congress 1st Session, 4th March, 1896. These printed reports of surveys for enlargement, have been consulted for many of the details of this Chapter; and they contain much more of interesting and valuable information.

The present Canal from the head of the former Maumee Village side-cut, at Lock No. 9, to the head of the Grand Rapids is fifteen and a half miles without lock. At Grand Rapids is the first Maumee River State Dam, or rather two Dams 661 and 1700 feet in length, with island intervening, and five and a half feet in height. Here is a Guard Lock, No. 10, to protect the Canal against high water, and above this Guard Lock boats run in the river slackwater nearly one mile. Leaving the Maumee, the Canal ascends twenty-three feet by three locks to No. 13, to the Defiance Level. At the northeast part of this level there is a Guard Lock, No. 14, it being the last of this series of stone locks; and here is the second and last dam across the Maumee River for Canal use. It is 763 feet long and was rebuilt in 1901 to the height of ten and a half feet. Entering the Maumee through the Guard Lock the boats continue up the slackwater four and a half miles to the City of Defiance where the horses cross the Maumee on the State Bridge rebuilt of iron about 1881. Here the Canal leaves the right bank of the river in a southerly course and ascends fifty-seven feet in four and one-half miles by seven locks, to No. 21. Six of these locks are within the City of Defiance, four near the river, the fifth being one mile and the sixth one and three-fourths mile distant. In the days of lesser requirements these locks afforded abundant power for the mills built by their side. These are the first of the wood locks which prevail southward across the Basin on account of the difficulty of transporting stone at the time of their building, and the abundance and cheapness of lumber close at hand. From Junction to the Indiana State Line, a distance of eighteen and a half miles, the former Wabash and Erie Canal ascended twenty-eight and a half feet by three locks, to an altitude above the mouth of the Maumee of 176½ feet; and by two other locks beyond

MIAMI AND ERIE CANAL AND OHIO STATE DAM

Across Maumee River, four and a half miles east of Defiance. Looking southwest 12th April, 1901.

Fort Wayne boats were carried over the Summit at an altitude of 197 feet. The profile of the Miami and Erie Canal from Junction to the twenty-three miles Summit Level south from New Bremen is given in the *Ohio Geological Survey*, volume one page 672, as embracing thirty-two locks which raise the Canal from a level of 147.25 feet at Junction, above the mouth of the Maumee, to 386.50 at New Bremen. The number of locks and altitudes from Junction between the more important towns are, to Delphos ten locks 63.75 feet rise; Spencerville eight locks 63 feet; to St. Marys two locks 17.25 feet; and to New Bremen the Summit Level twelve locks 95.25 feet or to a total of 386.50 feet above Lake Erie.*



ENTRANCE OF MIAMI AND ERIE CANAL INTO THE MAUMEE RIVER AT DEFIANCE, OHIO

The State Canal Bridge on the right; St. John Roman Catholic Church beyond; City Hall near center; Court House on left with spire of St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church between its tower and chimneys. Looking south 11th April, 1901.

The Summit Level is fully supplied with water from the Loramie Reservoir produced by a dam across Loramie Creek near Minster. This Reservoir is seven miles long, narrow in its upper part and about two and a half miles wide at its lower part. It covers about 1800 acres. The Lewistown Reservoir supplies the Canal southward. The principal supply of water, however, for the Miami and

---

* There is variance between different surveys. An Auglaise County Surveyor has recorded the altitudes higher than those given by the Canal surveyors; and the records of the railways, and of the Ohio State Geological Survey, vary several feet between the others.

Erie Canal from St. Marys to the Maumee River at Defiance is derived from the Grand Reservoir produced by a dam about four miles long, and from ten to twenty-five feet high, south from Celina, Mercer County, across the Valley of Big Beaver Creek, a tributary of the Wabash River. This Reservoir is about nine miles long and from two to four miles wide, the upper or east end having a retaining wall about two miles long. The Canal Feeder Outlet is at the south line of the City of St. Marys. Thus by the Loramie Reservoir much water that formerly passed southward into the Miami River of the Mississippi River Basin is diverted northward through the Maumee River Basin to the Basin of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence; and yet far more water is diverted this way from the Wabash by the Grand Reservoir.

VILLAGE OF NEW BREMEN, OHIO

Showing the North End of the Twenty-three Mile Summit Level of the Miami and Erie Canal on the Summit of the Salamonie Moraine—see Map *ante* page 28. Looking north 30th April, 1902. First Lock northward in the foreground, toward the Wabash Moraine.

Samuel Forrer Canal Commissioner employed an engineer named Mitchell in 1830 to run the first survey for this Grand Reservoir. In 1837 there was another survey by Messrs. Barney and Forrer, encompassing about 18,000 acres. Settlers had located in the upper Beaver Creek Basin, among them being Joseph and Thomas Coate, and families named Large, Mellinger, and Hugh Miller, on the south side; and families Bradley, Crockett, Sunday, Judge Linzee, Hollingsworth, Nichols, Gibson, Hull, Kampf, Pratt, and Reverend Asa Stearns, on the north side. The Legislature had unanimously passed an Act, introduced by Justin Hamilton of Mercer County, providing that no water should be accumulated in the Reservoir before the owners of farms were paid for their land, nor before the land was cleared of trees.

THE VILLAGE OF CELINA, OHIO, AND THE WEST END OF THE GRAND RESERVOIR

Looking west of south from Tower of the Town Hall 29th April, 1902.

There was also an appropriation of money from which to pay for the land and the work; but it was either not sufficient for this purpose or was misapplied. Work was begun in 1837 and the west wall or dam was completed in 1843. When the lowest gap was closed the water rose and submerged thirty-four acres of wheat belonging to Mr. Sunday, and slowly covered all of his farm but one acre; also the whole of Thomas Coates' farm; sixty acres belonging to Judge Holt of Dayton; nineteen acres of Judge Linzee's land; nearly forty acres of Abraham Pratt's, and nearly all of Mr. Mellinger's land. The contractors complied with the requirements only in part regarding the clearing of the land. Many of the trees were left untouched, and others were only girdled. The accumulation of water was slow, the evaporation was great, and the great sufferings of the people from malaria were attributed by them to the water; also farms were being flooded that had not been paid for. Disaffection spread among the neighbors in and around the Reservoir limits, and led to their gathering and cutting the dam. Many of the generally law-abiding citizens aided in this work. The Grand Jury of Mercer County declined to indict any one charged with this misdemeanor. Arrests were made, but no convictions could be obtained by the State. The proper officers of the State then paid for all the lands to be submerged, restricted the Resesvoir by an east wall, and repaired the dam at an expense of several thousand dollars. In August, 1904, some malicious persons, who had been irritated by the high waters of the previous spring and the threatening waves of the Reservoir, or seeking revenge on some persons who would be injured by flood, attempted to destroy the outer bulkhead near St. Marys by dynamite. Fortunately this crime was not productive of much harm; and the State authorities acted promptly in repairing the damage and in placing guards for the protection of the walls.

This Mercer County, or Grand, Reservoir has been called the largest of artificial lakes. It covers about twenty-seven square miles, or seventeen thousand acres. It is resorted to every year by fishermen from long distances, its stock of fish having been generally varied and abundant. The beauty of the Reservoir is yet much marred by the trunks of trees protruding above the water, charred and distorted by their having been fired to light the fishermen at night, or by others who desired to destroy them during low stages of water in dry seasons. Petroleum abounds under as well as around it, and many productive wells have been drilled from anchored flatboats—see *ante* page 17.

The length of the Canal-navigation year has generally been supposed to be about 275 days; but some years it is longer. During the winter of 1899-1900 boating was done in every month, but not continuously.

The original cost of the Canals of Ohio was $15,967,652.69—that of the Miami and Erie being $8,062,680.80 and the Ohio (eastern lines) $7,904,971.89—and their estimated present values are near the same amounts. A Columbus correspondent of the Toledo *Blade* 15th February, 1902, under the heading Canals have been a Great Burden, gives the expenditures and receipts of the Canals of Ohio each year from 1827 to 1900, inclusive. The total receipts are $16,671,229.81 and total expenses $11,447,551.06. The excess of receipts over expenditures came prior to the decline of the canals from railroad competition. W. P. Craighill, Brigadier General and Chief of Engineers, in his report 27th February, 1896, of the last United States Survey of these Canals with view to their enlargement, states that under existing conditions the Canals do not return in tolls the cost of maintenance and are a burden to the State, and will continue to be a burden to any owner unless increased materially in carrying and earning capacity. Of the three routes surveyed, he says the great advantages of the western route [Miami and Erie] are its superior water supply, its important terminal points [Toledo and Cincinnati] and the magnitude of its local traffic. Its principal drawbacks are its length, lockage, and original cost.*

---

* House of Representatives 54th Congress, 1st Session, *Document* No. 278, page 67.

A Miami and Erie Canal Transportation Company composed largely of Cleveland men, secured of the Ohio Legislature in 1901 the right to construct and operate an electric railway along the towpath of this Canal for towing boats. A short section of this line was put into operation at Hamilton, Ohio, 4th April, 1902, to aid in further construction. Six boats in line were laden with material and were satisfactorily drawn five miles to the other end of the completed section. If completed the entire length of the Canal this new motive power (which is now suspicioned by the friends of the Canal as the beginning of the usurpation of the entire canal-way by railway interests) should greatly increase the carrying capacity, not alone from the towing of boats in fleets, but also in lessening the running time on the levels. Heretofore the time required for a freight boat from the mouth of the Detroit River to Cincinnati has been 80.90 hours. Propulsion of boats by gasoline engines, and by steam power, has also been under renewed discussion. Another evidence of renewed interest and life in this important waterway, is the building in 1903 of a steel aqueduct over the River St. Mary, and aqueducts over smaller streams northward.

Following the introduction of steam, and later power to pleasure boats, there have been seen on this Canal such boats from New York City and intermediate points, on their runs to and from the Mississippi and its various tributaries. This transit has lessened somewhat since the abandonment of the connection with the Ohio River at Cincinnati. But hunting and fishing parties bound for the Grand Reservoir, and pleasure parties occasionally of both men and women yet make excursions by boats along the Canal.

Speculation was rife with many of the early settlers in the Maumee region; and frequently many promoters abounded for a time who did not desire to remain. Speculators in town lots, and in land, predominated, particularly during the survey and making of the Canals, and in this as in general, but few of the speculators won. Between the foot of the lowest rapids and the mouth of the Maumee River, a distance of about fifteen miles, fifteen village plats were made: Perrysburg of 1816 and Maumee of 1817 remain, the last including Miami of 1810. Port Lawrence of 1817 and Vistula of 1832 united in 1833 as the nucleus of Toledo which, later, absorbed Manhattan of 1834-37 at the mouth of the river on the left bank, with Presqu'ile opposite, Oregon of 1834-37 and Lucas City above. Austerlitz of 1834-37 six miles above the mouth of the Maumee, Marengo of 1834-37 nine miles, Orleans of the North of 1815 under Fort Meigs near the foot of the Rapids, with Havre de Grace, Ottokee, Yondota, and Florence, intervening — all have disappeared from the map, and the average residents or owners of their sites know not their stories, nor even their names. So with Otsego above Roche de Bout, and other early popular settlements along the canals and rivers, including Independence three-and-a-half miles east of Defiance, Newburg of 1835 at the bend of the Maumee in Delaware Township, Defiance County, and New Harrison of 1838 in Indiana near the Ohio Line where it was thought the Wabash and Erie Canal would be locked into the Maumee. Other towns, in plat and in reality, that have disappeared, have been mentioned in other places. Brunersburg, on the Tiffin River two miles from its mouth and two miles overland from Defiance, had a beginning in the early 1820's. It was platted in 1834, and a village soon sprung into vigorous existence. Hopes were entertained of its being a port on the Canal; and supplies and exports were moved by canal boats. There were also hopes of a railroad (see Railways). One addition after another was made to this town, and its business for a few years rivalled that of Defiance. Beside the flouring and sawing mill there were several leather tanneries, a pottery, and boatbuilding. But decline began in 1844; and now there are very few residents in the village. Also along the Miami and Erie Canal in Paulding County and southward, the former Canalport, St. Andrews, Newburg, Murat, Timberville, with others are but memories that are fast fading into oblivion.

The First Railroads.

The subject of railroads was overshadowed for some years by that of canals. The argument ran that every new country possessed the means for making canals — the earth, stone, wood, water, and horse propelling power — whereas the iron and steam machinery for the less efficient railroad must needs be imported at great expense. The experience of England for some years was that the earning capacity of the canal far exceeded that of the railroad.

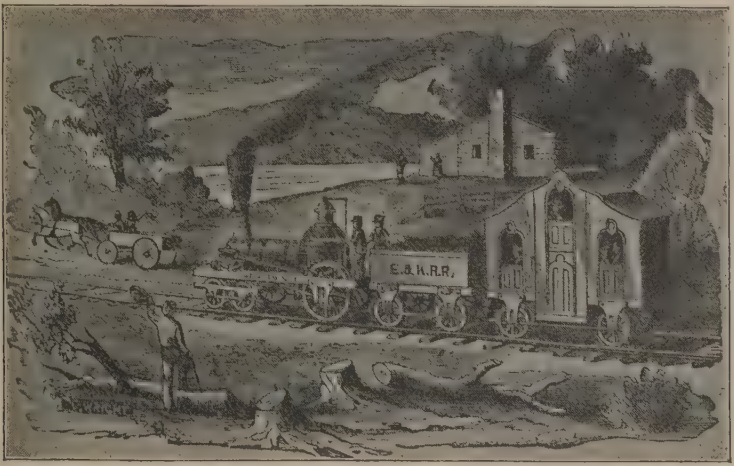
The first railroad built and operated west of the Allegheny Mountains was on the line of the present Michigan Southern line between Toledo and Adrian. The Miami and Erie Canal had been projected along the Maumee River, and this railroad line was chosen as far from it as possible and across the country. It began business at Toledo over five years before the canal but it continued for many years a small beginning of the present marvelous system of railway transportation. It was projected in the winter of 1832-33 by Doctor Samuel O. Comstock of Toledo. It was incorporated with the name Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad by Act of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, passed 22nd April, 1835, with perpetual succession "to build a railroad from Port Lawrence [now Toledo] through Adrian to some point on the Kalamazoo River; to transport, take and carry property and persons upon the same, by the power and force of steam, animals, or of any mechanical or other power, or any combination of them." An amendment to this Act, passed 26th March, 1835, provided that when "the road shall have paid the cost of building the same, and expenses of keeping the same in repair, and seven per cent on all moneys expended as aforesaid, the said road shall become the property of the Territory, or State, and shall become a free road except sufficient toll to keep the same in repair." A subsequent Act terminated the road at Adrian.

Many members of the Legislative Council viewed the question as 'a mere fanciful object out of which could come no harm [to Michigan Territory] and it would greatly please the Comstocks of Toledo.' Stephen B. Comstock and Benjamin F. Stickney were among the charter members; and the company held a view regarding the success of the road different from that of the council. Upon receipt of the charter they at once completed their plans for building. The selection of persons to locate the road and superintend its construction fortunately resulted in the choice of Edward Bissell of Toledo and George Crane of Adrian, men of good judgment and energy. The construction plan embraced only ties, and oak rails four inches square. The work was pressed rapidly forward and, on account of the level country and the light ground work, the road was completed to Adrian in the summer of 1836; but the wear on the green oak rails in transporting material for construction soon demonstrated the necessity for an iron covering, whereupon strap iron rails five-eighths of an inch thick and two-and-a-half inches wide were procured and nailed to the oak. It was also decided to purchase a steam locomotive. The road was opened for business in the fall of 1836 with horses as motive power, and the following rates of fare for a "Seat in the Pleasure Car upon the Railroad: Toledo to Whiteford 4 shillings [fifty cents]; Whiteford to Blissfield 4s; Blissfield to Palmyra 2s; Palmyra to Adrian 2s; Through ticket from Toledo to Adrian [thirty-three miles, continuous] 12s; 50 lbs. baggage free to each seat." Through freight, on a light barrel bulk equal to 200 lbs. was 4 shillings per hundred.

The terminus of this railroad at Toledo was in the former Village of Vistula at the foot of the present Cedar Street, the road passing through the former Port Lawrence about the present Perry and Water Streets and extending along the river over a trestle. The run to Adrian generally required the full day's time at first if no mishaps occurred; but accidents and exciting incidents were of frequent occurrence.

February 15, 1837, a dividend of five per centum was declared on the stock discounted and held by the bank. April 7, 1837, the fare was advanced to $2.25 from Toledo to Adrian in the Pleasure Car, and it was further "resolved that former rates for the Pleasure Car be charged [for passengers riding] on the Lumber Cars."

The first locomotive brought west of Schenectady, New York, being the one ordered in 1836, was received at Toledo in June, 1837, its route being from Philadelphia to New York City by water, thence up the Hudson River to Troy, thence by New York and Erie Canal to Buffalo, and thence by a lake boat. This locomotive was number 80 of the noted Baldwin Locomotive Works. It was very small and light in comparison with the average locomotive of the present, and it was without protection for the engineer. In July, 1837, the accommodation of this railroad was increased by a new 'Pleasure Car of a pretty, though rather singular and fanciful model' as shown in the accompanying engraving. This was the second passenger car used by this road. It was divided into four compartments, three to accommodate eight passengers each on two facing seats, and the fourth was a small space in the lowest central part between the wheels, for baggage. By this equipment passengers were transported at a speed of less than ten miles an hour when no accidents were experienced, and this permitted one round journey a day, from Toledo to Adrian. But accidents often occurred, entailing long delays. The soil supporting the ties was slippery and unstable after even light rains, while the knowledge and the means were not at hand for stable ballasting. With the spring of the rails came a breaking or loosening of the nails and a



THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE AND THE SECOND 'PLEASURE CAR

Of a Pretty though rather Singular and Fanciful Model' of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad running from Toledo in July, 1837. From an old print.

curling of the ends of the strap-iron rails which during the greatest speed occasionally curled so high and with such force as to pierce the floor of the car and endanger the passengers. The exciting experiences of such dangers related by several passengers caused fear and hesitation among would-be travelers on the line.

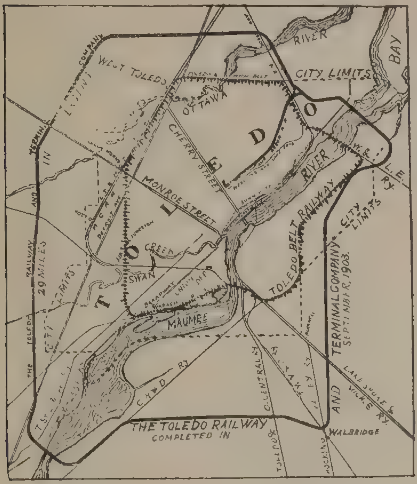
In October, 1837, this railroad company was awarded the contract for carrying the United States Mails, and little by little it grew in better favor with the public. Expenses increased, however, and unpaid bills accumulated. The largest single item in the list of delinquent taxes in Toledo for the year 1841 was $203.12 assessed on the depot and machine shop of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad, which property was valued at $3451. The company's troubles increased and in June, 1842, its property was levied upon by the sheriff. In May, 1849, the road was leased in perpetuity to the Michigan Southern Railroad Company; and in 1869 it became part of the great Lake Shore and Michigan Southern system through consolidation with the Northern Indiana; Cleveland and Toledo organized in 1850 and completed December 20, 1852; Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula; and the Buffalo and Erie Railroads.

In 1836 there was a bill presented to the Legislature for incorporating a railroad from Brunersburg to Hicksville, but nothing came of it. The Toledo, Wabash and Western Railway was broached July 11, 1847; but the plan did not assume definite and active form until 1852. It was completed from Toledo to Fort Wayne in July, 1855. To facilitate its construction, rails and a locomotive were transported by Miami and Erie Canal from Toledo to Defiance. This road became a strong competitor to the canals, and it has been the strongest factor in the decline of the Wabash and Erie Canal. For many years it has been operated under the name of the Wabash Railway. The Dayton and Michigan Railroad, built in 1859, and its connection with the Cincinnati and Dayton road, has been the great competitor of the Miami and Erie Canal.

The first railroad to enter Fort Wayne was the Ohio and Indiana which was located in 1852 and completed in 1854. Its first rails and locomotive were received by the Wabash and Erie Canal by way of Toledo. The arrival of this locomotive excited great interest and it was soon visited by nearly the entire populace. The Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad was located in 1854 and was completed from Fort Wayne in 1857. This road was consolidated in 1856 with the Ohio and Indiana, and the Ohio and Pennsylvania roads to form the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad which is now the prominent line of the great Pennsylvania Railroad system.

The Chicago line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company was built through this Basin in 1873-74. The double tracking of this railway, which is a part of the principal line of this company, was completed in 1905.

This Basin, from its large business interests, its central position, and its level landscape, is an ideal region for the building and operating of railroads; and those of both steam and electric power have accordingly increased to a large number, extending in every direction. Each of the largest cities is a railway center, with the chief center at Toledo which has become one of the principal railway centers, of both steam and electric lines, in the United States — and yet greater business is soon to be realized from the completion in 1903 of two beltlines, The Toledo Belt Railway, intermural, and The Toledo Railway and Terminal Company which is mostly without the present city limits thus affording rare opportunities for manufactories along its line — see adjoining map. The last named line was opened for inspection and dedicated September 16, 1903, by an excursion given around its course to nearly three hundred representative business men of Toledo.



TOLEDO'S DOUBLE BELT RAILWAYS

Libraries, Public and Private.

Libraries have been increasing to a considerable degree during the past few years, both in their number and in the number of their books. The Public Libraries represent a change from the Public School and the Sunday School libraries which were formed from the recommendation of the Ohio State Convention of the friends of education held in Columbus in January, 1836. This recommendation was based upon the plan of the District School Libraries of New York and New England which, though small, were composed of books, like Abbott's histories, that were instructive on useful subjects; and the wholesome influence of which was carried throughout the Nation.

The changes are, in some respects, not for the better, largely from the increased number of books of fiction that have been published and the hasty, indifferently-considered selection. The funds for the support of these Public Libraries have come from individual gifts, from public entertainments, or from public tax, and in bulk, often making the purchase of several hundred volumes possible at a time; and the commitee, already fully occupied each member with his own affairs, or too often the librarian alone, has taken the latest fiction in bulk without regard to its character or probable influence. Thus the books of these libraries have exerted a powerful influence on many persons of all ages to thwart the efforts and the desires of the considerative taxpayer or philanthropist by making the libraries very much of an evil instead of a blessing. Pernicious habits of reading have been directly encouraged by giving unbridled opportunity for reading as a time euthanasia, or mental and time dissipation; for reading that inflames the imagination and passions; for the formation of the habit that always leads to the choice of books that take the readers into an unnatural state of mind, impracticable in the everyday relations of the reader's life; fictions that lead to day-dreaming, to deteriorations of mind and even to disorders of the nervous system and of the bodily health; and to repugnance for books on practical and useful knowledge. The desires and intentions of philanthropists are best met by those libraries which are a part of well adjusted and carefully supervised educational systems.

The Public Library of the City of Toledo. The first effort to establish a Public Library in Toledo came from the organization 1st December, 1838, of the Young Men's Association of the City of Toledo incorporated under the Act of the General Assembly of 13th March, 1838. The constitution of this Association is an interesting document and contains the names of sixty-six subscribers. To establish upon a liberal and public basis a Lyceum and Public Library in the City of Toledo are two of the objects named in the constitution. This Association survived a number of years (Hiram Walbridge being secretary in 1845) and it was then succeeded by the Young Men's Christian Association.

In the year 1864 a few citizens of Toledo decided to form a subscription library. The 18th October a meeting was held at the office of Doctor Chesbro when it was reported that $2500 had been subscribed, and it was resolved to proceed with the organization. At the adjourned meeting, three days later, the committees reported and the constitution was adopted. October 27th, a charter of the Toledo Library Association having meantime been obtained, John Sinclair, E. Jackson, Charles A. King, D. E. Gardiner, W. A. C. Converse, Morrison R. Waite, and William Krauss, were elected Trustees and W. H. Fish Clerk, to serve until May, 1865. The work was carried forward with spirit, and soon a reading room was opened with eight hundred books and with newspapers and magazines. A course of lectures and further subscriptions netted an additional thousand dollars. Overtures were now made to add the books held by the Young Men's Christian Association which had been organized since 1838; and in October, 1865, this collection of eight hundred books was added. The library increased in popularity. During the year 1865 there were 15,000 circulations. A course of lectures this winter netted nine hundred dollars, and another course the next year thirteen hundred dollars. In May, 1867, the Association had four thousand books and five hundred members, thirty-three of whom were life members. Its officers were: John Sinclair President, Robert A. Wason Vice President, Charles F. Adams Secretary and Elijah H. Norton Treasurer. Trustees: Charles A. King, Neh. Waterman, W. A. C. Converse, Calvin Barker, W. H. H. Smith, Stephen H. Camp, Henry Hall, and Albert E. Macomber. This Association continued in successful operation until 1873 when it became evident to the few more considerative and unselfish members that a library sustained by the subscriptions of a few could not be of such direct and general benefit to the general public as was desirable; and that a free library sustained by general taxation was as necessary as free schools. Action from these opinions resulted in giving Toledo the honor of being one of the first cities in the west to provide a Free Public Library. The Legislature was petitioned for this purpose. An Enabling Act was passed 18th April, 1873,

TOLEDO PUBLIC LIBRARY BUILDING
Looking southward

and it was formally adopted by the Common Council of Toledo 24th June, 1873. The nine Trustees, to serve without compensation, were then named, four by the Board of Education and four by the Common Council with the Mayor ex officio. They were chosen chiefly from the officers of the Toledo Library Association, which now turned over to the new organization its property including 4878 books. There also came to the new organization 1320 books from the Public Schools, the law directing that all books there not needed for reference be thus transferred. These 6198 volumes were opened to the public in the second story of the King Block at the northwest corner of Summit and Madison Streets as soon as practicable as a Free Public Library; and here they remained, being added to each year, until the completion of the present building when the books were removed and the library there opened to the public 23rd June, 1890.

This library building is nominally fire proof. Its walls are of brick faced with sandstone on its fronts northward on Madison Street and westward on Ontario. Its cost was about $75,000. Its architecture is composite and pleasing exteriorily, but rather disappointing in its interior arrangement, light, and capacity which is possibly about sixty to seventy thousand volumes. The number of volumes catalogued was reported April 1, 1903, as 50,552, and the volumes possessed January 1, 1905, were reported as 56,576. During the year 1904 there were added 6833 volumes; and the number of tattered volumes of fiction discarded was large. The net increase of borrowers' cards was 4746 during 1904.

This library is popular. It is open day and evening during business days, and Sunday afternoons. During the year ending 1st April, 1902, there were 231,303 withdrawals of books for home reading; 52,955 of these being fiction for children and 79,683 of fiction by adults. During this year there were 45,174 consultations of reference books in the reading room.

The five substations, that were in operation from the autumn of 1899, were abandoned during the year ending 1st April, 1903; but many books are distributed to residents of different parts of the City by teachers of their schools.

The open-shelf system was established 12th December, 1899; also a juvenile room, and a newspaper room, which have become popular. The books of fiction drawn by the children have been as high as ninety per cent of their entire reading. Later reports lessen this ratio.

The general management of the library has been conservative. The receipts for 1902 were, from City Tax $20,928.37; Mott bequest $1000; M'Bride $12. The expenditures were, for bonds and interest $4,977.50; repairs $79.54; furniture $15.35; salaries $8,706.49; books purchased $867.48; binding books $11.70; newspapers and magazines $407.51; fuel and light $1,393.45. Amount to the credit of the Library Fund 1st April, 1903, $9,564.20.

Mrs. Frances D. Jermain, who had been an employee of this library for twenty-five years, several years as librarian, terminated her connection with it at the close of the year 1903. Her work was efficiently and pleasantly done. She is succeeded as librarian by Willis F. Sewall.

An architect was called in December, 1904, to consider the practicability of increasing the book storing capacity within the present walls of the building, and the desirability of extending the building to double the present capacity. There is ample space for extending the building on the City's land adjoining, the lot being 106 feet in width and extending from Madison to Jefferson Street.

The Way Public Library, Perrysburg, Ohio, is the result of a bequest by the late Willard V. Way, Esq., who was born in Springfield, Otsego County, New York, 3rd August, 1807, and removed to Perrysburg in 1834. He was a lawyer, a man of sterling character and useful in a good degree to his fellows during his lifetime. He died at Perrysburg 25th August, 1875. His bequest was $15,000 to be permanently invested and the interest, $600 per year, alone used for the purchase of books; also the sum of near $12,000 for a lot and library building. Gifts by citizens purchased an adjoining lot, and $1100 from the Village purchased the heating furnace, shelves, etc., and graded the yard. The building was completed and occupied in 1890. It is of Kilbuck brown stone 50 x 60 feet ground size, mainly one story high with basement. The two outer main entrances lead through a vestibule under a tower of Louisville sandstone, facing two streets. The plan includes a cataloguing nook 11 x 13 feet, a hall 7 x 16 leading to the stack room which is 19 x 30 feet, with paneled ceiling and mouldings. To the left of the main entrance is the room for reference books 14 x 15 feet in size, and to the right is the general reading room 16 x 22 feet, furnished with heavy chairs and tables of oak.

The building and invested money are held in trust by a Board of seven Managers, three chosen by the Village Council, two by the Board of Education whose President and the Mayor are ex officio members.

The books number about 7000, and the circulations number from 10,000 to 12,000. The hours are from 1 to 5 and from 6:30 to 8:30 P. M. excepting Sundays and public holidays. The rooms are lighted by electricity donated by the electric company. A children's department has recently been added. The expenses for the care of the building and library, amounting to between $300 and $400 per year, are paid by a special Village Tax. Mrs. Ann E. Frederick is librarian.

The Defiance Public Library was organized in June, 1895, with about 850 books that were donated by the surviving members of the Defiance Library Association which was formed the 1st April, 1873. This Association started with a membership fee of five dollars and two dollars annual dues, and gathered about forty members. The expenses were kept at a minimum by the librarian keeping the books in his office without charge.

The Public Library has been maintained by City Tax, three-tenths of one mill being levied for this purpose. It contains something over five thousand volumes many of which are fiction, and a few hundred are in the German language. The circulation cards numbered 2647 in June, 1904; and the book circulations numbered upwards of 20,000 during the year, the average daily withdrawals being 65 and the maximum weekly 601, with short hours. The books were first kept in one room at 508 Court Street, but in July, 1901, they were moved to three rooms over a drygoods store at 314 Clinton Street.

Andrew Carnegie expressed readiness November 25, 1903, to give $17,500 for a library building at Defiance if the City would provide the site and not less than $1750 annually for the library's maintenance. The general tax levy for this sum was unanimously voted by the City Council; and January 5, 1904, upon the unanimous vote of the Library Trustees and by a vote of five to two by the City Council, Fort Defiance Park was chosen, and granted, as the site for the building. The west end of this centrally and beautifully situated Park was chosen as the building site, it being well removed from the earth works of Fort Defiance. Ground was broken August 9, 1904, and the cornerstone was set October 9th by the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ohio before a large concourse of people. Addresses were made by Henry B. Harris President of the Board of Library Trustees, by Mrs. Laura S. Sneath President of the Federated Women's Clubs of Ohio, and by Charles Dick United States Senator. The building is two and a half stories high, in principal part, faced on all sides to the eaves with the Mansfield red-variegated sandstone, 60 x 66 feet in size, the sides and ends with central-extended lines and the corners buttressed to good effect. The roof, with skylight and large tile glazed in red, green and chocolate colors, was laid in December, 1904, and January, 1905. The contract for the building did not provide for its completion on account of insufficient funds. The sum of $1000 subscribed by citizens residing in the vicinity, for making permanent walks and otherwise beautifying the Park, was added to the building fund and yet it was not sufficient to finish and furnish the building according to later desires. Upon presenting the facts to the benefactor he generously added in February, 1905, $4500 to his former contribution. The building was occupied in the summer of 1905. The library was then largely enhanced by gift of the book and museum collections of Charles E. Slocum — see description on following pages, and engravings on pages 58, 73, 175, 279, 535, etc. Miss Jewel Fouke is librarian.

The Fort Wayne Public Library was established in 1893. Largely through efforts of The Women's Club League the City Council and the Board of School Trustees were induced this year to establish the library as part of the Public School system; and the title to property appertaining to it, and the library control, were vested in the Trustees of the Public Schools under Act of the Indiana Legislature in 1881. The entire support is derived from City Tax, which levy cannot exceed one-third of one mill. The money thus collected in 1903 amounted to about $8000.

The books now number about 12,000 volumes. They were housed in a private residence previous to the completion of the new library building in the winter of 1903-04. This building was constructed by the fund (at first of $75,000 and later of $15,000) donated to the City of Fort Wayne for this purpose by Andrew Carnegie on his usual terms in such cases. It is situated in a quiet, pleasant place on the southwest corner of West Wayne and Webster Streets, two squares west of Calhoun Street the principal thoroughfare. The walls of the north, east and west sides are faced with Bedford Limestone in smooth finish. The building is of general fireproof or slow-burning construction, and in accordance with well-considered plan. The capacity is about 80,000 volumes. Miss Margaret M. Colerick is the efficient librarian.

The Public Library at Bryan, Ohio, is the outgrowth of the Bryan Library Association which was formed in 1882 by a few book-loving women. By social and literary entertainments, and subscriptions, a few books were opened to the public in July, 1883, the families using the books paying one dollar a year therefor. During later years the Williams County Commissioners have granted the use of a basement room in the Court House for storing the books, and there books could be drawn at certain hours in the week. The books now number about 3200 volumes.

Early in 1903 Andrew Carnegie tendered to the Village of Bryan a donation of ten thousand dollars for the erection of a free public library building on his usual conditions that a site be obtained by the village and at least ten per cent of the sum donated be raised each year for the library's support. The gift was accepted, a Village Tax of one mill was levied, a building site facing High Street southward near the east side of the Public Square was bought, and the building was completed for occupancy late in the fall of 1904. The books belonging to the Library Association were formally transferred December 20, 1904, to the care of the Trustees of the Public Library previously chosen, and they were shelved in the new building. Alice M. Walt has been the efficient librarian.

The John Sanford Brumback Library of Van Wert County, situate in the City of Van Wert, was formally dedicated 1st January, 1901. The building is of stone 60 x 70 feet in extreme ground plan, cruciform, a story and a half high, with basement; with gothic roofs and two castellated towers two stories in height situated in the angles front of the transept, the one to the right of the approaching visitor being round in form and the one to the left square. It has arched ceilings, tile floors, marble mantel and wainscoting, polished oak woodwork and furniture. The naturally flat surface of its site in the small City Park was elevated by 10,000 wagon loads of earth hauled from a distance.

The Ladies Library Association of 1890 was the origin of the successful public library movement in Van Wert. By small membership fees, yearly assessments, and entertainments, the ladies accumulated a few books, and in 1896 the Common Council came to their assistance with a levy of three-tenths of a mill tax which produced $575 a year. With the increased expenditure for rent and care, but little of this fund was left with which to purchase books, and it was feared that the effort would fail like a similar effort some years before. At this time the will of Mr. Brumback was made public, in which he provided for a good building for the City or, if his heirs thought best, for the County. This suggestion of the County prevailed. An Act of the Legislature enabled the County Commissioners to levy a tax for the purchase of books and the maintenance of the library. This tax at present is one-half mill. The Ladies Association turned over their 1600 books to the new organization which now possesses a better rounded collection of 9000 volumes, with space for forty thousand; and the prospect for the future usefulness of this County Library, the first in Ohio, is encouraging. Fifteen local points of distribution have been established in well-chosen parts of the County, and are in successful operation. The Library Board consists of seven members, three chosen by the County Commissioners, two by the Brumback heirs, and two by the Ladies Library Association. Miss Ella Louise Smith is librarian.

The Findlay Public Library Findlay, Ohio, was organized a few years ago, and now has about 3500 miscellaneous books. It is housed in the basement of the Hancock County Court House, is freely patronized, and is moderately supported by City Tax.

The Lima Public Library was opened in September, 1901, in three rooms in the Black Block, Main Street in the City of Lima, Ohio. The books then on the shelves were principally six hundred volumes, belonging to the public, which had been kept in the rooms of the Young

Men's Christian Association. Money was raised to support the new enterprise by subscription and by selling life memberships for one dollar each. The number of books increased during the first three years to 3500 volumes 'one-third being fiction, one-third juvenile, and one-third classified.'

The Third Annual Report, for the year ending September 21, 1904, shows 3290 membership cards, 592 having been issued the last year and 181 cancelled. The largest issue of books in one day was 320 on March 12, 1904, and the smallest issues were July 26th and August 25th of 51 volumes each day. The largest circulation in one month was 4121 books in March, 1904, and the smallest was 2510 in August. The average daily issue was 124, an increase of nine over 1902-03. The whole number of issues during the year were 38,132 of which 33,063 were fiction. At first the library was open eight hours a day and evening excepting Sundays and during the summer when it was closed evenings other than Mondays and Saturdays. It was also closed two hours at midday and two hours for evening meal. Latterly the hours have been from 9:00 to 5:00 by day and 7:00 to 8:00 evenings, Sundays excepted.

This library is sustained mostly by City Tax, only a few membership tickets being sold to country or distant residents. The receipts for the year ending October 11, 1904, were $2,765.36 and the expenditures were, for salaries $997.00, for rents and maintenance $309.45, books and supplies $500.73.

In the fall of 1901 Andrew Carnegie offered to donate the City of Lima $30,000 with which to erect a library building on his usual conditions of a free unencumbered site and the raising annually of ten per cent of the amount donated for the upkeep of the library. No movement being made by the city authorities, or the business men, to secure a building lot, the members of the Women's Federated Clubs took action. They were offered the net proceeds that might accrue from their editing and circulating of one day's issue of the *Republican-Gazette* newspaper; and their Library Edition of November 25, 1902, netted them $1000 as the beginning of a Library-site Fund. In April, 1904, these ladies gave a Twilight Recital, and in June they held a Lawn Fete at MacBeth Park for the benefit of this fund, both entertainments netting them $1274 which sum was placed on interest with the other. October 17th a lot one hundred feet square was purchased for $6500. It is situate at the corner of Market and MacDonald Streets, four squares west of the business center at Main Street, and is considered most desirable. Other public entertainments were given by the ladies for this fund in the winter of 1904-05. Medora Freeman is the enterprising librarian.

The Paulding Library Association was organized in Paulding, Ohio, late in the year 1903, by the Women's Federated Literary Societies, some contributing books and others money, and a library of about two hundred and fifty volumes was opened to the members February 16, 1904. The membership payment has been named at two dollars, and the dues at one dollar a year. A report the first part of December shows eighty members, and three hundred and eighty volumes on the shelves. The officers are Mrs. Andrew Durphy President, Mrs. Charles Baughman Secretary, and Miss Catherine Travis Librarian.

Ottawa, Putnam County, Ohio, has no public library. At the death there of Charles Clippenger in 1904, it became known from his will that he bequeathed to this village fifteen hundred dollars for library use, to be paid after the death of two heirs who are to receive the income from this sum during their lifetime.

Other towns have recently become beneficiaries of Andrew Carnegie for library buildings in the following amounts: Wauseon, Fulton County, $7500; Celina, Mercer County, $10,000; Columbus Grove, Putnam County, $10,000.

The Public School Libraries. The Public Schools having the largest number of books are as follows: In the part of Indiana within the limits of this Basin, Ashley 500 volumes; Auburn 1200; Butler 300; Decatur 1900; Fort Wayne 3000; Garrett 500; Waterloo 400. In Michigan: Addison 300; Adrian 16,500; Hudson 1500; Hillsdale 1100. In Ohio: Antwerp 600; Bluffton 400; Celina 400; Columbus Grove 500; Criderville 400; Defiance 2000; Delphos 800; Delta 600; Deshler 200; Findlay 700; Hicksville 500; Latty 400; Lima 700; Maumee 500; Napoleon 300; New Bremen 600; North Baltimore 300; North Lima 300; Ottawa 500; Pandora 250; Paulding 300; St. Mary's 2000; Toledo 700 reference books, others were turned into the Public Library; Van Wert 400; Wapakoneta 1700; Wauseon 300; Weston 300. These books have generally been chosen with the erroneous, and pernicious, notion that fiction is necessary to form the habit of reading.

Other Educational Institution Libraries are noted at page 595 ante.

The Young Men's Christian Associations possess a small number of books, also other societies, but reports from them are not at hand.

The Private Library of Colonel Robert S. Robertson, Fort Wayne, Indiana, comprises over three thousand volumes. History predominates, and next rank *belles-lettres*, art, and science. There is here one of the best collection of books relating to Mormonism possessed in the middle west. A number of first editions, a few fine bindings, and several rare old works are on his shelves. These books are free to all literary inclined persons who desire to consult them and, with a few reservations, books are loaned. This collection of books and its owner have been authority to many citizens, and of inestimable value to the community in their far-reaching influence for good. In the same rooms with the books are kept many of the Colonel and Mrs. Robertson's collections of prehistoric and historic relics, minerals, fossils, paintings, engravings, and other works of art, many of which were collected during their travels in America and Europe — all presenting evidence of culture and good discernment.

The Library of the late Allen H. Hamilton is the largest private collection of books in Fort Wayne. It contains probably something over eight thousand volumes, and is yet retained by Mrs. Hamilton. It is strong in folk-lore, poetry, and rare old works.

The other of the larger private libraries in Fort Wayne have been reported as follows: The collection possessed by Reverend and Bishop Alerding numbering about five thousand volumes; Reverend Samuel Wagenhals four thousand; Margaret Hamilton three thousand five hundred; and John H. Jacobs about one thousand volumes in which latter collection English History and Literature of the eighteenth century are best represented, and general history, biography, and political economy, are next in rank.

Charles E. Slocum's Private Library at Defiance, Ohio, shows the accumulations of about thirty-five years, after giving many books to his friends. It contains some poor and some indifferent books which have been of use as warnings to their possessor to be more circumspect in other purchases.

This library, now numbering over five thousand titles and yet increasing, is permitted to be reported only as an encouragement to book-loving people by illustrating what can be accomplished with moderate means and persistent efforts; its owner believing that it is better to own the obtainable books necessary for mental expansion than to be dependent on the neighbors or a public library. This collection contains something relating to every subject — books, general and special, on the different phases of anthropology, language, history, science, literature, philosophy, art, politics, religions and education. Books on science, history and literature predominate. But little space has been given to modern fiction on account of its demoralizing influence on mind, and on the time at command for reading.

Books relating in varying degree to the 'Territory Northwest of the Ohio River' are well represented, including the Jesuit Relations Burrows Brothers edition in seventy-three volumes, the Paris and London Documents, and most of the other authorities referred to in the footnotes of this volume. There are also the Narrative and Critical History of America eight volumes, Parkman's writings twelve volumes, and special histories of Canada, the Pacific Slope, Alaska, Labrador, the United States of Mexico, and of the countries of Central and South America.

In addition to several special works treating different phases, the History of the United States of America is represented by the works of Bancroft seven volumes, Bartlett three, Bryant and Gay four, Ellis six, Shaler two, Lossing eleven, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War four, Hildreth six, Wilson five, the American Nation twenty-eight volumes edited by Albert B. Hart, Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History ten volumes, National Cyclopædia of American Biography at present twelve volumes, National Portrait Gallery four, the Writings of George Washington edited by Jared Sparks twelve volumes, Writings of John Adams second President ten, of Alexander Hamilton seven, of James Madison four, and of other public men; also special histories of the wars, of States, sections, cities, and citizens; also writings of Greely, Grant, Sherman, William T. and John, Fiske, Blaine, Bryce, Roosevelt, Earle, etc., etc. There are also many books relating to the Aborigines and their archaeology, illustrated with sketches in the field

LIBRARY OF CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM, DEFIANCE, OHIO

Looking east 1st November, 1899.

and some with colored portraits from the United States Bureau at Washington. There are over fifty volumes on the fauna and flora of the United States including fifteen or more volumes on cryptogamic botany with many colored plates. Other countries are similarly represented, also in the French and German languages.

The medical and surgical sciences are well portrayed by several special and recent treatises on each subject. Special treatises on the different phases of biology and psychology are also in this department, as well as in that of the educational; and over fifty volumes of the publications of the American Medical Association, and thirty volumes of the Ohio State Medical Society.

LIBRARY OF CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM, DEFIANCE, OHIO

Looking west 1st November, 1899.

Long time membership in other societies has added many volumes of their publications, among which are those of the American Microscopical Society twenty-five volumes, of the New England Historic Genealogical Society twenty-five, of the American Academy of Political and Social Science twenty-three, American Association for the Advancement of Science twenty, National Geographic Society eleven volumes, the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society fifteen, etc. A number of other books, including periodicals, relating to special science —anthropology, ethnology, archæology, sociology, psychology, zoology, botany, history and literature, have been regularly received.

In addition to the usual standard and some rare histories of England, Ireland and Scotland, there are here Rapin de Thoyras and Tindal's great work in five thick folio volumes edition of 1743 to 1747 with many page portraits and other illustrations from copper plates by George Virtue, Bosc, Gravelot, etc.; Knight's History eight volumes; Knight's Old England two large folio volumes with profuse illustrations of ancient buildings, monuments, domestic customs, costumes, etc.; Spencer's Complete English Traveler of the eighteenth century, illustrated folio, and many special smaller works of ancient, medieval, and modern times.

Every other country is represented in its history, general and natural, many with well illustrated works, such as the General History of China four volumes from the French of P. du Halde edition of 1736, the ancient classic poetry, and later works; DuRuy's Rome in eight volumes profusely illustrated, and others; also Grote's Greece in twelve volumes and several other richly illustrated works each relating to Greece, Egypt, Syria, the islands of the seas, to the ancient home of Man in the far East and to the recent research excavations there; Tissot's Life of Christ and of the Old Testament six volumes imperial quarto size illustrated in colors; the different works of DuChaillu, Stanley, and of many other explorers and travelers including the latest efforts and observations in the more distant and obscure parts of the world, as in Alaska, Central America, Patagonia, Siberia, Australia, and in the Arctic, Antarctic, and other glacier regions. There are also several large well illustrated works on art, general and special, with several large volumes of bound photographs of paintings, sculptures, and architecture, ancient and modern, that have been gathered during the owner's travels in America and Europe.

The department of reference books is particularly well stocked, including the recent large publications.

Being widely removed from large libraries from which to draw, it has been incumbent upon the owner of this library to purchase the books he needed; and being in full sympathy with the methods of modern science he has endeavored to gather literature illustrative of the results of such methods. Little attention has been given to vagary or hobby in the selection of books. There are a few handsome bindings, but generally a good cloth binding has been preferred to any other kind on account of its better withstanding atmospheric changes and wear.

This private library has been freely open to the public, and many persons have consulted it, its owner being pleased to offer his aid in any line of study desired. The books have been arranged in four rooms under Masonic Hall in the business part of Defiance; and these rooms have been freely open as the meeting place of the Fort Defiance Science Club and of other organizations, as well as to individuals who desired to confer regarding questions of public utility and on matters literary, scientific or musical.

This collection of books was divided in the year 1905, some volumes going to friends, others to Defiance College, others to the Charles Elihu Slocum Library of the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, others to the Orrington Lunt Library of the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and yet more to the Defiance Public Library. The last named institution is also the beneficiary of the Charles E. Slocum collection of prehistoric and historic relics, including those of Geology, of minerals, fossils, shells, marine algae, archaeology, and other museum objects, all of which are arranged and displayed in the new library building for the benefit of all persons who conform to wholesome rules for their study.

The Library of George H. Ketcham, Toledo, Ohio, is among the largest private collections of books in library form in the Basin, it comprising about nine thousand volumes. It is general in character, well supplied with special works of reference, and histories of all countries. There is a large number of limited editions, but no special attention has been given to bindings. This library is open only to the owner, to his family, and to his friends.

William H. Tucker of Toledo possesses a library of about four thousand volumes, largely of the standard works of fiction, history, particularly English, and French, art, science, literature and biography. Special works for reference are also well represented. This library contains a number of first and rare editions of small volumes for convenient use and handsomely bound in tree calf or Russia leather. Good bindings are seen throughout. Considerable attention has been given to collecting letters and autographs of prominent persons — George Washington, LaFayette, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Jared Sparks, and George Bancroft, being among the more prominent ones represented by a letter; and Robert Morris, Ulysses S. Grant, Benjamin F. Butler, and Charles Francis Adams, among those represented by autograph. A number of engravings and bronzes, embellish the room containing these books. The owner has generously invited the public to free enjoyment of his treasures, and he experiences pleasure in aiding literary efforts.

George B. Orwig's library in Toledo numbers about two thousand volumes well exhibiting the standard works of American and English authors. He has no place for current fiction. History and science are well represented. He has given the subject of religion much attention, and has sought books descriptive of the religion of all peoples. Books on travel have also received due attention, and the historical and picturesque parts of the earth may be enjoyed in description and illustration at his own fireside. He has preferred half morocco bindings, believing them more substantial and durable; and in all things he has sought the practical. This library is accessible to all friends of its owner.

Robinson Locke of Toledo has a library of about four thousand volumes of general literature, mostly in special limited editions. This is the rarest collection of books reported to the writer. Special attention has been given to gathering books on early printing, of illuminated manuscripts, fine art works, and extra illustrated and extended books. It is probably the best collection of books on the drama in the west; and possibly the best private collection in this country regarding the later actors. Being a man of cultured taste and means, and having resided abroad several years, Mr. Locke has been enabled to gather a collection of great credit to himself and to his city.

The other private libraries in Toledo that have been reported to the writer as containing over one thousand volumes each of general character, are possessed by John W. Dowd, Harry E. King, Noah H. Swayne, Rathburn Fuller, George E. Pomeroy, Charles M. Spitzer, and Thomas W. Tracy.

INDEX.

An asterisk (*) after page number indicates an engraved illustration of the subject.

Aborigines, as first described 64-74, in general and in particular 418-442; the fiercest savages known 65, 69; complexion, hair, beard, clothing 66, 421; shelters from storm and cold 67, 368, 398, 409, 424; were cannibals 69, 97, 99, 100, 108, 160, 175, 266, 277, 331, 334, 421-2, 425, 433; dog the only domesticated animal 71, 421; religion and medicine vague, various superstitious sorcery 72, 73* 74* 257* 367-8, 393, 427, 437-8; food, fire 67, 422; filthiness 68, 533; bred to savagery and war, weapons 50* 55* 68, 125* 420; use of captives 69 (See Captives for names); scalps of enemies, use of 70, 93, 133, 168, 329, 331, 384; dances 71, 434, 438 (calumet) 91 (scalp) 134*; ornaments 58* 70; entertainment of expensive 71-2, 91-3, 103-4, 140-1, 149, 422; industries 70; feasts 71, 433; fecundity and mortality 72; mode of burial 72, 282, 436; blood freely mixed with French 80, 423; wampum 86, 90-92, 99, 107, 117, passim; waver between French and British trade 83, 85, 87, 89, 96; council with French in Montreal (1701) 87; nearly all favor French (1721) 89; send warriors to Montreal 90, 102; all join Nicholas' conspiracy against French 90; war parties sent by French against British 92, 102; war parties sent by British against French 93; smallpox desired among by French 99, by British 111; were very intemperate 71, 103-4, 422 passim; their sanguinary and intemperate training by French and British and their measure of fealty 83, 85, 92, 93, 102, 103, 149, 363; Pontiac conspires against British 105-113, captures British posts 108-9; free flow of rum among suggested as surer death to than war 113; persecute Capt. Morris by Maumee (1764) 115-118; curious as to cause Revolutionary War 124; British plan to govern them 124; 130-150; defrauded by British traders 125-6; federated by French and British against Americans 127-150, 162-76, 178-83, 240, 256, 262, 280; would not live in peace with Americans from British influence 130, 133, 140, 149-50, 157-60, 163, 171, 173, 181, 183, 185, 208, 217, 237, 254, 261; Americans not faultless toward 168; battle against British and Americans 102, 110, 112, 128, 145, 148, Harmar (1790) 163-7, St. Clair (1791) 171-3, Wayne (1794) 193-4; maraudings 130-48, 154, 157, 160; murder American peace messengers 178; christian converts massacred by Americans 146; condition at close Revolutionary War 149 (in 1794) 219 (in 1795-6) 236-41, 252 (1808) 398 (in 1814-15) 364, 428; Tecumseh conspires against Americans 256-68; U. S. efforts to civilize them 367, 419, 422-3 (trading posts) 259, 263 (agents, blacksmiths, mills and interpreters) 373, 375, 377, 379-81, 393-5 (taught agriculture and domestic arts 386, 393, 395, 400, 403, 408, 414-15 (domestic animals to) 259, 395, 403, 413 (trading agencies) 259, 264; U. S. pays their debts 395, 415-17, guards health of 416 (see Treaties); great gatherings of 90, 99, 106, 114, 127, 132, 141, 147, 178, 180, 233, 241, 319, 337, 364, 423; land boundary taught them by French against British 103, 126, by British against Americans 151; U. S. forbids individual purchases of land from 151; claims to land not valid 152, 442; U. S. policy of narrowing their range 152-4, 158, 369, 410; were the aggressors in strife 160; number of (1782) 146, (1789) 158, (1816) 366, (1792) 383, (1657, 1718) 427, (1822) 425-6, 429, 433-4, 438, 440-1; U. S. expenditures for 365, 380, 410 (see also Treaties); low in scale of advancement and language, fiction regarding, misnaming of 419-20; christian missionaries among 65, 382-409; names 370-1, 375; dispersion of voluntary 380; resemble gypsies 441; pipes 58* 73* 117, 121, 125* pipe of peace (calumet) 91, 107 note, 121, 123* 225; scouts of for Americans 301-2; linguistic stocks, Algonkin 424, Iroquois 439; final departure for the west 442.

Cherokees 440, prompted by Gen. Wayne 233; in conspiracy of Tecumseh 266.

Chippewas in conspiracy of Nicholas 91; punished by French 92; sent in war parties against British 93; at capture of Pickawillany 99; cannibals 100, 422; at general council for federation (1792) 179; sketch and chiefs of 425, 440.

Creeks at councils by Maumee (1792) 179; in conspiracy of Tecumseh 266.

Delawares at Lancaster treaty (1748) 94; capture of 113; in Ohio 117, 121, 123; bad character of 118; sold scalps of

Americans to British 133; christian band of incited against Americans 134; taken to Detroit by British and massacred by Americans 146; continue sale of American scalps to British 185; surrender captives to Fort Defiance 224, 235; at Greenville treaty (1795) 225-239; return from Indiana to Auglaise River 305; (in 1813) 341; Captain Pipe's village 375; sketch and chiefs of 425.

Cat Nation, Eries and Neutrals, sketch of 439.

Five Nations (Six Nations from 1714) patrolled this Basin 53; at war with Miamis at dawn of history 64, 464-5, menaced by French and Miamis (1697) 86; in conspiracy of Nicholas 91; French send war party of against British 92; at Lancaster Treaty (1744) 94; expulsion of from New York favored 152; at Ft. Stanwix Treaty (1784) and relinquish claims to this Basin 152; sketch of tribes of 439-40; Col. Proctor peace commissioner to 169; at Philadelphia Treaty (1792) 178-9; tribes or 'nations' of 440; origin of name 'Seneca' 440; wavering and dreaded 113; (in 1813) 341; treaty with (1817) 369; chiefs 370; other names for Senecas 371; number removed 439.

Hurons, see Wyandots.

Kickapoos, see Shawnees 436.

Illinois tribes, sketch of 425.

Menomonis, savagery and cannibalism of 327, 329, 331; sketch of 433.

Miamis at war with Five Nations at dawn of history 64, 86, 464-5; French and British traders among (1680, 1702) 86-87; waver between French and British 87, 93; in conspiracy of Nicholas, dance the calumet, burn part of Ft. Miami, and ask French to return to head of Maumee 91; at Lancaster Treaty (1748) for sale of this Basin 94; continue to waver between French and British 96; in conspiracy of Pontiac 107; persecute Capt. Morris at head of Maumee 116-17; maraud Kentucky 133; peace commissioners to 159; cannibalism of 160; chiefs 222-3, 225, 232, 390, 431-2*; join conspiracy of Tecumseh 282; expedition against hostiles (1812) 304; religious missionaries among 386, 407; U. S. builds houses for chiefs and supplies cattle, wagons and supplies for tribe 413; later treaties with 417-18, 429, 431; sketch of tribe and chiefs 426-33; superstitions 427; very intemperate 428-30; called Twighwighs and Twigtwies 427.

Ottawas in raid on Pickawillany 99, in conspiracy of Pontiac 104-6; by Maumee River 113, 122, 434, 470; were cannibals 277; chiefs 105, 232, 371, 396, 416; religious missionaries among 396-400; U. S. pays debts of 415; number (in 1822) 434; sketch of tribe 433-4.

Piankeshaws at Pickawillany (1749) 95; a band of Miamis 427.

Pottawotamis join conspiracy of Nicholas 91; regain favor of French 92; deceitfulness in conspiracy of Pontiac 109; chiefs of 232, 260, 263, 266, 280-2, 390, 392, 434-5*; were cannibals 277 note; ungratefully burn village of Ft. Wayne 282; religious missionaries among 386-7, 389, 407-9; visit President 392; sketch of tribe 434.

Shawnees at Lancaster Treaty (1748) for sale of Ohio 94; bad character of 117-18; Dunmore's expedition against 129, Bowman's 139, Clark's 148; maraud Kentucky 132; sell American scalps to British 185; at Treaty of Greenville (1795) 231, 235; game of ball (1796) 244; were intemperate 244, 438; religious missionaries among 392-6; names 370-1; were kept from aiding British in War of 1812 by Quakers 393; death sentence for witchcraft stopped by Quakers 393-4; chiefs 231, 370-1, 394, 436-7, 564; sketch of tribe 436; Kickapoos offshoot from 436; number and removal of west of Mississippi 438-9..

Twightwighs, Twixtwees, etc., see Miamis 427.

Wyandots conspire with Nicholas against French 90; return to Sandusky 92; in conspiracy of Pontiac 109; bad character of 118; chiefs 90, 231, 370; 385; few friendly to Americans in War of 1812, 341, 345-6, 365; scouts for Americans 345-6; names 370; intemperate 385; religious missionaries among 385, 400; sketch of the tribe 441; Charles Dickens mentions 441; number in 1822, 441; the last of the Aborigines to leave Ohio 442.

Adams, Benoni 579, James 518, Phineas 536, Charles F. 625.

Adams County, Indiana 4, 5.

Agents, superintendents and peace messengers to the Aborigines 104, 111, 121, 124, 126-7, 129-30, 134, 149, 159-60, 178-9, 208, 213, 252, 254, 259, 262-4, 267, 279, 365, 367, 373, 380-2, 388-9, 394, 401, 406-7, 410, 416, 438, 441, 565, 567.

Agriculture and domestic arts, efforts to teach to Aborigines 385-6, 391-3, 395, 399-400, 403, 408, 414-15.

Aldrich, Alpheus A. timberman 542.

Aldridge, Abraham (1834) 560.

Alexander, Rev. John, Methodist 560.

Allen, Col. John 274, 292, 309, Capt. Samuel 570.

Allen, Seneca 516, 518-19, 584.

Allen County, Ohio 4, 519, 559*

Allen County, Indiana 4, 550.

Altitudes 16, 28, 41, 487, 492, 496; of canals 599, 602, 612-14.
Anderson, John 397, 415, 512, James 560.
Andrews, George W. (1848) 564.
Animals, domestic given Aborigines 259, 395, 403, 413; dog the only one before held by them 71, 421.
Animals, extinct wild 1, 61, 388.
Armies, three British against Pontiac's conspiracy (1763) 112, 114.
Armstrong, Oliver 517, Lee 554.
Army of the Northwest, under Gen. Harmar (1787-91) 91, 155-67; Gen. St. Clair (1791-2) 169-74; Gen. Wayne (1792-6) 177-241; Gen. Wilkinson 241; Gen. Hull (1812) 269-72; Gen. Harrison (1812-14) 273-82, 288-358; Gen. Winchester (1812) 282-90; Gens. Gano and M'Arthur 358-62; divisions of 290-1; continual need of recruits for 316, 318; Aborigines in 345, 352-3, see also under Scouts; advance of into Canada 352-6.
Army life, incidents in 274, 294, 296-306, 336, 340, 351-2.
Arowin, Luke captured at Ft. Miami 99.
Artillery in Hamilton's expedition and at Ft. Sackville 138; with marauders 141; with Gen. Harmar (1790) 161, 165; with Gen. St. Clair (1791) 175, 185; at Ft. Defiance 201, 224-5, of British 287-8; at Ft. Wayne 205, 277-8, 477; at British Ft. Miami 214, 239; at Greenville Treaty 225; surrendered by Hull to British 272; at Ft. Dearborn 278; poor (1812) 304; want of 306; at Ft. Meigs 321-3, British spiked 325, sent from 352, 363; at Ft. Stephenson 344-5; of squadrons on Lake Erie 350-1; captured at Battle of Thames 357; at Ft. Winchester 534.
Aughenbaugh, Peter 556-7, 564.
Auglaise County, Ohio 1, 563.
Aveline, Francis A. (1824) 550.

Baker, Rev. S. 519, Charles 560.
Baldwin, John T. 521, 570-1, Marquis 569, Eli 570, Tibbals 570-1.
Banks, Richard, Thomas and William 527.
Baptist missions among Aborigines 406-9, 412; received land for 409.
Barbie, Gen. 209, Col. Joshua 284, 289-90.
Barker, Calvin (Toledo 1867) 625.
Barlow, Hiram P. (1823) 520.
Barnett, Joseph (1833) 564.
Bartlett, Hiram (1832) 572.
Base Lines in land surveys 590.
Bashore, John (1834) 560.
Battle, Sham at Defiance 1813, 352.
Battles with Aborigines, at Parent Creek 110, Bushy Run 112, Great Kanawha 128, Old Piqua 143, Ohio River 145, Miami River 148, Head of Maumee 163-7, Wabash 171-3, Fallen Timber 193-4, 195* 196* 208-13, Tippecanoe 265, Mississinewa 304, Raisin River 309-12, 357, Thames River 356-7, Maguaga 372.
Baughman, Rev. John A. (1825) 519, 569, Mrs. Charles 632.
Baw Beese, Pottawotami chief 436.
Beach, Schuyler N. (1849) 587.
Bean Creek, see Tiffin under Rivers.
Bean, Edward (1837) 537.
Beatty, Alexander (1834) 560.
Beaugrand, J. B. (1806) 512.
Becker, Jacob (1837) 536.
Bellaire, Peter (1820) 526, Gad 527.
Bellinger, Philip (1837) 537.
Bennett, Amos S. (1848) 564.
Berdan, John (1837) 578.
Berryman, Thomas and William 561.
Berthoff, Peter (1832) 572.
Binkley, F. H. (1834) 560.
Billings, Levi (1837) 553.
Bird, Capt. Henry commanded marauding savages 139, 141-2.
Bison, American, extinct 1812, 1, 4*
Bissell, Edward (1832) 572.
Black Hoof, Shawnee chief 392, 394, 436.
Black, Dr. Samuel (1834) 560.
Black Swamp 2, 303, 443.
Blair, John (1825) 530.
Blalock, George (1810) 512, 517.
Blossom, Ansel (1824) 555-6.
Blue Jacket, Shawnee chief 176, 213, 231, 235; a British officer 238, 243; daughter Nancy Stewart 372; in 1792, 383; son George 396; description of with lodge and family at Defiance (1792) 437.
Boats, military 289 note, 317, 325, 471, 475, 493, 515; canoes 444* 445* pirogues 446* 467 passim; commercial 478-9, 510; lower Maumee and Lake 479-81, 482* 483*
Bondie, Antoine reports plans of British and savages 280.
Boon, Daniel a prisoner 132.
Boonsboro marauded (1778) 132.
Booth, Capt. Samuel (1872) 542.
Bostwick, William H. (1820) 521.
Boundary between Aborigines and settlers, French-British 126, 181; United States-Aborigine treaty 153, 158, 227, see also Treaties; American-British 149.
Bouquet, Col. Henry requested to send smallpox among Pontiac's hostile Aborigines 111; sketch of 112; Battle of Bushy Run 112; army for Ohio 118; new mode of dealing with the savages 119; captives surrendered to 119-20; campaign compared with Col. Bradstreet's 120.
Bourie, Louis (1815) 546.
Bourke, Thomas captured at Ft. Miami 99.
Bourne, Alexander U. S. Agent 517.
Bowen, William (1837) 554, 561.
Bowers, Samuel 529, Abraham 560.
Bowling Green, capitol Wood Co. 520.
Bowman, Col. John disperses Shawnees in Ohio (1779) 139.

Boyer, Lieut. diary of Gen. Wayne's campaign to Maumee River (1794) 189-206.

Bradley, Samuel R. (1837) 578.

Bradstreet, Col. John led army against Pontiac's savages and was deceived by them 114; bad effect of 118; opinion of Delawares and Shawnees 118; campaign compared with Col. Bouquet's 118-20.

Braucher, Allen 530 note, Christopher 537, Isaac E. 537, 554.

Brechbill, Henry (1835) 537.

Brenton, Samuel (1847) 593.

Brewer, James A. (1837) 554.

Brickell, John captive with Aborigines 174, 193, 219, 224.

Bridenbaugh, Frederick 528, 530 note, Peter 528.

Bridge, first across lower Maumee 522; fund for 585; at Defiance 587; across Tiffin 587.

Briggs, George (1837) 536.

British, compete with French for trade with Aborigines along Maumee 81-93, treaties with (1748) 94 (1761) 104 (1763) 114 (1765) 120; claim America 82; French outdo them with Aborigines 85; underprice French 89; promote conspiracy of Nicholas against French 90; suffer from war parties of savages sent by the French 92, and send war parties against French 93; warned by French to keep away from Ohio 95; French capture four Pennsylvania traders at Ft. Miami 99; shut out of Ohio 100; defeats of by French and Aborigines 101; conquer French 103; difficulty with Aborigines from scant supplies 104; Pontiac conspires against 105-112; suggest that Col. Bouquet send smallpox among Pontiac's savages 111; three armies formed against Pontiac's savages 112-14; bid for favor of Senecas 113; first entrance of soldiers into Illinois country 123; broadly plan for control of Aborigines 124; traders defraud Aborigines 125-6; sell them metal tomahawks 125* religious missionaries suggested for Aborigines 126; revival of French influence against 126; fear confederation of savages against them by French but they federate them against Americans 127, 162-76, 178-83; appoint Henry Hamilton to incite savages against Americans 130, and ally them to themselves 130-48; encourage savages at Detroit 131-42; buy American scalps 133; bids for American disloyalty 142; conduct toward Aborigines begot later troubles 150; arrogant meddlesomeness with Aborigines cause of American trouble with 149, 151; refuse to turn over forts in American territory according to treaty 151, 152, 154, 156; again meddle with Aborigines 153, 154; again strengthen Fort Lernoult instead of turning it over to the United States 156; oppose peace between United States and Aborigines 179-81; build Ft. Miami and Ft. Turtle Island by lower Maumee (1794) 184, 474; assist Aborigines against United States 185-7, 192, 213-21; Shawnees present American scalps to 185; surrender forts in United States territory 239; general bad conduct of 240; long-continued desire for country west of Alleghenies 221, 240; continue aggressions 249, 254; conspire with Tecumseh 256-68; supply savages lavishly 263; plan for and promise savages indulgences 280; retreat from Defiance before Gen. Winchester 287-8; massacre of Gen. Winchester's men 311, of Col. Dudley and men 328; siege of Ft. Meigs 320-33; untruthful reports of 333; could but would not control savages 330, 353; maltreat United States surgeon 345; run before Americans 355; captured at Battle of Thames 356; appeals to by Gen. Harrison for less savagery 358 note; infamy of 362-3; kept their influence of American Aborigines as late as 1832, 423.

British-French, wars from 1613-1747, 81-93; each claims America 81, 82; the Aborigines and their catch of furs the cause of their constant quarrels 83-103; difference in conduct 85; impossible to live as neighbors in peace 88; purchase each other's scalps 93; last British-French war in America (1754-1760) 94-103.

Brown, Morris 518, Thomas 554, Absalom 559, Capt. Hiram 571, James Irvine 572.

Brownell, William C. (1837) 554.

Brumback, John Sanford, gives library building to Van Wert 630.

Brush, Capt. Henry, bravery of 1812, 273, 372.

Bryan, capitol Williams County 536, 538.

Bryan, John A. (1840) 536, 539.

Buck, Enoch (1824) 529.

Bucklin, Charles, Pauline and David 553.

Buckongehelas, Delaware chief 176, 231, 234, 426, 437.

Buffalo, see Bison Americanus 1, 4*

Burney, Thomas (1752) 100.

Burrows, Arthur (1824) 529.

Burwell, Ephraim (1836) 539.

Butler, John (1815) 553.

Calumet, Aborigine pipe of peace dance 91; described 107 note; 123*

Camps, sites of Gen. Wayne's 189-206, 191* plan of daily 197* sites of Gen. Winchester's 191* No. 1, 288, No. 2, 290-1* H 295, J 296, No. 3, 296* 297* great sufferings with deaths at 295-298, 305; huts built 302.

Camp No. Three, settlers at site 524.

Camp, Stephen H. Toledo 1867, 625.

Canada, American military expedition thru 355, 360-1.

Canals, Miami and Erie and Wabash and Erie 596-619; right of way reserved thru Aborigine grants 412; termini 600-1; junction 601, 613; feeders, St. Joseph River 491, 602* Six Mile Reservoir 450* 602, 610, Loramie Reservoir 614, Grand Reservoir 615-16* Maumee River Dams 458* 613*; congressional aid 599-601; contracts for making 602-3; financial stress 602-4; wood locks 603-4* completed 602-5; summit levels 599, 602, 614; varying dimensions 608, 612; importance of 605, 609, 617; a national military highway 605; boats awaiting lockage at Defiance 606* passenger and freight boat speeds 606-7; aid in clearing forest 608-9; iron furnaces built by 608-9* steam power on 608; electric power 618; partial abandonment of 610-11; enemies of 610-11, 616; leased for seventeen years and depreciated 611; business at Defiance 606* (1899) 611 note; two surveys for enlargement with size comparison and profile 611-14; cost and receipts 617; speculative towns along 618; views along 194* 450* 452* 453-4* 458* 538* 604* 606* 613* 614* 615*

Cannibalism of the Aborigines 70, 160, 277 note, 331, 422.

Canoes, easily and quickly made of bark 445*

Captives by Aborigines, adopted or tortured and eaten 69, 70, see also under Cannibalism; cruel treatment of 109, 142; surrendered to Col. Bouquet 119 and some return to the savages 120; surrendered to Col. Croghan 122; surrendered to Fort Defiance 224, 235, to Gen. Wayne 235; taken at siege of Fort Meigs 329, 333. Names of the few known:
  Armstrong, Robert mar. a Wyandot 372.
  Ball, Henry with Shawnees 1792, 523.
  M'Cullough, William mar. Wyandot 372.
  M'Pherson, James received land 373.
  Meadows, Polly at Defiance 1792, 523.
  Moore, William at Defiance 1792, 523.
  Slocum, Frances with Delawares and Miamis sixty-nine years 235, 418 note.
  Spencer, Oliver M. at Defiance 1792, 523.
  Spicer, William mar. a Seneca 372.
  Vanmeter, John with Wyandots 372.
  Whitaker, Elizabeth with Wyandots 371, 376.
  Williams, Sarah with Wyandots 372.

Carlin, James 512, 517, 552, 584.

Carnegie, Andrew gives library building to several towns 628-9, 631-2.

Carr, Solomon (1825) 555.

Carter, William 512, 517, John 515, Samuel 517, Erastus 537.

Case, Isaac P. 514, E. C. 536.

Cass, Gen. Lewis on British encouragement of savages against Americans 133, 142 notes; appointed Governor of Michigan Territory and Superintendent of Aborigines 357; incident in treaty at lower Maumee (1817) 375 note; took active part in Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute 567-8, 576; see also War of 1812 and Treaties with Aborigines.

Catholic, Roman, missions among the Aborigines 65; grant of United States land to 374.

Celina, Mercer County, platted 1834, 556.

Celoron, Capt. sent with soldiers thru Ohio to the Maumee to warn the British away 95-6, 99; offers inducements for French farmer settlers 102; 471.

Chaffee, William (1834) 560.

Chambers, William (1837) 554.

Champlain, Samuel de explorer 1615-18, map of 75*

Chappel, Joshua (1817) 516.

Charloe, Peter, Ottawa chief 503, 558.

Charloe Village (1841) 503* 558.

Chartier, Francis (1822) 521, 584.

Chautauqua, Maumee Valley 456*

Chesbrough, Alonzo 542, Doctor 624.

Chillicothe 132, 139, 143, 216; near Head of Maumee 163, 165.

Churches, first at Orleans (1819) 518, Perrysburg 519, Defiance 531* 532, 534*

Clark, Col. George Rogers plans and executes his remarkable expedition for capture of the Illinois country (1778) 135; captures Col. Hamilton with his command and supplies 138-9; expeditions thru Ohio against savages 143, 148; plans to capture Detroit 144; against Wabash tribes 154; unwisely organizes against Spanish 155.

Clark, Mrs. Philothe Case 514, Dr. Jacob 572.

Clay, Erie 35-6; lacustrine 36; composition 36. See also under Glacial Till.

Clay, Gen. Green with twelve hundred Kentuckians arrives at Defiance 321, at Grand Rapids 325, at Fort Meigs 332; in command of Fort Meigs 335* orders Col. Johnson from Defiance 337-8; advances toward Canada 352.

Clemmer, Robert (1835) 557.

Clinton, Gov. George writes of British rewards for scalps 93; replies to Gov. Jonquiere 98.

Clippenger, Charles bequest for library 632.

Closson, Josiah (1825) 561.

Clutter, Amos (1834) 560.

Cochran, William (1825) 561.

Coffinbury, Andrew, poet 498 note; 536.

Colby, Doctor Jonas (1836) 536.

Cole, Amos Henry Co. 1837, 554.

Coleman, Major 1823, 569.

Colleges and special schools 595.

Collins, Sanford L. (1831) 571.

Colonies, American depletion of 111; cost

COLONIES — Concluded.

to for protection against French and savages 124.

Colton, Dr. Walter (1816) 520.

Combs, Leslie messenger (1812) 305, 321; Capt. at Dudley's defeat 325-31; Gen. at Fort Meigs reunion (1870) 523.

Communication and transportation, early difficulties of 269, 299, 303-4, 306-7, 443, 526.

Comstock, Daniel O. 571, Stephen B. 571, 578, Calvin 578.

Conant, Harry 518, Dr. Horatio (1816) 417, 521, 564, 569.

Connolly, Dr. John endeavors to turn Americans to the British 130, 156.

Conspiracy, of Chief Nicholas against French in favor of British 90: of Pontiac against British 105; of Tecumseh against Americans in favor of British 256.

Converse, W. A. C. Toledo 1864, 624-5.

Cook, Daniel (1837) 557.

Cooley, Rev. John W. (1834) 531.

Cooper, Christopher (1837) 537.

Coquillard, Alexis (1821) 547.

Corniferous limestone, fossiliferous 6, position 8, water and iron of 14, composition 16, glacial groovings of 27, boulder 35*

Cornplanter, Seneca chief friendly to United States (1792) 178.

Cory, Elnathan 552, David J. S. 553-4.

Counties, first division into 519.

Coureurs de Bois or rangers of the forest, became libertines 80, government could not control and treated with them 81, encouraged 85, in 1747, 92.

Court at Detroit (1796) for Wayne County, incidents of journey to from Cincinnati 242; more courts needed 247; Wood County court first in Basin 521; associate judges common pleas discontinued 558 note.

Court Houses at Defiance 534* 537* 538* 540* Napoleon 554* Lima 559* Toledo 576*

Cowan, Miles (1834) 560.

Cox, Benjamin Findlay 1815, 552.

Craig, James 527, Isaac 532, Susanna 537, Andrew 561.

Crane, Oliver 527, Joseph 556, Valentine 560, Harmon 572.

Crawfis, John, Crawfis College 595.

Crawford, George W. 1836, 536.

Crawford, Col. William (1782) 147.

Croghan, George sent by Gov. Hamilton to pacify Ohio Aborigines (1748) 96; sent by Sir William Johnson to hostiles of Ohio and southwest (1765) 121; received British captives 122; journal of 122-3.

Croghan, Capt. George bravery and success of at Ft. Stephenson (1813) 344-6.

Crozier, James (1833) 561.

Cunningham, Col. James, T. E. and Dr. William 560.

Curtis, Lieut. Daniel letter describing siege of Ft. Wayne (1813) 275-9.

Curtis, Jarius (1843) 518, Horatio N. 1822, 527, 530, 558.

Cushman, Benjamin (1824) 550.

Cushoois, Lambert (1824) 550.

Custom Houses, United States 582.

Daggett, William (1836) 580.

Dalzell, Capt. battles with Pontiac's conspirators (1763) 110.

Dances of Aborigines, feast 71, calumet 91, scalp 134* 438 passim.

Daniels, James 559-60, Munson H. 572, 578, Willard J. 572.

Dany, William (1837) 537.

Doaust, Seraphin timberman 542.

Darling, Henry (1833) 521.

Davidson, Jonathan (1837) 536.

Davison, Hamilton Receiver Ohio Land Office at Defiance 539-40 (1834) 560.

Davis, Walter 528, Jacob 537, Anthony and W. T. 550, J. Baron 572, 578.

Defiance, deep water-wells 15; Moraine 27, 28* 30* 40-1, 44, 454-5* Moraine Glen 45* Glacial Bay 28* 30* 45; map of and vicinity 191* Fort built by Gen. Wayne 192, 199* 200* its naming 207, report of 217-18; captives with Aborigines surrendered at 224, 235; Fort in 1796, 236; murders by savages at (1811) 267; scouts sent to 274; Gen. Winchester at (1812) 191* 288-91* 295-6* 297* Ft. Winchester built at 290-3* great suffering and deaths of soldiers from want of food and clothing 296-305; huts built by soldiers 302; military road to (1812) 28* 191* 284; British force with cannon pass for Ft. Wayne and retreat before Winchester 287-8; Gen. Harrison restores order among troops at 289; sham battle between soldiers (1813) 352; Chief Blue Jacket's cabin and family (1792) 437; site of in 1792, 523; soldiers first American settlers at 524-9; Village in 1820, platted 1822, 526, in 1826, 533-4, incorporated 1836, 536, in 1846, 538* in 1866, 543*; capitol Williams County 528-36; court houses 534* 537* Ohio and U. S. Land Offices 539-40; Fort Park and Centennial Blockhouses 525* 527, 540* Fort earthworks preserved 536; first churches at 531-2* 534* Shawnee Glen 532* 533* Aborigines at 477 (in 1826) 533-4; the timber center 540* 541* 542-4; large trees 191* 544*; first postoffice 580; 'Fort' dropped from name (1824) 580-2; business on Miami and Erie Canal at 605-6* 607 (1899) 611; libraries 628, 632, 633, 634* 635* See also Fort Winchester.

Defiance County organized (1845) 536.

Delaware Aborigines, bad character of (1764) 118; Moravian band influenced in favor British 134 and taken to Detroit

DELAWARE ABORIGINES — Concluded.

146; some massacred by Americans 146-7; chiefs visit President and Friends (1807) 392.
Delong, David 529, 553, William 553.
Dennis, Philip teaches agriculture to Aborigines (1804) near Ft. Wayne 387-92.
Denny, Adj. Ebenezers' diary Gen. Harmar's expedition (1790) 161-7, of Gen. St. Clair's expedition and defeat (1791) 171-3.
DePeyster, Maj. Arent Schuyler reports mode of British encouragement to savages against Americans 133; commandant of this Basin 140; sends out savage war parties 141-8.
Derum, Elizabeth (1837) 537.
Detroit, Ft. Pontchartrain built at (1701) 87; Ft. Detroit described in 1765, 123; commandant of governed this Basin 129; Ft. Lernoult built to replace Ft. Detroit (1778) 140; headquarters of British during Revolutionary War 143; desire of Americans to capture 143-6; forces at 1782, 146; described in 1792, 382; British retain notwithstanding treaty closing Revolutionary War 151, 154, 156, also Fts. Miami and Turtle Island built by lower Maumee (1794) 184, 474; Ft. Lernoult strengthened after Battle Fallen Timber 215; surrendered to U. S. by Jay Treaty (1796) 239; scarcity food at 240; Gen. Wayne at 241; Wayne County proclaimed with Detroit as capitol 241-2; represented in legislature at Cincinnati and Chillicothe until 1802, 247-50; surrendered to British by Hull early in War of 1812, 272; desire of Americans to retake 273-4, 284-5, 298, 302; retaken by U. S. Army of the N. W. 1813, 354; name of Ft. Lernoult changed to Ft. Shelby in honor of Governor of Kentucky 357.
Dick, Thomas 512, 517, Charles, senator 628.
Dickinson, Rodolphus (1830) 536.
Dils, Joel shiptimberman 542.
Diltz, Peter Allen County, O. 1817, 559.
Discipline, first civil and criminal 521, 550; imprisonment for debt 538.
Dodds, John F. Van Wert (1837) 557.
Dongon, Gov. Thomas writes to M. de Denonville of Aborigines and boundaries 83-4.
Douglas, Ephraim U. S. Com. to Aborigines at close Revolutionary War, did not forsee dangers 149.
Dowd, John W. private library Toledo 638.
Dragoo, William (1802) 396, 512.
Drainage channels, preglacial 16-18; changed by glaciers 25; altitude of 29; of Glacial Lake Maumee 37*; present system 443.
Dreese, S. M. (1848) 564.
Dresher, Simon (1848) 564.
Driver, John 525, Thomas 580.
Dubuisson, Ensign was sent by French with soldiers to hold Ft. Miami at Head of Maumee against conspiracy of Nicholas (1747) 91.
Dudley, Col. William at Defiance with soldiers 321; approaches Ft. Meigs 325; defeat and massacre of 326-33.
Duncan, Isaiah 555, Samuel 556.
Dunmore, Earl of Gov. of Virginia expedition against Ohio Aborigines (1774) 128.
Durbin, James (1850) 555.
Durphy, Mrs. Andrew, Paulding 1904, 632.

Eaton, Nathan (1839) 558.
Eddy, Samuel Toledo 1837, 578.
Edgerton, Alfred P. 539, 580, 587.
Edwards, David (1837) 553.
Elliott, Matthew deserts Americans for British (1778) 133-4; buys William May from Aborigine captors 178; entertains American peace commissioners to keep them from accomplishing treaty with Aborigines 180; 186, 213-14, 239, 273; at Defiance (1812) with invading army 287; at siege of Ft. Meigs and Dudley massacre 328; described 329.
Elliott, John (1848) 564.
Emlen, Samuel, Emlen Institute 594.
English, see British.
Eskar, in Indiana 43, 44; Highland in Ohio 44-6*
Evans, John 527-9, 533, 557, Forman 527, 533, 536, Pierce 527-30, 534, 554-5, Montgomery 524, 527, Rinaldo 527, Amos 536, J. N. 554.
Ewing, Samuel 516-17, 521, Samuel H. 517, 519, Charles W. 528, George W. and William G. 547.
Explorers, Champlain 75* LaSalle 78* Coureurs de Bois 79.

Fallen Timber, Battle of (1794) 193-4; site of (1902) 195* 196*
Fassett, Dr. Toledo 1832, 572.
Fasting and prayer, day of in wilderness (1812) 351-2.
Favour, William Loudon (1832) 571.
Fellows, J. W. Toledo 1834, 572.
Ferries, early 522, 528-9, 579, 585, 587.
Fiction-reading, extent and demoralizing effects of 624, 626, 632.
Findlay, Gen. James 247, 269, 284, 288, 552*
Findlay City 9* water supply 14; 551* platted (1821) 552-3; 'Fort' dropped from name (1824) 581; library 630.
Finley, Rev. James B. (1834) 560.
Firearms, flint-lock musket (fusee) 137* rifled (1764) 118; double barrel 144, 172; pistol 175*; 261, 263, 267, 274.
Fish and Fowl of the rivers 447-8, 466.
Fish, W. H. Toledo 1864, 624.
Fisher, Isaac near Defiance 1837, 537.

Five Medals, Pottawotami chief 282, 386-7, 389, 390.

Flagg, Junius Toledo 1837, 578.

Fleitz, Dominicus (1848) 564.

Fletcher, Gov. Benjamin reports on quarrels with French (1696) 85, 86.

Food, scarcity of and kinds eaten 140, 240, 291, 297, 302-3, 358, 364, 513.

Forbes, John G. Toledo 1827, 570.

Forest, most valuable 1, 540-5, 608-9.

Forsyth, Robert A. 417, 518, 566.

Forts, prehistoric circular 61, 62* 63* 439-40; British in American territory not surrendered according to treaty 151-2, 154, surrendered in 1796, 239; utility of among Aborigines 167, 266; for refuge on frontiers 179; blockhouses of 200* 204* 270* 293* 338* 525*; in Maumee River Basin (1796) 236 (1801-3) 251; supplies at in 1813, 337; garrisoning of 357; widespread 359; dismantled 1814-15, 363; Fort Adams (1794) 189* 190* in 1796, 236; Amanda (1812) 28* 289; Auglaise (1794) 216, 218, 227, 236; Ball (1812) 291; Barbie (St. Marys 1812) 284, 288; Brown (1813) 28* 502* Bryan 142, 148; Cahokia 135; Chartres (1717) 106, 108, 111-112, 123; Dearborn 272, 276; Decatur (1813) 493; Defiance (1794) 28* 191* 192, 199* 200* 201, 207, 217-18, 224, 235-6, 267, 475, 524-5* see also Ft. Winchester; Deposit (1794) 28* 193, 194* 238; Deposit (1813) 28* 308-9* 312; Detroit (for names of different forts at this place see under Detroit) 1701, 87, 107-12 (1765) 123, 136 (1778) 140 (1813) 357, 512; Feree (1812) 28* 291; Findlay (1812) 28* 270* 337, 353, 552; Finney (1786) 154; Greenville (1793) 182; Hamilton (1791) 171; Harmar (1788) 158-9; Harrison (1812) 280, 407; Harrodsburg 131; Henry (1776) 131; Industry (1804) 253, 308, 476; Jefferson (1791) 171; Jennings (1812) 28* 284* 337; Kaskaskia 135-6, 138; Laurens (1778) 136, 143; LeBoeuf (French 1753) 109; Logan 132; Loramie (1794, 1812) 28* 216, 218, 236; M'Arthur (1812) 28* 269; M'Intosh (1778) 136, 148; Mackinaw 109, 272, 360-1; Malden (British) 239, 354; Martin 142; Massac 135, 342; Meigs (1813) 314-17, 320-33, 334* 338* 339* 340-3, 353, 359, 363. 515, 523; Miami (French 1686) 28* 86, 91, 95-97* 98, 103, 106-9, 116, 120, 122, 126, 471-2; Miami (British 1794) 28* 184, 193, 198* 211-12, 214, 236, 239, 272, 512; Miami (1812) 272, 515; Necessity (1812) 28* 269; Ouiotenon (French) 109; Piqua (1794) 28* 216, 218, 388; Pitt 112, 121, 136, 146, 154, 159; Portage (1813) 312, 342, 359; Presque Isle 109; Recovery (1793) 182, 184-5, 215; Ruddell 141; Sackville 138; St. Clair (1791) 179, 182; St. Joseph 108, 472 note; St. Marys (1794 see also Barbie) 28* 227; Sandusky (1755) 108 (1795) 221; Seneca (1813) 28* 341; Shane Crossing (1813) 493*; Shelby (see under Detroit) 357; Stephenson (1812) 28* 291, 344-6, 353-4; Steuben (1789) 159, 170; Turtle Island (British 1794) 474; Venango (French 1753) 109; Washington (1789) 159, 161, 170-1; Wayne (1794) 28* 203, 204* 205-6, 217, 254, 259-60, 274-82, 294, 380-1, 388-90, 546, 549*; William Henry (1757) 102; Winchester (1812 see also Defiance) 28* 191* 290-3* 294-8, 302-3, 305, 307, 313, 337-8, 351, 359, 363, 524, 534.

Fort Jennings Village 284* 561.

Fort Wayne Village and City, deep water-wells 15; burned (1812) 275; short sword of Aborigines found at 279* annuities paid at 377, 411; in 1804, 389, in 1820, 407-8, in 1823, 548-50; incorporated 1825, 551; first U. S. postoffice 580, 582; views of in 1902, 449* 548* 549* libraries 629, 632-3.

Fortiner, Joseph captured at Ft. Miami 99.

Fourth of July celebrations of soldiers in the forest (1795) 225 (1813) 340-1.

Frakes, Nathan (1822) 552.

Frantz, Joseph (1837) 536.

Frederick, Samuel (1837) 553.

Freedy, J. C. (1837) 537.

Freeman, — peace messenger murdered by Aborigines 178.

Freeman, Norman L. 521, 584.

French the first explorers and cartographers 75-80; war with British 81-103; coureurs de bois 80, 81, mix their blood freely with that of Aborigines 80; claim America 82; oppose British advances 83; advantages over British 85; build and strengthen posts along Maumee (1680-86) 86-7; charge British with teaching Aborigines to use poison 86; underpriced by British 89; British promote conspiracy of Nicholas against 90; send savage war parties against British 92, 102; warn British to keep away from Ohio 95; capture four Pennsylvania traders at Ft. Miami 99; shut British out of Ohio 100; defeat the British 101; encourage French colonists 102; overthrown by British 103; taught Aborigines to claim Ohio 103; promote conspiracy of Pontiac against British 105, 120; bad character of many, at Ft. Miami (1765) 120, 122, at Detroit 123; 138, 153, 169, 245-6, 249, 422-3; scheme to separate the West from the United States 183, 244-6; individuals favor United States 212, 217, 221, 223, 280, 310, 515; timbermen 541* 542.

Friends, Society of (Quakers) influence always for peace 114, 392; missions to the

FRIENDS, Society of — Concluded.
Aborigines 382-96; to Detroit (1791-2) 382-4; (1795) 384-5; to Wyandots (1799) 385; (1803-4) 386; to Miamis and Pottawotamis (1804) 386-92; to Shawnees (1815-43) 392-6; taught agriculture and peaceful arts 386, 392-3, 396; first manual training school in Ohio 393; taught against superstition and stopped death penalty for alleged witchcraft 394-5.
Fronisman, Jacob (1837) 554.
Fulton County Ohio, organized 578.
Fulton, John A. U. S. Surveyor 567.
Fulton Line 309* 567-8, 573, 577.
Fur trade, importance of and general inclination to 81; British and French quarrel about 84-6, 89; governments restrict 87; British overbid French for 88; in 1809, 260, in 1792, 176, 384; 550.
Fusee, Fusil see under Firearms.

Gage, James Lee at Defiance 1826, 533.
Galissonniere, Gov. de la writes to Ft. Miami (1748) 92; sends Capt. de Celoron to warn British away 95.
Gano, Gen. John S. reports (1814) 358.
Gardiner, D. E. Toledo 1864, 624.
Gas, natural, discovery of high pressure in Trenton limestone 7, 9; origin of 10; composition 11-14.
Gavitt, Rev. Elnathan Corrington, Methodist 403 passim; 570.
Geddes, James canal surveyor 599.
Geology 6-46; chart of strata 7.
Gibbs, Almon (1816) 518-19, 564, 580.
Gifford, Richard (1810) 512-17.
Gilbert, Edmund (1825) 556.
Gilson, Reuben H. 540, George 553.
Girty family 134-5; George 134-5, James 135, 275, 473-5, Simon 133, 135, 435, Thomas remained loyal to U. S. 135, 473.
Girtytown, from James Girty (St. Marys) 206, 227, 275, 473, 492; by Maumee 475.
Glacial Till (or drift) 16, 33, 35; composition 30; arrangement and thickness 36.
Glaciers, evidences of extinct 18* 19* 27; epochs of 19; groupings 20; till of 16, 30, 33, 35; movements and load 25, 26, 28* 30* 34*; boulders brought by 18* 19* 34* 35* 38; cause of 21, 29; date and duration of 21, 29; extent, thickness and phenomena of 23-46; the Muir in Alaska 25*; moraines of 26-46; directions of groovings by 27; lakes caused by 29, 40* 41* 42* 43* time-measurers since 31, 32; benefits of 33.
Gladwin, Maj. Henry commands Detroit during Pontiac's siege 104-13, 115.
Glover, Elias surveyor 1805, 517.
Goddard, Lewis (1832) 570-1.
Godfroy, Alexander D. and Richard adopted by Pottawotamis 373.
Godefroy, Jacques with Pontiac's warriors at capture Ft. Miami 109; taken prisoner by British and released to accompany Capt. Morris 114.
Gonard, Sawyer (1837) 537.
Goode, Patrick G. (1833) 561, 563.
Gordon, Samuel and William (Defiance 1822) 527, Joseph 580.
Goss, John (1837) 553.
Governmental organizations, subject to military commandant at Detroit 129; the Quebec Act 129; Botetourt County Virginia 136; Illinois County 136; suggested divisions 153* Ordinance of 1787, 157* Washington County 158; Hamilton County 159, extended 177* St. Clair County 159; Knox County 161; Wayne County 242* divided in townships 246; first territorial Legislature 247; Ohio and Indiana territories 248; counties in Ohio (1802) 252* Ohio State 251; Illinois Territory 256; counties 519.
Granger, Aaron (1820) 521.
Graper, Henry (1837) 537.
Green, Mrs. Hester (1810) 514.
Greenwood, Richard (1832) 572.
Greer, Joseph (1829) 556.
Griffin, Benjamin (1837) 557.
Griffith, William 518, 537, Hiram 537.
Groves, Jeptha (1837) 537.
Guire, Leo Toledo 1823, 569.
Gulick, Groves Hully (1837) 537.
Gunn, Charles 516, 518, 525, 529, 534, 553, Christopher and Elijah 516, Richard 521, 553, Carver 553, Horace 579.
Gypsies, Aborigines compared with 441.

Hackney, William (1829) 553.
Hall, Henry Toledo 1867, 625.
Hambleton, John P. Findlay 1829, 553.
Hamblin, Don Alonzo (1829) 553.
Hamilton, Allen Fort Wayne 1823, 550, 633, Margaret 633.
Hamilton, Gov. James of Pennsylvania sends George Croghan to pacify Ohio Aborigines 96; writes to Gov. George Clinton 98.
Hamilton, Henry sent to Detroit as Lieut. Gov. and Supt. Aborigine affairs 130; sends war parties of Aborigines against American settlers 132-38; buys American scalps 133; encourages and receives American deserters 134; indicted at Montreal for tyranny to British subjects 136; allies Aborigines to British 137; marches up Maumee for Vincennes 137, 471-2; captures Ft. Sackville, and surrenders to Col. Clark 138; supplies also captured by Clark who sends Hamilton to Virginia 139.
Hammond, Mordecai (1828) 553.
Hamtramck, Col. John Francis effects treaties with Aborigines 177; at Battle of Fallen Timber 209; names and commands Ft. Wayne 206; described 221; letters to

HAMTRAMCK, Col. — Concluded.
Gen. Wayne 222-4, 236; letters to Gen. Wilkinson 237-9; takes possession of British Forts Miami and Detroit 239; died at Detroit (1803) 205.
Hancock County, Ohio 519, 551, 553.
Hanna, Samuel 550, 580, 600.
Hanson, Samuel (1824) 555.
Hardin, Col. John expedition against hostile Aborigines 159; with Gen. Harmar's expedition to head of Maumee 162-5; defeat of 166; killed at the Maumee by Aborigines as a peace messenger 178.
Harmar, Gen. Josiah takes Vincennes from Gen Clark's garrison 155; expedition thru Ohio 160; expedition to head of Maumee 161-7; defeated by hostile Aborigines 164-6; resigns commission 167; 170.
Harris, —— 561; William U. S. Surveyor 567; Henry B. Defiance 625.
Harris Line 309* 567, 573, 577.
Harrison, Gen. William Henry, on Gen. Wayne's staff at Battle Fallen Timber 210; chosen secretary N. W. Ter. (1798) 246; first representative from N. W. Ter. to U. S. Congress 247; appointed first Governor Indiana Ter. and Supt. Aborigine affairs 248; effects treaties with Aborigines 252-3; reports conspiracy of Tecumseh 258-67; in treaty with Aborigines at Ft. Wayne 259; receives visit from Tecumseh and his hostile band 262; sends peace messengers to the 'Prophet' 264; commands in Battle of Tippecanoe 265; commissioned General by Kentucky and United States 273; marches thru Ohio to relief of besieged Ft. Wayne 274-5; incident in army life 274; yields command to Gen. Winchester 283; describes path from Ft. Wayne to Detroit 284; appointed commander Army of the Northwest 285; restores order at Defiance 289; plans Ft. Winchester 290; difficulties of situation 298, 302-3, 306-7, 313, 317-18; orders to right wing 299; orders to left wing 313; builds Ft. Meigs 314; portrait 314*; successful defense of Ft. Meigs against British siege guns 320-33; address to garrison at beginning siege of Ft. Meigs 322; successful strategy 332 note; activity of 353; advance into Canada and captures British army at Battle of Thames 356; appeals to British for less savagery, goes to Niagara, resigns commission 358; presidential political meeting site Ft. Meigs (1840) 522.
Hars, R. Ft. Wayne 1824, 550.
Harvey, Isaac and Henry mission workers among Shawnees 393-6.
Haskins, Collister (1820) 521, 587.
Hathaway, Otis (1832) 571.
Hawley, David W. 1817, 517.
Haymaker, William D. 1849, 588.
Hays, John U. S. Agent at Ft. Wayne 380.
Heald, Capt. Nathan commands Ft. Wayne 205; reports hostilities from Ft. Dearborn 266; evacuates Ft. Dearborn 276.
Heath, Joseph (1837) 554.
Heathcote, Col. Caleb writes of French incitements of Aborigines 88.
Heatley, Moses (1824) 527.
Hedges, John P. (1814) 546, 555, 592, William B. 555-6.
Helfenstein, Judge William 562.
Henderson, W. L. (1831) 560.
Henry County, in Auglaise Township 553, 555, organized 554.
Henry, Dr. William (1834) 560.
Herrick, J. S. (1827) 518.
Hibbard, A. G. Toledo 1837, 578.
Hickok, Ambrose 512, 517, Chloe 517.
Hicks, Henry W. and Samuel 539.
Hicksville platted 539, P. O. 580.
Higgins, Judge David 521, 535, 555.
Hilton, Joshua 527, 534. Jesse 529, Horace 534, John 536, Brice 588.
Hively, John, Jacob, Joseph, Michael and Thomas 537.
Holbrook, George W. (1848) 563.
Hollister, John 417, 516, 518, 521, 525, 566, William 516, George and Frank 525, Benjamin Frank 558.
Holman, Joseph 547, 550.
Holmes, Elizabeth (1825) 570.
Holmes, Ensign receives surrender Ft. Miami from French (1760) 103; commands Ft. Miami (1763) 106; reports conspiracy of Pontiac 107; murdered by Miamis 108, 114.
Home, early in the wilderness 513*; a beginner's in the stove era 558*; a first in Putnam County 561*
Holt, Judge George B. 556, 560.
Hopkins, W. H. (1849) 587.
Hornish, John (1836) 537.
Horton, Hannah and Sophronia 570.
Howard, Robert A. (1850) 579.
Hoyt, Stephen (1810) 512.
Hubbard, Eli (1823) 569-70.
Hubbell, Daniel (1820) 519-20.
Hudson, James 536, John 558.
Huestes, A. C. Pres. Ft. Wayne Coll. 593.
Huff, Abraham (1828) 552-3.
Hughes, Henry, Dennison and Samuel 527, Isaiah 530, Edward 537, Richard 554.
Hull, William appointed Gov. Michigan Territory 253; superintendent Aborigine affairs and treats with them 254-6; reports conspiracy of Tecumseh with British 258-68; given command Ohio troops 269, and Army of the Northwest 271; his military road 28* 269-71, ford of Maumee 271; his thoughtlessness, loss of commission, muster rolls and baggage 271; orders Ft. Dearborn evacuated 272; surrenders Detroit to British without battle 272.
Hull, David 512, 516, 518-19, 527, Levi 515, Isaac 527, 529-30.

Hunt, Maj. Thomas, commands Ft. Defiance (1795-6) 201, Ft. Wayne (1796-9) 205; passes up Maumee with 1st Regt. U. S. Inf. (1803) 475.

Hunt, Gen. John Elliott, 205, 417, 520, 546, 564, 570, George 546.

Hunter, Cyrus (1824) 529.

Husted, E. (1835) 554.

Hutchins, Thomas land surveys 589.

Ice Age, evidences, time, duration and epoch of 18-27. See also under Glaciers.

Ice gorge in Maumee River 460*

Illinois Country, captured by George R. Clark 135; Illinois County organized 136; St. Clair County 159; Illinois Territory organized 256; communication with 470.

Immigrants, French inducements to 102; bad character of some British 128; large numbers in 1779-80, 140; suffer during winter 140, 143; number in 1786, 154, in 1788, 157, 236. See also under Settlers.

Implements of the stone age 47, 48, 50* 55* 58* 73*; metal introduced by Europeans 125, 444. See also under Agriculture.

Indiana, Territory organized 245; State 546; Knox County 161, 546; Randolph County 546; Allen County organized 4, 550.

Indians, misnomer. See under Aborigines and tribal names.

Intemperance of Aborigines begotten by French and British sale of intoxicants 80, 96, 103, 104, 113, 116, 125, 130, 137, 140-1, 149, 244, 257, 311; impossible later for U. S. to keep intoxicants from them 367, 369, 371 note, 383, 385, 388, 396-8, 405, 407-9, 422; U. S. received an evil heritage 423, 426, 428-30, 432, 435, 438, 441.

Interpreters of Aborigine languages, impossible to get accurate 406, 419-20; Names of the few known: Simon Girty 135, 180, Crainte, LaSalle, Christopher Miller, M. Morans, William Wells (233, 391), Abraham Williams, Cabot Wilson, Isaac Zane 233; —— Knaggs 375; Francis Duchoquet 395; William Dragoo 396.

Ironside, George good opinion of Gen. Wayne 219 note; at Defiance 1792, 523.

Iroquois Aborigines described 439.

Irvine, Gen. William reports on Detroit 146.

Irving, Pierre M. 572, Elizabeth F. 593.

Islands, Blodgett 59* 505; Roche de Bout 194* 461-2* Mission or Station and Whitney 399* 461; Preston 453* Girty 456-7* Dodd 459; Graw and Marston 461; Hollister 462; Ewing, Garden, War Club, Hop, Sandbar, Willow, Corn, Muskrat 334* 462; Grassy, Delaware, Clark, Horseshoe, Corbut 462, Kelley 18*

Jackson, William 554, John 560, James 570, E. 624.

Jacobs, Samuel (1825) 559, John H. library Ft. Wayne 633.

James, Jacob and M—— 537.

Jennings, Col. William (1812) 284.

Jerome, J. H. (1827) 518.

Jesuits description of Aborigines early in 17th century 64; early map of 77*; abolished (1764) 381.

Johnson, Sir William writes of scalps presented and no money to pay for them 93; sent to appease Pontiac's conspirators 104, 113, 120; plans for British control of Aborigines 124; suggests religious missionaries 126; death (1774) 129.

Johnson, Col. Richard Mentor commands cavalry 288; activity of 337-8, 351-3*; at Battle of the Thames 356.

Johnson, John (1821) 584.

Johnston, John U. S. Agent to the Aborigines at Ft. Wayne 260, 389-90, 394, at Piqua 267, 380, 406, mentioned by Dickens 441.

Johnston, Jeremiah (1820) 521.

Jolley, David and James (1825) 528, 530, Elisha 560.

Jones, Darius 537, Edmund S. 553.

Jonquiere, Gov. writes to Gov. Clinton of boundaries and British trespasses 97-8.

Kalida, first capitol Putnam Co. 562.

Kames in Indiana 43.

Keeler, Maj. I. 1821, 568-9, Coleman I. and Mary 570.

Kelly, William (1819) 518.

Kent, Rev. John P. (1819) 518.

Kentucky suffers attacks from Maumee Aborigines 130-48; supplies soldiers freely for all the wars 135 passim.

Kepler, Samuel 527, 529, 537.

Kercheval, Benjamin 380, Perry B. 546.

Ketcham, George H. library Toledo 637.

Kettle Holes, glacial theory of 39.

Kickapoos, offshoot from Shawnees 436.

Kies, Abigail teacher Ft. Wayne Coll. 593.

King, Jesse 554, Charles A. 624-5.

Knaggs, ——interpreter 375, James 412.

Kniss, Jacob (1836) 528, 536.

Knowles, John (1819) 518.

Knox County organized 161, 546.

Krauss, William, Toledo 1864, 624.

La Balme, Col. Augustin M. killed near Ft. Miami (1780) 144.

Lafontaine, Francis, Miami chief land to 379; U. S. builds house for 413; 432.

Lakes, beaches of extinct 28* 30* 35, 38* 39* 44* 46*; Maumee Glacial 28* 29, 35, Whittlesey and Warren 31, drainage channels of 29, 37*; yet existing: Erie deepening in later years 16, battle on 346-51, commerce of 480-1, 482* 483* in Indiana and Michigan 38, Clear 40* Hamilton 41* Big Bear Chain 42* Long 43*; process of obliteration 39.

Lance, Samuel (1825) 529.

Lands, desire for (1766) 125 (1785) 153; boundary for Aborigines 103 (1765) 126 (1785) 153 (1789) 158 (1793) 181 (1795) 227, 250* (1805) 253 (1807) 255 (1808) 256 (1809) 259, see also under Treaties; French 136; individual purchases forbidden 151; unlawful settlements on and first provisions for surveying in Ohio 153; claims of Aborigines not valid 152, 442; claims of States ceded to U. S. New York (1781) 145, Virginia (1784) 152, Massachusetts (1785) 153, Connecticut (1786) 155 (1817) 253; land companies, Ohio and Symmes 94, 96, 154, American 536, 538, Hicks 538; land offices (1800) 248, Wooster (1817) 517, Piqua (1819) 591, Ft. Wayne (1822) 547, Monroe (1823) 591, Wapakoneta, Lima, Defiance (1848) 591; Lands to churches: Roman Catholic 374, to Methodist 402, Baptist 409; wisdom of narrowing Aborigine claims to 410, amount claimed by them (1824) 410-11; era of speculation in 538-42; United States Survey of 546; Land and Civil Townships and Sections 589-90* variance of 591; sectional surveys with Base and Principal Meridian lines 589-91; grants of to canals 600.

Landis, Jasper 537, David 580.

Lane, Judge Ebenezer 521, 535, 553.

Langlade, Charles captures Pickawillany (1752) 99.

Lantz, George 525, 528, 530, 533.

La Salle, Sieur de along Maumee River (1669-70) 77, 464; portrait 78*

Latitude and longitude, of Basin 1, Ft. Miami and Ft. Wayne 96, 97* Defiance 191* lower Maumee 309* 467.

Leaming, Halsey W. 512, Thomas 512, 516, Ephraim H. 516, 521, Ephraim L. 584.

Leavell, Benjamin proprietor of Defiance (1822) 526-7, 528-30, 533.

Le Gris, Miami village chief 223-5, 232.

Le Gros, Miami chief, U. S. builds house for 413-14, 432.

Leonard, Henry (1835) 555.

Lernoult, Capt. Richard B. builds and commands Fort Lernoult (1778) 140.

Lewis, John (1822) 521, 536, James and Thomas (1837) 537.

Libraries: College 595. Public: Toledo 624-5* 626, Way 627, Defiance 628, Fort Wayne 629, Bryan 629, Van Wert 630, Findlay 630, Lima 630-1, Celina, Columbus Grove, Ottawa, Paulding, Wauseon 632. Public School 632. Private: Fort Wayne 632-3, Defiance 633-634* 635* 636-7, Toledo 637-8.

Librarians: Mrs. Frances D. Jermain, Willis F. Sewall, Mrs. Ann E. Frederick 627, Margaret M. Colerick, Jewel Fouke 629, Ella Louise Smith, Alice M. Walt 630, Medora Freeman 631, Catherine Travis 632.

Lima (1831) 560 (1846) 559* (1902) 560; Public Library 630.

Linzee, Robert (1834) 556.

Lippincott, Morgan 559, Henry 561.

Little Turtle, Miami war chief 165, 176, 226, 232, 237, 265-6, 282, 265-6, 386-7, 389-92, 431-2* 437.

Locke, Robinson private library Toledo 1905, 638.

Logan, Capt. John Shawnee scout 274, death and burial of 301-2, 437; land to children 372.

Lombard, Peter (1819) 526.

Long, Maj. Stephen H. 548, John 553.

Longueuil, M. de against British traders 90-1; wishes smallpox spread among Aborigines 99; wins back Miamis by spectacular display and presents 100.

Longworth, Rev. Enoch G. 559.

Lord, Frederick (1819) 555.

Louisiana Purchase quiets many dangerous schemes 249.

Lovering, F. 1823, 569.

Lovett, John J. 517, 521.

Lowry, John and Washington 554.

Lucas, Gen. Robert 270, 572-4, 576.

Lucas County organized 4, 564-75.

Luckinbill, George (1837) 537.

M'Arthur, Gen. Duncan with Gen. Hull to Detroit 269; continues in War of 1812, 342 passim; commands Ft. Meigs 352; makes expedition thru Canada 361; commands 8th District and reports 362.

M'Bride, J. H. 1836, 521.

M'Bryer, Andrew escapes from massacre at Pickawillany (1752) 100.

M'Clure, Samuel (1825) 559.

Macomber, Albert E. 1867, 625.

M'Connell, James (1825) 530.

M'Cune, Capt. messenger from and to Ft. Meigs (1813) 342.

M'Farland, Tarleton (1837) 537.

M'Ilrath, Thomas 516-17, 584.

M'Innis, Robert, Charles, James, Philip and John (1822) 552-3.

M'Kee, Alexander in 1774, 127; deserts to British 133; his offices and works against Americans 134, 143, 147-8, 185-7, 215, 222-4, 238 note, 254, 261, 383, 471.

M'Keehan, Dr. British maltreat at Malden (1813) 345.

M'Keen, H. B. 1824, 550.

M'Knight, Thomas R. Maumee 1820, 518-19, 527, 552, 580.

M'Lean, John 563, Charles 578.

M'Pherson, James 373, 381.

Maddocks, James (1832) 572.

Mail, first routes 579; by canal packets 581; postage rates 581; postoffice receipts (1827-30) 582.

Malaria (1792) 383 (1813) 339-40 (1821) 408 (1871-5) 3. See also under Sickness.

Malden, Fort (British built 1796) 239;

MALDEN, Fort — Concluded.
headquarters for savages during Tecumseh-British conspiracy and War of 1812, 261; plan for burning 315; occupied by American Army 354.
Man, early existence of 47-9, in Maumee River Basin 50* 52-4* 56* 59* 58* 61, 62* 63*
Manier, Rev. Solomon (1825) 569.
Manning, John (1825) 555-6.
Manor, Peter given land 373.
Manufactories, woodworking 542-4.
Maps, of townships 1; of moraines, glacial lake beaches, Defiance Bay beaches, forts, military roads, drainage system, etc., 28; Highland Eskar 46, prehistoric mounds and circles 54, 62, 63; Champlain's (1614-32) 75; Covens and Mortier's (1654) and Sanson's (1656) 76; Creuxius' (1660) and Jesuits' 77; important addition to 78; Basin of the Great Lakes and Joliet's smaller (1672) 79; Franquelin's of 1682, 79, of 1684, 80; Head of Maumee River, with prehistoric and historic sites 97; N. W. Territory, Jefferson's plan for division of 153, by Ordinance of 1787, 156, civil divisions in 1792, 177; incorrect of Lake Michigan 157, 566; Fort Adams 190; Defiance and vicinity 191, Fort Defiance 199; General Wayne's daily encampment 197; Wayne County (1796) 242 (1800) 248, 249; Ohio (1802) 250; Lower Maumee River 309; Fort Meigs 316; meander of Maumee River thru Paulding Co. 450; meander of Blanchard River in Putnam Co. 498; civil and land township 590; Toledo double belt railways 623.
Mark, John (1834) 560.
Markel, Eli and Jacob 537.
Mar Poe (Marpau, Marpack) hostile Pottawotami chief 263, 266, 392.
Marsh, George (1835) 557-8.
Marshall, John 546, Charles C. 559, Samuel 584.
Martin, Rev. Jacob 531, James J. 561, Catherine 569, Elizabeth and Lydia 570.
Masonic Lodges first (1817) 518.
Maumee Bay, important adjunct of Toledo Harbor 482.
Maumee River Basin, situation and description of 1-5; topography 2, 8* 33 passim; first outlining of 31; claimed by Five Nations and ceded to British (1684, 1744) 82, 90, 94, 97; government military 129, 242, 250* 252; included in Botetourt Co., Va. and Illinois Co. 136, in Wayne Co. (1796) 242, in Hamtramck Tp. (1798) 246; State claims to ceded to U. S. 145, 152-3, 155; forts in (1796) 236 (1801-3) 252; first election 246; claims of Aborigines to northeast part purchased and reservations apportioned 255, see also under Treaties; U. S. Trading Agency in 260, 264; African slaves 265, 384, Pawnee slaves 384; population 1811 265. See also under Governmental organizations, Military movements and Northwestern Territory.
Maumee Village 323* 518-20, 564, 566, 568-9, 570, 580, 582. See also under Miami Village.
May, William a spy among hostile Aborigines (1792) 178; escapes and reports to Gen. Wayne 178-9; captured by Aborigines and shot 193.
Meade, Xenophon (1832) 554.
Mercer County organized 4, 555.
Meridian, Principal in United States Land Surveys 590.
Merritt, Samuel (1810) 512.
Meshkemau, Ottawa chief 255; anecdote of (1817) 375, 433.
Metea, Pottawotami chief 280, 435*
Methodist Episcopal Church, first at Orleans (1819) 518, Perrysburg 519, Defiance 531* 532, Paulding 558, Toledo 569-70; missions among Aborigines 400-5.
Miami Aborigines, hostilities and promises of peace 120-1, 159-60, 282, passim; number and condition of 367-8, 427-32; villages plundered by La Balme (1780) 144, destroyed by Gen. Harmar (1790) 163-5, Gen. Wayne arrives at 202, Miamis invited to return to 222, short sword found at 279*. See also under Aborigines.
Miami Village (within present Maumee) 271, 512-17; also called Waynesfield (1817) 518; postoffice and custom house at 579-80, 582-3.
Michigan, Territory organized (1805) 253; population in 1811, 265; 355; State (1837) 577; Ohio boundary 556-77.
Military Movements (1686) 86, 464 (1693) 465 (1697) 87, 465 (1702) 87, 465 (1707) 465 (1712) 465 (1719) 466 (1720) 466 (1733) 466 (1739) 466 (1744) 466 (1748) 467 (1749) 467 (1751) 467 (1752) 467-8 (1759) 468 (1760) 468-9 (1764) 469 (1778) 471 (1779) 472 (1780) 472 (1790) 473 (1794) 474 (1796) 475 (1803) 475 (1812) 476 (1813-15) 476-7 (1817) 477 (1819) 477. See also under Wars.
Military Posts (1680-6) 86 (1749-50) 95-6 (1789) 159 (1796) 236 (1801-3) 252.
Military Roads dotted on map 28*
Military Supplies scant 296 passim; accumulated by Auglaise River 314, 317, by Maumee 317, 337-8, 359, 362.
Miller, Rev. Joseph 557, Margaret 570.
Mills and mechanics supplied by the United States to Aborigines 373, 376, 379, 393-4, 411, 414; first mills by settlers 459-60, 487-91. 495, 498, 500-4, 509-11, 516, 556, 571.
Mills, Mary Toledo 1825, 570.
Mingoes, Mengwees, see Senecas 134.

Missionaries, see Religious workers.
Mitchell, John F. 1834, 560.
Mominie, Baptiste (1815) 517.
Money, legends of buried 60; wampum used as 237 note; form in 1796, 241 note; scarce and at discount (1812-14) 358-9 (1820) 526.
Montgomery, James 380, Shadrack 564.
Moraines, St. Joseph-St. Mary 27, 28* 40, 43, 44* 506* Defiance 27, 28* 30* 40, 41, 506* Glen 45* Erie-Saginaw Interlobate 27, 28* 37, 39* Mississinewa 27, 28* 37, Wabash-Aboite 27, 28* 37* 38, Salamonie 28* 37* Map of 28* crests of 30* 37* 38* 39* 44* highest altitude of 28* 41, soil of fertile 30, 42, 44.
Moorehead, James (1837) 537.
Moreland, William (1822) 552.
Morey, Rev. Paul B. (1820) 519.
Morris, Capt. Thomas ambassador to Pontiac's hostile Aborigines along Maumee (1764) 114; his life saved by Pontiac 115; persecuted by Miamis at Head of Maumee 115-18; 427.
Morton, D. O. Toledo 1837, 578.
Mosher, William 537, Thurston 560.
Mounds of earth 52* 59* artificial prehistoric 54* 56* 59* circular 61, 62* 63*
Mudgett, Gilman C. 558, 587.
Mulligan, Benjamin (1822) 527.
Murphy, Edward 553, David 561.
Murray, Daniel 512-21, 570.
Musser, Daniel and Martin 560.

Names, Aborigine 370-1, 375, 412 passim. See also under Aborigines, Captives, Interpreters, Librarians, Religious Missionaries, Scouts, Settlers, Soldiers, and the Surname desired.
Napoleon platted 1832, 554.
Naval, squadron on Lake Erie 346-8; victory of over British 348-51; Toledo Militia and U. S. Training Ship Essex 485.
Navarre, Peter 310, 320* 336, 416-17.
Nearing, Guy (1823) 520.
Neelon, Sylvester, timberman 542.
Nelson, John reports difference between British and French dealings with Aborigines (1696) 85-6.
Newspapers 247, 521-2, 530, 550, 556, 578, 584.
Nicholas, Wyandot chief conspires against French 90; sues for peace 91; treachery of 92; burns Ft. Miami (1748) 92.
Nicholas, Abraham S. 1834, 560.
Northwestern Army 269, 274, 283, 290-1. See also under Army of the Northwest.
Northwestern Territory, claims to by Five Nations relinquished (1684) 82 (1744-1784) 94, 152, see also under Treaties; claims of States ceded to United States, New York (1781) 145, Virginia (1784) 152, Massachusetts (1785, 1800) 153, Connecticut (1786, 1805) 155, 253; map of 156* organized (1787) 157; letters from military posts reporting conspiracy of Tecumseh with British 258-68. See also under Governmental organizations, Maumee River Basin, and Military movements.
Norton, Elijah H. (Toledo 1867) 625.

Occonoxee, Ottawa chief 371; village of 503* 558.
Ohio, the center of Aborigine warrings 90; British purchase from Aborigines (1684) 82 (1744, 1748, 1784) 94, 152; new route to over Alleghenies 94; French warn British to keep away from 95, and shut them out 100; desirable as a British colony 101; Aborigines were taught by French (against British) and by British (against Americans) that Ohio belonged irrevocably to them 103, 181; organized as a Territory 248, as a State 251-2; Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute 556-7, 570, 572-7. See also under Governmental organizations and Lands.
Oliver, William 260, 281-2, 321, 564-5, Peter G. 519, 546, 566, John 536.
Orwig, George B. private library 637.
Ottawa, Blanchard River at 498* capitol Putnam County 563.
Ottawa Aborigines 91-3, 284, 371, 433-4, 558, 578. See also under Aborigines and Treaties.
Ottokee, Ottawa chief 416; Village capitol Fulton Co. 1851, 578-9.
Ouiotenon 109, 169, 228 passim.

Parker, Payne C. 415, 527, 529.
Pathen, John captured at Ft. Miami 98-9.
Patten (Pettit ?) Rev. Elias 519, 531.
Paulding County organized 4, 557-8.
Paulding Village capitol Paulding Co. platted 558; library 632.
Peace, efforts with Aborigines for 157-60, 168-70, 176-81, 192, 208-12, 217-40, 382-4.
Peck, E. D. plank road 1849, 587.
Peltier, Charles and James 546.
Peltries, see under Fur trade.
Perkins, John (1815) 524-5, 528-9, 534, E. S. (1836) 536.
Perrin, Mrs. Amelia W. (1810) 513.
Perry, Master-commander Oliver H. victory over British on Lake Erie 349*
Perrysburg platted 1816, 517, 520-3, 580, 582; Way Library at 627.
Peters, William (1810) 512, 517.
Petroleum, discovery of in Trenton Limestone 7, 9* origin of 10, 11; product 12-14; refineries of 11* 572*
Pettit (Patten ?) Rev. Elias 519, 531.
Phelps, Edwin (1849) 588.
Philbrick, Thomas and Clark 530.
Phillips, Horatio G. 408, 525-6.

Pickawillany (1748) 94-5, 98-9.
Pioneer experiences 403, 406, 409 passim; relics 535*
Pipes of Aborigines 58* 73* 117, 121, 125* 442* Calumet or pipe of peace 91, 107 note, 121, 123* 225.
Piqua, old in 1749, 94-5, in 1780, 143; Fort (1794) 216, 218; 377.
Pirogues (boats) 317, 446* 478, 510.
Platt, H. S. (1832) 571.
Plum, Parris M. (1820) 521.
Plummer, John (1815) 524-5.
Poague, Col. —— builds Ft. Amanda 289.
Poe, Rev. Abraham B. 532, Jacob 552.
Pontiac, Ottawa chief confronts Maj. Rogers 104; conspires against British and captures forts 105* 106; retires to the Maumee, befriends Capt. Morris 113; meets Col. Croghan 121; visits Sir William Johnson 123.
Port Clinton, troops at 352-3, 357.
Port Lawrence platted (1817) 565, in 1822, 568-9, in 1832, 570; first wharf 571; united with Vistula to form Toledo 572; postoffice 581-2; custom house 583.
Port Lawrence Township 570, 577.
Portages protected by Gen. Wayne 219, 226; from lower Maumee eastward 311, 359; Maumee-Wabash (1774) 470 (1778) 471-2 (1795) 474 (1803-9) 390, 479; River St. Mary to Miami 492; River St. Mary to Auglaise 493; Auglaise to Scioto and to Miami 497; from Tiffin 506.
Porter, George 521, Elijah (1837) 578.
Postal routes, first 579-82.
Pottawotami Aborigines, tribe of 434. See also under Aborigines.
Potter, Judge Emery D. 1840, 558.
Powell, Thomas W. 1822, 520-2, 529.
Powers, George (1849) 587.
Prairie du Masque 530, 553.
Pratt, William 519-21, Jonas 553.
Pray, John (1820) 519.
Prentice, Joseph and Frederick 569.
Presbyterian missions among Aborigines 114, 396-9* first churches 519, 534*
Presque Isle, upper 195* 196*
Preston, William 524, 528-30 note.
Priddy, Rev. John (1857) 559.
Proctor, Gen. cruelty of at Battle of Raisin River 311; defeated at sieges of Ft. Meigs and Stephenson 333, 343, 345; defeated at Battle of the Thames 356; savagery and unfairness of 330, 358.
Prophet, the Shawnee aids the conspiracy of Técumseh with the British 257* evil practice of 393, cowardice of 394.
Purcell, Alfred (1836) 536.
Purdy, Daniel 512, 517, Samuel 559.
Putnam County organized 4, 561-2.

Quakers, see under Friends, Society of.
Quebec Act, obnoxious 129.

Race, Andrew, David, Robert and William 512, John 515.
Railroads, first 619-23.
Raimond, M. commandant Ft. Miami (1749) 95-6; report of 99.
Ralston, Joseph (1860) 545.
Redoad, John (1815) 517.
Reese, David (1834) 560.
Relics of Aborigines 50* 55* 58* 62* 63* 73* 123* 125* 206* 235* 279* 385* 442* of pioneer settlers 137* 175* 313* 363* 535* 545*
Religious work and workers, among the Aborigines: the Jesuits 65-74; for adjustment of civil, military and religious sentiment 113; suggested to British 126; converts to massacred 146; in 1800, 249; by the Society of Friends 382-96, Philip Dennis 387, 391, Isaac Harvey 393, Henry Harvey 395; Presbyterians 396-400, Thomas E. Hughes, James Satterfield, Joseph Badger, David Bacon 396, Marquis Anderson, Elisha Macurdy 397-8, Isaac Van Tassel, Leander Sackett, Hannah Riggs, Sidney E. Brewster, Sarah Withrow, William Culver 400; Methodist 400-405, John Stewart, Jonathan Pointer, William Walker, Anthony Banning, James Montgomery, Moses Hinkle, James B. Finley, Harriet Stubbs, George Riley, Charles Elliott 401, Lydia Barstow, Jacob Hooper 402, Thomas Thompson, Elnathan Corrington Gavitt 403; Baptist 406-9, Isaac McCoy, Corbly Martin 406, Johnston Lykins 407, Daniel Dusenbury 409; United Brethren (Moravians) 383; in general 410; among soldiers, Capt. Josiah H. Vose 205; 351-2.
Reservations for Aborigines and the United States 153, 411-13, 415-16, 517, 547. See also under Treaties.
Rhea, Capt. James commandant of Ft. Wayne 205, 267, 277-79, 281; at Ft. Industry 476.
Rice, Major 534, Ambrose 566.
Rich, George H. 1837, 578.
Richardson, Isaac 516, 521-2, 584.
Richardville, Jean Baptiste Miami Aborigine chief 222, 378, 392, U. S. builds house for 413, 431.
Richart, John and Frederick 537.
Rickley, John J. 1848, 564.
Ridenour, John (1825) 561.
Riley, Capt. James U. S. Surveyor 546-7, 556, 598, James Watson 556-8, Matthew 552, William 572.
Rinehart, Hugh T. (1848) 564.
Rivers, early modes of crossing 404, 587; have been great thoroughfares 443, 464-79; boats on 444* 445* 446* 479-84; valuable for food supply 447, 466; effects on of clearing the forest 447; future storage dams 447; valuable as pleasure and rec-

RIVERS — Concluded.
reation resorts 448.

Auglaise, map of 28* large boulder in 35* at Garman Run 56* Blodgett Island in 59* former forts by: Auglaise (1795) 216, 218, 227, 236, Jennings (1812) 28* 284* 337, Amanda (1812) 28* 289, Winchester (1812) 28* 191* 290-3 passim, Brown (1813) 28* 502* Gen. Wayne's military road 28* 216; Delaware Aborigines return to 305; large quantity military stores gathered by 314, 337; description and views of 496-505, portages from, channel, water-gaps 497, at Ft. Jennings 284* Cascade (Myers Mill) 499* at mouth of Blanchard 500* mills by 501-3, at Charloe 503* at mouth Powell Creek 504* water gages 504, channel, dispersion of water and flow 505, entrance into the Maumee 466, 525* 540*

Auglaise, Little 28* 501* 502*

Blanchard, Fort Findlay built by 28* 270* Ottawa towns by 284, 371; mission work by 401, 405; description of 499-501; meander of 498* mouth of 500* at Findlay 551*

Maumee, maps of, general 1* 28* of the Head 97* thru Paulding County 450* central 191* last thirty miles 309* view of Head 204* 449* origin of, size, course and length 448-9; origin of name and meander 450* tributaries, flood plains and channel 451* glacial granite boulders in channel 19* 34* valley of 8* 52* 450* flow 448; water gages 448-9; view of at Defiance 200* 293* 525* 540* Islands: Preston 453* Girty 456-7* Grand Rapids 458* Dodd 459, Graw, Marston, Mission 461, Whitney 399* 461, Roche de Bout 194* 461-2* Hollister 462, Ewing, Garden, War Club, Hop, Sandbar, Willow, Corn, Muskrat 334* 462, Grassy, Delaware, Clark, Horseshoe, Corbut 462; prehistoric semicircles of earth by 62* 63* beauties of 454* water gap thru Defiance Moraine 455* first State dam of and site of Camp No. Three 456, 296* 297* deserted channels and ancient natural dam 457, 461; second State dam and Grand Rapids 457-8* former dams 459* ice gorge 460*; Aborigine villages by 163, 165; Gen. Harmar's defeat at Head of 161-7; former Forts by: Miami (1680-6) 86, 464, Miami (1749-50) 96, 467, Defiance (1794) 28* 191* 192, 199* 200* 201, 207, 217-18, 224, 235-6, 267, 475, 524-5* Deposit (1794) 28* 193, 194* 238, Deposit (1813) 28* 308-9* 312, Wayne (1794) 28* 203, 204* 205-6, 217, 254, 259-60, 274-82, 294, 380-1, 388-90, 546, 549* Miami (British 1794) 28* 184, 193, 198* 211-12, 214, 236, 239, 272, 512, Miami (1812) 272, 515, Industry (1804) 253, 308, 476, Meigs (1813) 314-17, 320-33, 334* 338* 339* 340-3, 353, 359, 363, 515, 523, Turtle Island (British 1794) 474; fort at mouth suggested by Gen. Wayne 221; view of at Presque Isle Battlefield Fallen Timber 195* 196* a great thoroughfare 102; record of transit and incidents along 463-77; in lower course a drowned river 463; fords of: at Ft. Wayne 204, at Defiance 200* 585, Hull 28* 271, near foot of lowest rapids 300, 404, 585, Winchester 287*; 587; soldiers along, see under Military movements; British cannon in at Defiance 288; French account of in 1718, 466; Count de Volney along 474; Friends account of (1804) 475-6; mission by 339* Aborigines later along 477-8, reservations by lower 414, 416; later commerce 478-9; river and lake boats 480-1; Toledo Harbor and late shipping 482* 483* boatbuilding 484* 487; ferries 522, 528, 587; first bridge across lower 522, central 587; the Maumee as a canal harbor 600, 606* 608, 612; Swan Creek, prehistoric earthworks by 63* Aborigines by 219, port of 239, an adjunct to Toledo Harbor 482, early mills by 516, 571, 584, Port Lawrence 565, as canal harbor 600, 610, 612.

Ottawa of the Maumee, an adjunct of Toledo Harbor 482, 498 note.

Ottawa of the Auglaise, view of at Lima 559* description of 498.

St. Joseph, maps of 1* 28* sources 40* 41* 42* 43* Fort Miami by (1749-50) 95, 97* source, length, direction, channel, area drained 487; tributaries, lakes, mills 488-9* 490* 491; portages from 487; terraced banks 490; discharge 491.

St. Mary, maps of 1* 28* sources, water gap thru St. Mary Moraine, described in 1749 and 1783, 492; Fort Miami by (1680-6) 95, 97* Forts Adams and St. Mary (1794) Barbee (1812) Shane and Decatur (1813) 493; portages from 472, 474, 479, 492-3; boats and boating on 303, 493-4; general course, fall, watershed, meander 303, 494; abandoned channels of 495; mill sites by 495.

Tiffin, 'Bean Creek' 213, sources and portages from 506* channel, meander, length 507* 509* 510* French names and origin 508; mills and commerce of 509-11; meander of 590*

Roads, military 28* 242, 299, 303-4, 306-7; first post-roads 249, 256; public 529-30, 583-6, turnpike 587, plank 587-8, gravel and stone 588-9.

Robb, Scott (1815) 516.

Robertson, Col. Robert S. 55, 632.

Roche de Bout 194* 461-2* 475-6.

Rocks, chart of strata 7; Corniferous Limestone 6, 8, 14, boulder 35* Trenton Limestone 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, porosity of 9, 14,

ROCKS — Concluded.
gas and petroleum from 9-14; potable water from 14, 15; drillings thru strata 10, 12, 14, 16; composition of 16, 18; glacier grooved 18* 19* 27, 34* granite, foreign or erratic brought by glacier 18* 19* 23, 30, 34* 38*
Rockford (Shane Crossing) P. O. 582.
Rogers, Maj. Robert meets Pontiac, and receives surrender of Detroit from French 103.
Rohn, William (Camp No. Three 1822) Charles and Samuel 537.
Root, Abner (1851) 540, John 570.
Rundell, John B. 1837, 554.
Russell, William 555, Andrew 559.

St. Clair, Gov. and Gen. 130, 156-8, 161, expedition against hostile Aborigines and signally defeated by them 169-74, 176-7; opposed organization of Ohio as a State 251.
St. Marys City 555, 580, 582.
Sandusky 91-2, 108, 114, 126, 218, 220, 228, 264.
Sanford, John M. 1837, 537.
Sarbar, Christian (1834) 562.
Sargent, Joseph and Samuel A. 587.
Savagery encouraged by British 130-42 passim; begot hatred that endures 358 note.
Savages, see under Aborigines.
Scalps, human 70, French buy 85; British and French buy each other's 92-3; 131* American bought by British 133, 185; scalp dance 134* scalp parade 168; display and use of 329, 384; wolf-scalps, bounty on used to pay taxes 534.
Schools, land for Aborigines 374, 376, 402, 409, manual training for 392-3, 395, 400-3, 409, 595; township School Sections of land 591; private and public 591-6; for negroes 594.
Schrauf, Sebastian (1825) 561.
Scott, Gen. Charles successful expedition against hostile Aborigines 169; joins Gen. Wayne's campaign 188; disciplines soldiers 203; suggests name of Fort Defiance 207; in Battle of Fallen Timber 209; promptness with soldiers as Governor of Kentucky 273.
Scott, Jesup W. 521, manual training 595, John 537, Moses 550, Thomas 555-6, William 560.
Scouts, daring deeds of American 186-8; John McDonald 184; Capts. Ephraim Kibby and William Wells 186; Robert M'Clellan, Henry and Christopher Miller, — Hickman 187, 286, — Thorp 187; John Logan 274, 301-2, 372; Capt. Ballard, Lieut. Harrison Munday, Ensign Leggett 286; A. Riddle 286, 302, 305; Sergeant M'Coy 287; Bright Horn and Lightfoot 301-2.

SLOCUM, Charles E.
Scribner, Abram and U. N. 553.
Semans, William 528-9, 592, J. B. 532, Samuel 553.
Sessions, Horace (1836) 536.
Settlers, first American at lower Maumee 255, 512-18, 564-6, 569-70, incidents of 513-18, sufferers from War of 1812 compensated 516; at Defiance 524; at Fort Wayne 546-51; at Findlay 552; in Henry County 553; in Mercer County 555; in Van Wert County 556; in Paulding County 557; in Allen County, Ohio, 559; in Putnam County 561. See also under Immigrants, and the individual name desired.
Shabonee, Pottawotami chief 435*
Shane, Anthony 337, 372; wife of 408; 437, 555.
Shane Crossing 275, 493* 582.
Shasteen, Edward and William 537.
Shaw, John U. S. Agent 381, C. G. 572, Solomon 537.
Shawnee Aborigines 118, 129, 132, 139, 148, 436. See also under Aborigines, and Treaties.
Shawnee Glen, Defiance 532* 533*
Shelby, Gov. Isaac 352, 357.
Sheldon, Rev. George (1834) 560.
Shiptimber 541* See under Timber.
Shirley, Robert 527-9, 534, James, Elias, Robert, Jr. 527, Nathan 532.
Shively, Amos (1837) 537.
Shock, Jacob (1837) 537.
Shuman, Michael (1837) 554.
Sickness, sanitation and surgeons of the armies and Aborigines 181, 197, 199, 290, 295-6, 298, 339-40, 345, 359, 408, 416, 514. See also under Malaria and Smallpox.
Sieges, of Fort Wayne 274-82, 294-5; of Fort Meigs 320-35, 342-3.
Simcoe, Lieut-Gov. of upper Canada 176, 179; efforts of to federate Aborigines against United States 183; builds Fort Miami by lower Maumee and otherwise conspires against U. S. 184, 214, 217, 382-3.
Simmons, Rev. William (1825) 531.
Simpson, David 563, John 552.
Sinclair, John (Toledo 1864) 624-5.
Sink holes of lake origin 40.
Simms, Lieutenant (1804) 390.
Skinner, Jesse 512, 516-17, William 517, Judge George 562, Robert J. 564.
Slaves, African 265, 384, Pawnee Aborigine 384.
Slawson, James 512, 517, 584.
Sleight, Joseph (1822) 552.
Slocum, Frances captive with Delawares and Miamis 235, 418 note.
Slocum, Giles Bryan letter from Toledo (1832) 570-1.
Slocum, Charles E. private library and

museum of at Defiance 629, 633, 634* 635* 636.
Smallpox wished among Miami Aborigines by the French 99, to Pontiac's warriors by British 111; vaccination of Aborigines against by United States 416.
Smith, H. T. 521, Timothy S. 527-30, 580, Isaac S. 539, Dr. Samuel 546, Daniel C. 553, Achilles 555, Andrew J. and Ezra J. 558, Marmaduke 564, W. H. H. 625.
Sneath, Mrs. Laura S. 1904, 628.
Snook, Capt. William March commanded Fort Defiance in 1794, 201 note.
Snook, William and Wilson N. 527.
Soldiers, in Gen. Harmar's expedition to the Maumee (1790) 161-7; with Gen. St. Clair (1791) 171-4; with Gen. Wayne (1794) 182, 184-5, 189-90, 193-4, 197-8, 201, 205-6, 209-10; in War of 1812, 269, 271-5, 277, 282, 284, 286-90, 292, 294-7, 299, 301, 303-4, 306, 308-9, 311, 313-15, 317-29, 332-3, 335-7, 340-3, 345-7, 349, 352, 357-60, 363. See also under Captives, Military movements, and Scouts.
Sorcerers and superstition among Aborigines 73-4* 257* 393-5, 427, 438.
Spafford, Maj. Amos 512, 567, 579, 583, Aurora 518-19, 521, Samuel 520.
Spanish close Mississippi River to Americans 155; plot to separate Americans west of the Alleghenies from the United States 183, 245; in communication with the British 185; did not surrender forts according to treaty 245, 249.
Spaulding, Oliver (1832) 572.
Sperger, Frederick W. 1822, 527.
Spink, J. C. lawyer 1830, 536.
Spotswood, Gov. Alexander opens road to Ohio (1716) 88.
Sprague, Rev. William 531, Sidney S. 587.
Stacey, Oliver Van Wert (1837) 557.
Stearns, Rufus W. 1834, 556.
Steuben, Baron de sent by Washington to demand surrender of British forts in United States territory 151.
Stevens, Frederick F. 561, Oliver 572.
Stewart, Dr. J. B. 517, Samuel 559.
Stickney, Benjamin F. at Ft. Wayne (1812) 267-8, 380, 546; describes siege of Ft. Wayne 279-82; reports condition of Aborigines (1817) 367; at lower Maumee 381; in Ohio-Michigan boundary controversy 565, 567-70, 572, 574, 577; favors canals 597.
Stoddard, Stacey (1815) 517.
Storts, Andrew (1837) 553.
Stout, John and Christian 554.
Strong, Hazel (1832) 554.
Sugar-making by Aborigines 390, 533-4.
Sullivan, Daniel (1825) 561.
Sunderland, Daniel and William 561.
Superstition, see under Sorcerers.
Sutphen, Dr. J. V. D. 1827, 570, 572.
Sutton, Joseph (1825) 561.
Swan Creek, see under Rivers, Maumee.

Taber, Cyrus Ft. Wayne (1835) 547.
Tarhe (Crane) Wyandot chief 231; an inebriate 385; a beggar 386.
Taxes, paid with bounty on wolf-scalps 534; beginnings of 554-5; Aborigines exempt from 374, 430.
Taylor, Pierce at Defiance 528, Israel 550, William 552-3.
Tecumseh, Shawnee warrior conspires with British against Americans 256-68; visits Gov. Harrison with hostile Aborigines 262; gathers force 282, 319; at sieges of Ft. Meigs 329* 330, 343; killed in Battle of the Thames 356.
Telegraph and telephone 582.
Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, see under Northwestern Territory.
Terry, Robert (1834) 560.
Thorp, — Findlay 1814, 552.
Thomas, James B. 552, Rev. Nathaniel Ladd 557-8.
Thurston, D. J. 1817, 518.
Till, see under Glacial Till.
Tilor, Josephus (1820) 521.
Timber 540* 541* 542-3; manufactures from 541* 542-4.
Tipton, John Ft. Wayne 1824, 381.
Tittle, Jacob, Peter and George 537.
Todd, Gen. 209, Ensign Charles S. 301, 305, Judge George 521, 535.
Toledo, M'Carthy Village in east 375; beginnings of 565-72; named in 1833, 572; Harbor, extent and importance of 482, as winter port 483* shipbuilding at 483-4* naval militia and U. S. Training Ship Essex 485; petroleum refineries 572* views of in 1902, 576* 577*; postoffice 582; libraries 624-5* 637-8; War 572-7.
Tomahawks of Aborigines, stone 58* 206* metal supplied by Europeans 125* with pipe 125* 442*
Tompkins, Daniel D. 1834, 560.
Towns, abandoned 515-16, 518, 557, 580-1, 618-19.
Townships, first Hamtramck (1798) 246; Waynesfield (1816) 520; Auglaise (1820) 520, 528, 553, 557; Perrysburg (1823) 520; Defiance (1824) 529; Damascus (1823) 530, 553; Port Lawrence (1827) 570; Land and Civil 589-90* 591.
Tracey, David (1834) 560.
Trading Posts, United States for Aborigines 258 (1809) 259 (1811) 263-4; abolishment of 381.
Travis, William, Forman E. and William C. 525-6.
Treaties, with Aborigines:
  Albany, New York (1684) 82.
  Lancaster, Pa. 1744 1748, 90, 94.
  Detroit, Michigan (1761) 104.

TREATIES — Concluded.
  Niagara (1764-5) 114, 120.
  Fort Stanwix, N. Y. 1784, 152.
  Fort M'Intosh, Ohio (1785) 153.
  Fort Finney, Ohio (1786) 154.
  Fort Harmar, Ohio (1789) 158.
  Vincennes, Ind. 1792, 177.
  Philadelphia (1792) 177-8.
  Greenville (1795) 225-35 (1814) 364.
  Fort Wayne (1803) 252 (1809) 259.
  Wabash (1804) 253 (1826) 411-12.
  Fort Industry, Ohio (1805) 253.
  Detroit (1807) 254-5.
  Brownstown, Mich. 1808, 256.
  Mississippi tribes (1815) 366.
  Spring Wells, Mich. 1815, 366.
  Fort Harrison, Ind. 1816, 366.
  Lower Maumee (1817) 369; for removal (1833) 416-17.
  St. Marys, Ohio (1818) 376-8.
  Edwardsville, Ill. 1818, 377.
  With scattered bands (1821-7) 380.
  For removal (1829-42) 414-15, 417-18.
  See also under tribal names 425-42.
Treaties, with France for the British succession (1760) 103.
  With Great Britain, closing Revolutionary War (1782-3) 148-9; Jay 1794, 238, 244; closing War of 1812, 362.
  With Spain (1795) 236.
  With France (1800) 249.
Trees, large 195-6, 202; at Fort Wayne 97* 544; at Defiance 191* 544* 545.
Tremain, Calvin 569, 581.
Tremainville 569-70, 581, 586.
Trent, Capt. William (1752) 100.
Trenton Limestone, lowest exposed and explored in Ohio 7; gas and petroleum in 9, 10: water in highly mineralized 14; depth from surface 15.
Trevitt, Doctor (1816) 546.
Troutner, Joseph (1824) 550.
Truman, Maj. Alexander peace messenger murdered by Aborigines 178.
Tucker, William H. library 637.
Tupper, Gen. Edward W. in War of 1812, 273, 288, 291-4, 299-301, 313.
Turkeyfoot Rock 308.
Turner, Dr. William U. S. Agent Ft. Wayne 380, 407-8, 546.
Tuttle, John (Defiance 1849) 588.

United States, conspiracies against 130, 133, 142, 156, 244-6, 249, 256; efforts of for peace with Aborigines 149, 152-3, 157-61, 170, 176-81, 208, 224-35; receives cession of State claims to this Basin, New York (1781) 145, Virginia (1784) 152, Massachusetts (1785, 1800) 153, Connecticut (1786) 155 (1805) 253; reservations of within Aborigine grants 153-4, 158, 227-9; Trading Posts for Aborigines (1809) 259 (1811) 263-4, ungratefully burned at Ft. Wayne 282, abolished 381; policy toward Aborigines 369, liberal to 395 passim, builds dwellings for 413, fosters religious missions and education among 374, 399, 402, 409, 413, pays debts of 395, 415, 417, guards health of 416, could not wholly protect from use of intoxicants 429, 441, see also under Aborigines, Agents, Animals, Mills; custom houses 512, 582; surveyors of lands 546-7, 556.
Upper Sandusky, Fort Feree at 291; agency for Wyandots 381; religious Mission for Aborigines 401.

Van Ansdall, Lucas 555, William 559.
Vance, Samuel (1817) 516, 519, 534, 553, Wilson (1817) 516, 551.
Van Horne, Thomas B. 1833, 564.
Van Wert platted 1835, 557, library 630.
Van Wert County organized 4, 557.
Vincennes, Capt. de establishes French military post by Maumee 87.
Vincennes, Indiana, 135, 138, 154, 159.
Vistula Village platted (1832) 570-1.
Vose, Capt. Josiah H. commanded Fort Wayne 1817-19; religious character of 205 note.
Voyageurs, early 81 (1747) 92.

Wadsworth, Gen. James Samuel 538.
Waite, Morrison R. 534, 624, Israel, Reuben, Silas and William 554.
Walbridge, Hiram (Toledo 1845) 624.
Walcott, James (1825) 556.
Wales, Philander (1832) 572.
Walker, Rev. G. Methodist 1827, 519.
Walking Purchase paraphrased 375.
Wallace, Elias (1825) 561.
Walton, Joseph (1826) 559.
Walworth, Eleanor and Sarah Toledo 1825, 569, John 570.
Wampler, Joseph (1816) 517.
Wampum, war belts of 86, 90-2, 99, 106-7, 117, 130, 137; peace belts and strings 96, 122, 234-5* uses of 237; 385*
Wapakoneta, Shawnee chief 436, 564.
Wapakoneta Village 370; council house 371, 564; 562* 563* 582.
Wars, British-French (1613-84) 82 (1689) 84, Queen Anne's (1702) 87-8, King George II. (1744) 88-90, last (1754-60) 94; British-Aborigine (Pontiac's 1763) 106-113; Revolutionary (1775-83) 130-148; United States-Aborigine (1790-4) 161-215; War of 1812, 256-362. See also under Military movements.
War-parties of Aborigines, sent by French against British 92, by British against French 93; sent by British against Americans 130-148.
Ward, James Defiance (1841) 532, Joseph 559, Gen. John 560-1.
Warren, Thomas 527, 532, Isaac 527.

Washburn, Samuel 561, Daniel 572.
Wason, Robert A. Toledo 1867, 625.
Wasson, Parmenas and Robert 527, 533.
Water, potable from the rocks 14-6; shallow wells 45; river 443.
Water Gages, in Maumee River 448-9 note, in the Ottawa of the Auglaise 498 note, in the Auglaise 504, in the Tiffin 508.
Waterhouse, C. C. 1833, 528.
Waterloo, Indiana, postoffice 582.
Waterman, Neh. Toledo 1867, 625.
Waterville, Ohio, postoffice 582.
Watkins, Joshua (1837) 557.
Watt, Hudson 560, William 561.
Wattles, Augustus principal the Emlen Institute for negroes 594.
Wauseon, Ottawa chief 416, 578.
Wauseon Village 578, library 632.
Way, George B. and James S. 578.
Way, Willard V. 587, library 627.
Wayne, Gen. Anthony chosen commander Northwestern Army and issues proclamation (1792) 177; Aborigines attack his convoys 182; builds Forts Greenville and Recovery (1793) 182; Aborigines attack Ft. Recovery and are repulsed 184; daring acts of his scouts 186-7 note; portrait of 188* diary of his Maumee campaign 189-206; builds Ft. Adams 189* 190* is injured by a falling tree 190; builds Ft. Defiance 192, 199* 200* wins success in Battle of Fallen Timber 193-4, 208-9; plan of daily encampment 197* names applied to by Aborigines 197, 223; builds Ft. Wayne 203-4* returns to Ft. Greenville 206; reports of 207-24; wins Aborigines to Treaty at Greenville 219-35; farewell address at Greenville 234; visits Secretary of War 237, Detroit 241; starts on return to Philadelphia and dies at Erie, Pa. 241; high character of 182, 241.
Wayne County organized (1796) 241; great extent of 242* divided into four townships 246; reduced in size 248* 249* ceased to exist in Ohio at organization of State (1802) 252.
Waynesfield Village (1816) 564-5.
Waynesfield Township 520, 551.
Weather, severe winter 1779-80, 140.
Weaver, Sherrel (1856) 542.
Weidenhammer, Benjamin 537.
Weir, Rev. — Methodist (1825) 531.
Welch, John (1825) 561.
Wells, deep for natural gas, petroleum, and water 9* to 16.
Wells, Capt. William U. S. Army scout 186-8; interpreter 233, 389-91, and other service to his country 258-67, 386-9; his reservation at Ft. Wayne 97* massacred and heart eaten by Aborigines (1812) 276-7; U. S. gives land to his children 379.
Weosecah or Wolf, Shawnee chief 394.
Whipple, Capt. commands Fort Wayne (1804) 205, 388-9, J. P. 554.
Whistler, Capt. John commands Fort Wayne 205, 276, Fort Larnoult Detroit 267, Fort Barbee 205.
Whitney, Frances Maria Toledo (1825) 569-70, Noah A. 569-70, 572, James M. and Michael T. 572.
Wickham, John C. 1828, 553, 593.
Wilcox, Ashbell (1837) 553.
Wilds, Jonathan K. 1833, 564.
Wilkins, Maj. John army against Pontiac's warriors meets disaster 112.
Wilkinson, Gen. James suspicioned 156; expedition against hostiles 169-70; visits field of St. Clair's defeat and buries remains of soldiers 175; sends peace messengers to Maumee where they are murdered 178; in Gen. Wayne's campaign 209; succeeds Gen. Wayne in command N. W. Army 237, 241; receives visit from secret emissaries of France and Spain 245; takes possession of Spanish forts 246.
Wilkinson, boat-Capt. Jacob 512, 519, boat-Capt. David 516.
Williams County, organized 4, 528; in 1826, 533-6; first court house 534* capitol moved from Defiance to Bryan 536.
Williams, Jesse L. 1832, 602.
Willshire platted 556, postoffice 582.
Wilson, Ishmael Defiance (1837) 537, Ebenezer 553, William 570.
Winchester, Gen. James given command N. W. Army (1812) 274; arrives at Ft. Wayne 282-3; letters to Gov. Meigs 285, 295; order of march down Maumee 285-6; loss of scouts 286; meets advance line of British 286; fords Maumee 287* arrives at Defiance 288; his five camps 191* 288, 290-1* 295-6* 297* receives Gen. Harrison 289; appointed commander Left Wing N. W. Army 290; builds Fort Winchester 290-3* mistakes of 292, 305-11; marches down Maumee 305-6; builds Fort Deposit (No. 2) 308-9* advances to River Raisin 308-10; defeat of by British and Aborigines 310; again taken prisoner 311; at Mobile (1815) resignation and death of 311 note.
Winnemac, Winnemeg or Catfish, hostile Pottawotami chief 232, 260, 281, 302, 436.
Wolves, extinction of 1; taxes paid with the bounty on their scalps 534.
Wood, Col. Eleazer D. builds Fort Meigs by lower Maumee (1813) 314-16.
Wood, Emilus 518, Christopher 559, 561, John G. and Joseph 559.
Wood County organized 4, 519.
Woodcox, Benjamin B. 545.
Wyoming massacre, Maumee Aborigines participate in 133.

Young, Andrew (1845) 518.